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Middle Chola Temples

(A.D.985–1070)

S.R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

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Middle Chola Temples

Rajaraja I to Kulottunga I

(A.D. 985–1070)

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

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Dedicated
to my wife
Kaveri
and
to the sacred memory of
her parents
P.R. Vaidyanatha Ayyar
and
Anantha Lakshmi

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Foreword

I know Shri S.R. Balasubrahmanyam for some years and I had the pleasure of presiding over the function arranged at New Delhi when his art book on Early Chola Temples was released on 12th May, 1971. He is acknowledged as an outstanding living authority on the subject of South Indian monuments and art in general and of the Cholas in particular. He has planned four volumes on Chola temples based on a systematic, scientific survey of these monumental works of art. He has already published two volumes which have received well-deserved appreciation from scholars of repute, Indian and foreign. The present book, the third in the series, deals with the Middle Chola period, covering the reigns of the most illustrious Chola ruler Rajaraja I and his brilliant successors who ruled from A.D. 985 to 1070.

Among the dynasties which ruled over South India, the Cholas were undoubtedly the greatest. They ruled the land with glory for a long and unbroken period of 430 years (A.D. 850 to 1280). They were skilled administrators whose main concern was the welfare of their subjects. Their land survey was systematic, elaborate and thorough. There was a highly skilled and well-trained bureaucracy, both at the local and central levels, to man a stable and efficient administration. Rajaraja I was a dynamic military leader. The Chola country had the good fortune of having Rajaraja I and his four successors of eminence who, by their valour and leadership in war, maintained the honour and glory of their forefathers.

The Cholas were successful not merely on land but also on the seas. During the reigns of Rajaraja I and his son, the Chola empire attained its widest limits and touched the heights of prosperity and glory. What Rajaraja I began, his son Rajendra I completed. During their time, the Chola empire extended on land from Kanya Kumari in the South to the mouth of the Ganga in the north. The Cholas were also a great sea power. Sri Lanka and the Lakshadvip (Laccadives) islands were conquered; the Chera fleet was overpowered. Sending a naval expedition across the wide sea of the Bay of Bengal, the Cholas subdued the mighty empire of Sri Vijaya of the Sailendras whose sway spread over 'Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia' with their capitals at Sri Vijaya

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(in Sumatra) and Kadaram (Kedah in the isthmus of Kra). The Nicobar islands (Ma-Nakkavaram) came under Chola rule.

The Cholas were well-versed not only in methods of war but also in the promotion of the arts of peace. They were the finest temple-builders of South India and their allied arts, architecture, sculpture—stone and bronze, painting, music, drama and dance received tremendous encouragement and patronage, and these arts attained the highest level of progress. The Chola bronzes and jewellery reached unprecedented heights of excellence.

Though the Cholas have built hundreds of temples all over the land, even today standard books on Indian architecture mention only about half a dozen of them and even these are not given detailed treatment. In the two volumes already published, the author has identified and described nearly a hundred and fifty temples, which could be ascribed to the Early Chola period (A.D. 850 to 985). The present volume covers the history of a hundred temples of which about a dozen could be assigned to the earlier period. These were built not only in the heart-land of the Chola country but also in the areas brought under their rule by their expansion. The Rajarajesvaram temple built by Rajaraja I at his capital is the most magnificent of Indian structural temples—*the* temple *par excellence*. This is fully dealt with in this volume. In addition, more than fifty temples were built all over the land. Among them the outstanding ones are the Vanavan Mahadevi Isvaram (Siva Devale II) in Sri Lanka, the Siva and Vishnu temples at Attur, the Pallikondar temple at Tirunelveli, the Tiruvalisvaram temple—all in the Pandya country; the Siva and Vishnu temples at Olagapuram and Dadapuram (South Arcot District) and the Arinjigai Isvaram at Melpadi in Tondainadu.

About twenty-five temples could be ascribed to the age of Rajendra I, the most outstanding being the Gangaikonda-Solisvaram built by him at his newly built Chola capital. Among other impressive temples built during the reign may be mentioned the Vishnu temple at Mannarkoyil (Pandya country), the temples at Tiruvorriyur, Kulambandal and Tiruppasur (all in the Chingleput district), the Pidari temple at Kolar (Karnataka), and the memorial temples built at Kalidindi (Andhra Pradesh) over the mortal remains of three Chola generals who fell while defending the principality of Vengi of the Eastern Chalukyas under Chola supremacy.

I understand that the last phase of Chola art and architecture is another bright chapter of South Indin history. I sincerely hope that the author will carry on the completion of this series by publishing the art history of the last phase of this illustrious dynasty who have remarkable achievements to their credit.

New Delhi
April 4 1974

Y.B. Chavan
Finance Minister
Government of India

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Preface

S.R. Balasubrahmanyam's third volume entitled "Middle Chola Temples" carries the saga of Chola architecture, sculpture and inscriptional evidence from the reign of the great Rajaraja(A.D. 985–1014) upto the very short reign of Adhi Rajendra (A.D. 1069–70), the son of Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1063–1069) who is the last of the famous royal Chola temple builders of the Middle period. Thereafter followed a short interregnum of political chaos till Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070–1120) came to the throne to revive Chola glory. The author's previous two volumes on Early Chola architecture and sculpture had told the story of the prolific temple-building activities of Aditya I (A.D. 871–907), the real founder of Chola supremacy in the South and that of his successors till Rajaraja ascended the throne. No doubt this is a brilliant period in the history of Chola art and there are several aspects in which it was never surpassed, particularly in the sculptures which adorned these early shrines in their *deva-koshtas* and other parts of the temple structure. But with Rajaraja the Chola temple underwent a transformation. This did not occur as a fortuitous circumstance. It was conditioned by the greatness of the Chola empire, its expansion from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, its all-victorious arms, its liberal paternal administration and the religious fervour of the monarch and his subjects. This pinnacle of glory to which the fortunes of the Chola dynasty rose is indissolubly bound with the reign of Rajaraja. Everything about this ruler and his kingdom could truly be described in the superlative and thus it came about in the natural course of events that the greatest of all South Indian temples was conceived, built and consecrated by him. From the beautiful but small temples of Aditya I and Parantaka I to the mighty cathedral shrine of Rajarajeesvaram of Tanjavur is a progression in architectural vision and achievement so far-reaching, and in so limited a space of time, that Rajaraja must in some respects be regarded as the greatest temple builder of the South. And here in this third volume Shri Balasubrahmanyam commences the story of this unique achievement and its continuation into the reign of Rajaraja's son Rajendra and even thereafter. The story is unfolded by the author in its fullest perspective. This architectural achievement is surveyed against the

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background of the history of the period—political, social and religious. It does not stand in isolation as a technical dissertation on the building of Middle Chola temples but becomes a living drama within which a mighty architectural achievement took place. Without the comprehension of this drama and its ever rising tempo, the true glory of Chola art can never be adequately unfolded or understood. The great temple of Rajaraja is commonly known as the Brihadesvaram though there seems to be no reason why it should not always be referred to by its true name of Rajarajeesvaram, the authenticity of which is vouched for by inscriptional evidence. It is not enough to understand the architectural plan and layout of the Rajarajeesvaram. This temple itself reveals what it meant to its builder, his court, his officers and his people. It is indeed a testament in stone, for the numerous inscriptions beautifully engraved on its walls yield a wealth of detail with regard to the donations made to it and its highly elaborate administration. It symbolizes a religious fervour and ferment which no doubt led to the propagation of such stories as the miraculous finding of the *Devaram* hymns by Rajaraja. Rajaraja never forgot that the enormous wealth which he had acquired was no less by conquest than by good administration. A unique feature of the temple is the several stalwart figures on the walls holding sword and shield. Shri Sivaramamurti, the well known historian of South Indian art, and myself both firmly believe that the underlying idea of these figures, which may ostensibly be regarded as guardian figures, was to immortalize Rajaraja's great army commanders who had brought glory to him and the royal house of the Cholas. They remind us of the "Immortals" of the Achaemenid kings in a more distant past. Not only is the Rajarajeesvaram famous for its architecture and sculpture but also for its paintings wherein is seen the last lingering greatness of the Ajanta tradition, though conceived and executed in a different manner. Whether the usually accepted interpretation of certain famous scenes in these paintings such as the one which is regarded as Rajaraja and his queens worshipping at the shrine of Nataraja at Chidambaram and another which is thought to be Rajaraja and his religious mentor Karur Deva is correct or not need not be discussed here. This much seems certain that the inspiration of these paintings was Rajaraja's attachment to the story of the life of the Nayanar Sundaramurti and that of his friend Cheraman Perumal, which was later to be immortalized in the *Periya Puranam* of Sekkilar in the 12th century.

It is indeed sad, as Shri Balasubrahmanyam observes, that hardly any of the bronzes that were gifted to the Rajarajeesvaram temple exist today. The great Nataraja is one exception and another is a well-known Tripurantaka, formerly amongst the temple images and now in the Tanjore Art Gallery. But there is reason to believe that two more of the bronzes gifted to this temple do exits though no longer in the temple itself. Both were originally in the Srinivasagopalachari collection. One is the well known "Chola King" who is almost certainly Rajaraja himself, and the other is the "Chola Princess" who may

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well be his famous sister Kundavai, a great devotee of this shrine and who like the famous Sembiyan Mahadevi, spent her life in religious work and donations. These bronzes have been frequently illustrated.

The might of the Chola empire, great as it was in the reign of Rajaraja, increased even more in the reign of his famous son Rajendra. As if to symbolize this greatness and also the gratitude of the monarch to the God whom both father and son so ardently worshipped and whose blessings had carried the Chola arms to unprecedented military and naval success and the realm to economic prosperity, Rajendra built the great fane of Gangaikondacholapuram. Though certainly not built in any spirit of rivalry to his father's achievement, it does in fact almost rival that achievement. Here several of the splendid bronzes appear to be contemporary with the founding of the shrine.

Though these two great temples undoubtedly dominate the entire range of Chola architecture and sculpture with which the present publication deals, yet the author has brought to light many other temples—as many as eighty assignable to the period of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I—some hitherto wrongly classified and others not generally known or referred to by other writers. With regard to the Tiruvalisvaram shrine in the Tirunelveli district, not far from the taluk headquarters of Ambasamudram, it is a most interesting temple from the point of view of its many sculptures though it has no *devakoshta* images as seems to be usual in temples of the Pandyan domain. But it has an inscription of the 11th year of Rajaraja and the author ventures to suggest that the temple even if built in the late Parantaka period was completed by Rajaraja. This seems to me not unlikely, having regard to some of its sculptures, but a more intensive study of Pandyan temples is necessary for firmer conclusions.

A number of temples of the period of Rajendra I, other than the famous Gangaikondacholesvaram, are also dealt with both from the point of inscriptional evidence and style to establish the period to which they belong. This is not always an easy task, because inscriptions are numerous and the earliest one on a shrine need not necessarily belong to the period of its foundation. Reconstructions, renovations and additions further complicate the problem of dating many a shrine. But by far and large it may be said that the material on which the author has based his conclusions is adequate and correctly interpreted with the full consciousness that there are bound to be shrines in each classification on which the last word has yet to be spoken. This non-dogmatic approach, so essential in a subject so complex as Chola temple chronology, is a most admirable feature of the text.

The author leads the reader to an understanding of his viewpoint without any jarring notes of arbitrary pronouncements. Epigraphy is necessarily the basis of all studies in relation to South Indian temples and Shri Balasubrahmanyam, who is one of the greatest Tamil Epigraphists of our times, has collected and interpreted a vast amount of material which will ever remain the basis on which further studies can be founded. In a sense the great period of Chola

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temple art ends with Rajendra but what followed can never be neglected, for it is also of high importance. Shri Balasubrahmanyam has realised this and continued his study of the Middle Chola period by taking it upto the time of Adhi-Rajendra (A.D. 1069–70). Thereafter there was political confusion till Kulottunga I stabilized Chola rule once more. From this point, it is hoped the author will continue his great saga and bring it up to the period of Kulottunga III, the builder of the famous Tribhuvanam temple.

This book is easily the richest contribution to South Indian art; what adds to its merit is that it is profusely illustrated, most of the illustrations being published for the first time and some of them of rare quality.

KARL KHANDALAVALA
Editor, Lalit Kala and Chairman,
Lalit Kala Akademi, Bombay
10th April 1975

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Introduction

What I have undertaken in this and the sister volumes is the first scientific and systematic survey of dated Chola temples—a venturesome and onerous task. The material is so vast, and the physical spread of the monuments so extensive, that this work should have been done either by Government or by endowed institutions with a team of scholars, surveyors, epigraphists and draftsmen, backed by substantial funds. Instead, it has been left to the lot of an individual to undertake this task without the facility of finances, the necessary staff or even a reference library. It is my regret that I could not afford to give the monuments the time necessary for their proper study. My main qualification to undertake this effort, however, is love for and dedication to the subject, spread over a period of half a century.

When Prof. Nilakanta Sastri wrote the history of 'The Colas' in 1934, he hoped to publish a separate study of Chola art but regretted in his second edition in 1955 that "the promise of a separate study of Chola Art held forth in the preface to the first edition had not materialised", and added "difficulties in the way of a comprehensive treatment are unfortunately still too many. These will disappear only if the Archaeological Department or a South Indian University undertakes this task". There has been no progress since then. I am sure that in the light of this background, scholars would overlook the shortcomings in my humble study of a great subject. My only justification for this daring enterprise is that even a limited survey such as mine has not been attempted so far.

I have been ploughing my lonely furrow all along; but the brunt of the work on these volumes has fallen on my son, B. Venkataraman, who is being associated with me in an honorary capacity in this project. We have made an on-the-spot study of almost all the temples included in this survey. The far-off temples I could not visit, my son has done. He has also photographed a number of the temples and sculptures, not otherwise available to me. He has also prepared the draft on Rajarajesvaram, Gangaikondacholesvaram and of the temples of the Karnataka desa. His help in the arrangement of the subject matter and the selection and processing of the sumptuous illustrations has been

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considerable. Without formally lending his name, he has worked in effect as co-author of this work.

The Cholas were the builders of the largest number of temples in South India. The Tamil Saiva Saints who lived in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries have sung the praise of the Lords of 274 temples in South India, which are distributed geographically as follows: 190 temples in Chola Nadu, on both banks of the Kaveri, 32 in Tondai Nadu, 22 in Nadu Nadu and 14 in Pandi Nadu. To this, we have to add a large number of temples built later by the Chola kings, their queens, ministers, nobles and subjects.

The period of Rajaraja I and his successors upto the accession of Kulottunga I (A.D. 985 to 1070) is the grandest in the history of South India. In the very few standard works on Indian Art and Architecture, only two temples belonging to the period are dealt with—the Rajarajesvaram and the Gangaikondacholisvaram. The present survey, fairly comprehensive though not thorough, presents more than a hundred temples assignable to the period based on unimpeachable epigraphical and reliable literary evidence.

A rich artistic legacy has been left to us by the Cholas, but it has not been properly studied. V.A. Smith observed that "After A.D. 300, Indian sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be recognised as art". Even in such a modern scholarly work as J.N. Banerjee's *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta University) we find the erroneous statement that the sculptures of the *Ananda tandava* form of Nataraja found in South India belong "most of them to the 14th or 15th century A.D. or even later". The three volumes of this series on Chola temples so far published, and the fourth under preparation, will dispel these hasty and ill-informed views, perpetuated by an absence of a survey of these monuments and sculptures.

Now, a few remarks of a general nature. In his monumental work, *A Study of History*, Arnold Toynbee writes:

"Mankind is going to destroy itself unless it succeeds in growing together something into a simple family. For this, we must become familiar with each other, and this means becoming familiar with each of their history, since man does not live just in the *immediate present.*"

To this growing realisation of the concept of 'one world', the civilization of South India generally, and the culture and art of the Cholas in particular, have a significant contribution to make. Recently, two books have been published. One is the Vivekananda commemoration volume on the theme of 'India's contribution to world thought and culture'. The other is D.P. Singhal's 'India and the World Civilization'. Both deal with India's role in human history and her contacts with and influence on the peoples of the rest of Asia, Africa, Europe and America. They emphasise that Indian civilisation is distinguished by its antiquity, continuity and vitality, with a powerful impact on the other peoples of the world.

Another Indologist, Dr. H.C. Quaritch Wales, pointed out that the Sailendras,

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who built up a vast maritime empire which endured for five centuries and contributed a great deal to the flowering of Indian thought and culture in Java and Cambodia, do not find mention in modern histories and encyclopedias and such an omission is a serious one in the context of a balanced history of the world. The achievements of the Cholas who conquered them were no less remarkable and deserve an honourable place in this context.

It is with a heavy heart that I have to record the passing away, recently, of two of my dearly valued friends and colleagues. Mr. P.Z. Pattabhiramin, brought up by the fostering care of the late Prof. G.J. Dubreuil and later by Dr. Filliozat, Director of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, tirelessly laboured to build up an impressive collection of photographs, carefully annotated and indexed, housed in the above Institute, which forms a fitting memorial to him. I also bemoan the loss of my friend Prof. Benjamin Rowland of the Fogg Musem, Cambridge, Mass., United States of America. He was an outstanding authority on Indian Art and Architecture. His two masterly works: The Art and Architecture of India (III edition, Pelican, 1967) and Zentral Asien (in German, Kunst Welt, 1972), will remain fitting monuments to his scholarship and deep interest in the culture and art of India and Asia in their traditional aspect. May I also place on record my sense of deep sorrow at the demise of my valued friend Dr. Moti Chandra whose deep learning, ripe wisdom and sterling character will be cherished by all fellow scholars?

The Tamil Nadu Government have been warm in their appreciation of my contributions in the field of Chola Art. When in 1972 they appointed an expert committee to study and report on the genuineness or otherwise of the Nataraja bronze now in the Sivapuram temple, I was nominated its Chairman; we had regretfully to report that the bronze was a fake substitute, and recommended that efforts should be made to recover the original idol that had been whisked away to a foreign country. It is good to learn that the Norton Simon Foundation, where it ultimately found its way, has agreed to return the idol. We also recommended that a full and systematic photographic survey of all bronzes in the temples of the Tamil Nadu should be undertaken immediately. I am glad that this survey has begun its work already. Later in February, 1973, I was called upon to preside over the inauguration of the First Seminar on Hero-stones; and I was also invited to preside over the inaugural function of the Seminar on the Cholas held at Madras in June, 1973.

I am beholden to the Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, the Superintending Archaeologist, Southern Circle and the Conservation staff of the Rajarajesvaram temple for their kind help and cooperation in the study of the temples under the control of the Central Government.

I place on record my indebtedness to Shri Yashwantrao B. Chavan (formerly Minister for Finance and now for External Affairs) for his Foreword and Shri Karl J. Khandalavala for the Preface contributed to this volume.

The Ford Foundation of the United States of America have placed me under

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a deep debt by giving me a generous grant to supplement my meagre resources towards the publication of this volume also. The various ministries of the Government of India concerned with processing the proposal of the Foundation to grant me assistance for this project have earned my gratitude by clearing the proposal expeditiously. The publication would not have been possible but for the sanction of this grant. I am grateful to the Foundation and in particular to its present Chief in India, Dr. Harry E. Wilhelm, for this help.

The French Institute of Indology gave me a number of illustrations from their large collection. The Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi, the Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu Government, Madras, and the Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, provided me a few of their photographs; and I acknowledge my indebtedness to these bodies in detail elsewhere. Quite a large number of the photographs, some of them rare, particularly of the more inaccessible monuments, have been taken and made available to me by my son Venkataraman.

I am much obliged to many of my brother-scholars. Dr. M.N. Deshpande, Director-General of Archaeology, has given me a lot of help. Shri K.S. Ramachandran, Senior Technical Assistant, and Mrs. K. G. Rao, Librarian of the Central Archaeological Department, Dr. G.S. Gai and Shri K.G. Krishnan of the Epigraphical Department, Mysore, Shri R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, Dr. A.V. Narasimhamurti, Director of the Mysore Archaeological Survey, Dr. J. Filliozat and members of the French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry, Dr. James C. Harle of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Shri H. Sarkar of the Temple Survey, Archeological Department, Southern Circle, Dr. Promod Chandra and Shri M.A. Dhaky of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi, Shri C. Sivaramamurti, and Shri Sadashiva Gorakshar of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and many other friends have extended to me their valuable co-operation and help. I render them my sincere thanks.

Thomson Press (India) Limited, who printed my previous book, *Early Chola Temples*, very kindly came forward to include this volume as one of their publications. I am greatly obliged to Shri V.V. Purie, Shri Aroon Purie, Shri R.S. Rawal and Shri H.K. Mehta and Shri B.L. Ganju of the Production Department and his team, for the keen and sustained interest shown by them in my work. All the members of the Press have taken a personal interest in this publication and extended to me special privileges which I greatly appreciate.

I am thankful to Shri D. Kannan, Shri V. Balasubrahmanyan and Shri Jagdish Ram Sharma for a lot of technical assistance in the processing of the illustrations. Wing Commander K.S. Balakrishna, Shri Haridas Ghosh and Shri Sudhansu Sekhar Patnaik prepared the index. It was a labour of love. I am thankful to them. In typing out the script at various stages, Messrs. S. Varadarajan, C.K. Rajappa, D.R. Srinivasan, K.N. Lakshmi Narayanan and T.R. Aravamudan have been of great help in various ways.

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My sons B. Natarajan, B. Venkataraman and B. Ramachandran and my daughter-in-law Leela Venkataraman and my grand children Nandini Venkataraman and Mohan Venkataraman have been deeply involved in my project and shared my interest, and each has made a valuable contribution to this volume. I owe a special debt to Leela, who functioned virtually as my secretary, during the last one year, doing all the chores that writing this book involved besides helping me in numerous other ways in the publication of this book. I am proud and happy about their association. With Natarajan's contribution on Chidambaram, *The City of the Cosmic Dance* (Orient Longman), and Venkataraman's specialisation on Later Cholas, apart from his works *Laddigam* (Orient Longman) and *Temple Art under the Chola Queens* (Thomson Press), Chola art may be said to have become a family legacy. I pray for the completion of the series.

And in conclusion, I must pay my humble homage to the holy sage who presides over the Kamakoti Peetham at Kanchi who has always been to me a source of inspiration and encouragement. His light has guided me in all my work.

S.R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

C-I/9, Humayun Road,
New Delhi
26th April, 1975.

It is with a sense of deep personal as well as professional loss that I have to record the passing away (when this volume was in the last stages of printing) of that great historian and archeologist of South India, Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. It was my privilege to be associated with him intimately for well over half a century. His masterly contributions to the study of the history of the Pandyas and of the Cholas and their contacts with the kingdom of Sri Vijaya constitute a fitting permanent memorial to him and will remain a source of inspiration to scholars for all time to come.

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Contents

	Foreword	vii
	Preface	ix
	Introduction	xiii
	List of Map, Plans, Sketches and Illustrations	xx
1.	Rajaraja I ..	1
2.	Temples of Rajaraja I's Time ..	14
3.	Rajendra I ..	230
4.	Temples of Rajendra I's Time (with an Historical Survey) ..	240
5.	Successors of Rajendra I ..	334
6.	Temples of the Time of the Successors of Rajendra I ..	345
7.	Supplement to Early Chola Temples ..	374
8.	Conclusion ..	408
	Map, Plans, Sketches and Illustrations	
	Index ..	411

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Map, Plans, Sketches and Illustrations

1. Map, Plans and Sketches:
   - (i) Plan : Tanjavur, Rajarajesvaram, ground plan
   - (ii) Plan : Gangaikondasolapuram, Gangaikondasolisvaram, plan
   - (iii) Sketch : Gangaikondasolapuram, Gangaikondasolisvaram, Disposition of Vimana Devatas
   - (iv) Map : Chola Empire in the Middle Chola Period (A.D. 985–1070)
   - (v) Plan : Tiruvorriyur, Adipurisvarar temple, ground plan
   - (vi) Sketch : Adhishthanams of selected Middle Chola Temples

2. Illustrations (Colour plates—paintings, structures and sculptures in stone and metal)

1.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Rajaraja I (painting)
2.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	*garbhagriha*, upper tier
3.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	*garbhagriha*, lower tier
4.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Chandesvarar shrine
5.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Sadyojata
6.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Rajaraja I and his queens worshipping Nataraja (painting)
7.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	*Chitsabha* (painting)
8.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Nataraja in *Chitsabha* (painting)
9.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	*Chitsabha* with *srivimana* and *devaganas* (painting)
10.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Rajaraja I and Karuvur devar (painting)
11.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Tripurantakar (painting)
12.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Bharata natya *karanas* (stone)
13.	Tiruvenkadu (Tanjavur Art Gallery)		Kalyanasundarar group (bronze)
14.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram (Tanjavur Art Gallery)	Tripurantakar (bronze)
15.	Tiruvenkadu (Tanjavur Art Gallery)		Bhairavar (bronze)
16.	Tiruvenkadu (Tanjavur Art Gallery)		Bhikshatanar (bronze)
17.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvarar temple	Apsidal *srivimana*

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Description of Plates

3. Illustrations (Black & white)

Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
1.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Nataraja (bronze)
2.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	View of temple complex
3.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	The two gopurams
4.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	The temple—general view
5.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Dvarapala (*left*)
6.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Dvarapala (*right*)
7.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Garbhagriha, south face (with Vikramasolan tiruvasal)
8.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Garbhagriha, west face
9.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Bhikshatanar and kumbha-panchara—garbhagriha, south face
10.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Chandesvarar shrine
11.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Lingodbhavar
12.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Siva-Uma Alinginamurti
13.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Gangadharar
14.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Kalarimurti
15.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Nataraja
16.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Sarasvati
17.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Siva
18.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Rajaraja and Karuvur Devar
19.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Vishnu and Ganapati
20.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Mahalakshmi
21.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Chandesvarar
22.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Subrahmanyar
23.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Chandrasekharar
24.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Hariharar
25.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Lingodbhavar
26.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Bhairavar
27.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Buddha panel
28.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Nandi
29.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Nandi (*metal*), ardhamandapa
30.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Ganapati (*Parivaralaya*)
31.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Inscribed pillar in peristyle
32.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Varahi, Saptamatrika group
33.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Isana, Dikpala
34.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	Varuna, Dikpala
35.	Tiruvaiyaru	Vada-kailasam	Dakshinamurti
36.	Tiruvaiyaru	Vada-kailasam	Brahma
37.	Tiruvalanjuli	Kshetrapala shrine	Srivimana (*in ruins*)
38.	Tiruvalanjuli	Kshetrapala shrine	Garbhagriha wall (*inscribed*), with Kshetrapalar sculpture
39.	Alagadriputtur	Svarnapurisvarar temple	Dvarapala
40.	Alagadriputtur	Svarnapurisvarar temple	Lingodbhavar
41.	Alagadriputtur	Svarnapurisvarar temple	Brahma
42.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar	Central shrine, srivimana

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
43.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Central shrine, srivimana, adhishthanam
44.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Vatapi Ganapati shrine
45.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Vatapi Ganapati
46.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Dakshinamurti, devakoshta figure
47.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Lingodbhavar, devakoshta figure
48.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Durga
49.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Ardhanari
50.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Bhikshatanar
51.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	a) Urdhva-tandavamurti b) Kalasamharamurti, c) Kankalamurti,
52.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Tandavamurti and Gajasamharamurti
53.	Tiruchchengattangudi	Uttarapatisvarar temple	Bhikshatanar and Tripurantakar
54.	Tirukkadaiyur	Amritaghatesvarar temple	Srivimana and ardhamandapa
55.	Tirukkadaiyur	Amritaghatesvarar temple	Kalakala devar shrine
56.	Tirukkadaiyur	Amritaghatesvarar temple	Dvarapala, right
57.	Tirukkadaiyur	Amritaghatesvarar temple	Dvarapala, left
58.	Tiruppugalur	Konapiran temple	Srivimana
59.	Tiruppugalur	Konapiran temple	Bhikshatanar
60.	Tiruppugalur	Konapiran temple	Rajaraja I's inscription
61.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Garbhagriha—Thyagaraja shrine
61a.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Inscription
62.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Nataraja, ardhamandapa, central shrine
63.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Dakshinamurti
64.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Lingodbhavar
65.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Brahma
66.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Durga
67.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Vrishabharudhar (bronze)
68.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Bhikshatanar (bronze)
69.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Nataraja (bronze)
70.	Nagapattinam	Karonasvamin temple	Sivakami (bronze)
71.	Tirukkalar	Parijatavanesvarasvami temple	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
72.	Tirukkalar	Parijatavanesvarasvami temple	Tani Amman (bronze)
73.	Tirukkalar	Parijatavanesvarasvami temple	Chandesvarar (bronze)
74.	Tirukkalar	Parijatavanesvarasvami temple	Manikkavasagar and Sundarar (bronze)
75.	Tirukkalar	Parijatavanesvarasvami temple	Appar and Sambandar (bronze)
76.	Tirukkaravasal	Kannayiranathasvami temple	Dakshinamurti
77.	Tirukkaravasal	Kannayiranathasvami temple	Bhikshatanar (bronze)

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
78.	Tirukkaravasal	Kannayiranathasvami temple	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
79.	Tirukkaravasal	Kannayiranathasvami temple	Vrishabhantikar (bronze)
80.	Tirukkaravasal	Kannayiranathasvami temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
81.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
82.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Uma (Somaskandar group) (bronze)
83.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Siva-Uma Alinginamurti (bronze)
84.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Nataraja (bronze)
85.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Sivakami (bronze)
86.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Dvarapala
87.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Dvarapala
88.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Yoga-Dakshinamurti
89.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Ganapati (parivara devata)
90.	Tirunedungalam	Tirunedungalanathar temple	Ardhanari
91.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Srivimana
92.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
93.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Sankara-Narayana, western devakoshtha
94.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Brahma
95.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Durga
96.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Anaaya-Nayanar (stone)
97.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Ramayana Panel (Sugriva pattabhishekam)
98.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
99.	Tirumangalam	Samavedisvarar temple	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
100.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Srivimana, north view
101.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Adhishthanam
102.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Ganapati
103.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Brahma
104.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Durga
105.	Madagadippattu	Kundanguli Mahadevar temple	Vishnu (*griva-koshtha*)

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
106.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Garbhagriha
107.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Srivimana
108.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	17th year inscription of RajarajaI
109.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Durga
110.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Bhikshatanar
111.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
112.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
113.	Marakkanam	Bhumisvarar temple	Tani Amman (bronze)
114.	Olagapuram	Siva temple	Srivimana (in ruins)
115.	Olagapuram	Vishnu temple	General view
116.	Olagapuram	Siva temple	Dakshinamurti (original) and Bhikshatanar (inserted)
117.	Olagapuram	Siva temple	Durga
118.	Olagapuram	Vishnu temple	Vishnu
119.	Ennayiram	Alagiya Narasimhaperumal temple	General view
120.	Ennayiram	Alagiya Narasimhaperumal temple	Srivimana (superstructure)
121.	Esalam	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Srivimana
122.	Esalam	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Ganapati
123.	Esalam	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Vishnu
124.	Esalam	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Durga
125.	Esalam	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Vinadhara Dakshinamurti
126.	Dadapuram	Manikanthesvarar temple	General view
127.	Dadapuram	Karivarada Perumal temple	Srivimana
128.	Tirumukkudal	Venkatesa perumal temple	General view
129.	Tirumukkudal	Venkatesa perumal temple	Vishnu (stone)
130.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Srivimana
131.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Inscription
132.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Dvarapala
133.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Dvarapala
134.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Ganapati
135.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Brahma
136.	Sivapuram (Urogadam)	Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)	Durga
137.	Kalakkattur	Agnisvarar temple	General view
138.	Kalakkattur	Agnisvarar temple	Ganapati
139.	Kalakkattur	Agnisvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
140.	Kalakkattur	Agnisvarar temple	Ardhanari
141.	Tirumalai	Kundavai Jinalaya	Neminathat

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
142.	Tirumalai	Kundavai Jinalaya	Mural painting
143.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Srivimana of Somanathesvarar shrine
144.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Srivimana of Pallikondar shrine
145.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Garbhagriha, devakoshtha
146.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Balasubrahmanya (*vimana devata*)
147.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Yoga-Narasimha (*vimana devata*)
148.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Brahma (*vimana devata*)
149.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Sambandar (bronze)
150.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Appar (bronze)
151.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Sundarar (bronze)
152.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Cheraman Perumal (bronze)
153.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Rama (bronze)
154.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Sita (bronze)
155.	Attur	Somanathesvarar temple	Dancing Krishna (bronze)
156.	Gangaikondan	Kailasapati temple	Srivimana
157.	Gangaikondan	Kailasapati temple	Ganapati (bronze)
158.	Gangaikondan	Kailasapati temple	Somaskandar—Siva (bronze)
159.	Gangaikondan	Kailasapati temple	Parvati (bronze)
160.	Gangaikondan	Kailasapati temple	Nataraja (bronze)
161.	Seramadevi	Ramasvamin temple	Srivimana (north-west view)
162.	Seramadevi	Ramasvamin temple	Dancing Krishna (bronze)
163.	Seramadevi	Ammanathasvamin temple	Nandikesvarar (bronze)
164.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Main gopuram
165.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Garbhagriha
166.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Bhogasakti (original bronze)
167.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Tani Amman (bronze)
168.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Manikkavasagar and Sundarar (bronze)
169.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Appar and Sambandar (bronze)
170.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Bhikshatanar
171.	Brahmadesam	Kailasanathar temple	Wood carving (main door)
172.	Tiruvalisvaram	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Srivimana, general view
173.	Tiruvalisvaram	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Srivimana west face, north side
174.	Tiruvalisvaram	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Srivimana west face, south side
175.	Tiruvalisvaram	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Srivimana, north face
176.	Tiruvalisvaram	Tiruvalisvarar temple	Subrahmanya (*griva koshta,* east)
177.	Polannaruva	Siva Devale No. 2	General view, south face
178.	Malur-Patna	Arumolisvaram temple	General view (north-east)
179.	Malur-Patna	Arumolisvaram temple	Inscription in ardhamandapa
180.	Malur-Patna	Jayangondasola vinnagar	General view
181.	Malur-Patna	Jayangondasola vinnagar	Garbhagriha (*without superstructure*)
182.	Malur	Kailasesvarar temple	Main gopuram (*without superstructure*)
183.	Malur	Kailasesvarar temple	Garbhagriha and ardhamandapa
184.	Malur	Apprameyasvami temple	Srivimana (*superstructure*)
185.	Malur	Apprameyasvami temple	Vishnu (stone sculpture)

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
186.	Tiruvisalur	Siva Yoganathasvamin temple	Tulabhara and Hiranyagarbha, Rajaraja I and Dantiskti Vitanki
187.	Tirunaraiyur	Soundaresvarar temple	Rajaraja I and Nambi Andar Nambi
188.	Tirunaraiyur	Soundaresvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
189.	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple (Tanjavur Art Gallery)	Vrishabhantikar and Consort, front view (bronze)
190.	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple (Tanjavur Art Gallery)	Vrishabhantikar and Consort rear view (bronze)
191.	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple (Tanjavur Art Gallery)	Kalyanasundarar group (bronze)
192.	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
193.	Tiruvenkadu	Svetaranyesvarar temple (Tanjavur Art Gallery)	Kannappar (bronze)
194.	Tirukkodikka	Tirukkotisvarar temple	Tripurantakar (bronze)
195.	Tiruvakkarai	Siva temple	Nataraja (bronze)
196.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Nataraja (bronze)
197.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
198.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Bhikshatanar (bronze)
199.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Gajasamharamurti (bronze)
200.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Nandikesvarar and Consort (bronze)
201.	Valuvur	Viratthanesvarar temple	Ayyanar (bronze)
202.	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram temple	a) Kailasa scene-dancing figures b) Cheraman to Kailasa (paintings)
203.	Paruttiyur	Kalyanavaradaraja Perumal temple	Rama, Lakshmana and Sita (bronze)
204.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Srivimana (General view)
205.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Garbhagriha, south face
206.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Dakshina Kailasam
207.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Uttara Kailasam
208.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Chandesanugrahamurti
209.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Sarasvati
210.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Kalarimurti
211.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Ganapati
212.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Durga
213.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Vishnu with Sridevi and Bhudevi
214.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Nataraja
215.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Nataraja
216.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Brahma with His Consorts
217.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Hariharar
218.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Bhairavar
219.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Bhikshatanar
220.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Manmathadahanamurti
221.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Umasahitar
222.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Gangadharar
223.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Durga

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
224.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Subrahmanyar
225.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Vrishabhantikar (bronze)
226.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Nandikesvarar (bronze)
227.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Tani Amman (bronze)
228.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Bhogasakti (bronze)
229.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
230.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Somaskandar (bronze)
231.	Gangaikondasolapuram	Gangaikondasolisvaram	Karttikeya (bronze)
232.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Ganapati
233.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Adhikara Nandi
234.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Nataraja
235.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Bhikshatanar (on a pillar)
236.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Uma
237.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Brahma
238.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
239.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Bhairavar
240.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Kannappar (bronze)
241.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Karaikkal Ammaiyar (bronze)
242.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Chandesvarar (bronze)
243.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Cheraman Perumal (bronze)
244.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Nataraja and Sivakami (bronze)
245.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Chandrasekharar and Uma (bronze)
246.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Bhogasakti (bronze)
247.	Uttattur	Siddharatnesvarar temple	Bhikshatanar (bronze)
248.	Tiruppattur	Ayyanar temple	Gopuram
249.	Tiruppattur	Ayyanar temple	Temple—general view
250.	Tiruppattur	Ayyanar temple	Ayyanar and Consorts
251.	Tirunallaru	Darbharanyesvarar temple	Bhogasakti (bronze)
252.	Tirunallaru	Darbharanyesvarar temple	Ganapati (bronze)
253.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	General view
254.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Inscription (Rajendra I)
255.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Dvarapala
256.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Dvarapala
257.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Srivimana
258.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Lingodbhavar

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
259.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Bhikshatanar
260.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Ardhanari
261.	Ramanathankoyil	Ramanathasvamy temple (Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)	Gangadharar
262.	Tiruvaiyaru	Ten Kailasam	Ganapati
263.	Tiruvaiyaru	Ten Kailasam	Brahma
264.	Tiruvaiyaru	Ten Kailasam	Durga
265.	Tiruvaiyaru	Ten Kailasam	General view
266.	Tiruvaiyaru	Ten Kailasam	Nolamba pillars in the peristyle
267.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	General view with Kamalalayam tank in foreground
267.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Rajanarayanan tirumandapam
269.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Devasriyan mandapam
270.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Achalesvaram with the hall in fron
271.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Manu Niti Cholan episode—the chariot crushing the calf
272.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Manu Niti Cholan episode—The horse
273.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Manu Niti Cholan episode—The cow demanding justice
274.	Tiruvarur	Thyagarajasvami temple	Manu Niti Cholan episode—The prince crushed
275.	Panaiyavaram	Netroddharakasvamin temple	Annapurna
276.	Panaiyavaram	Netroddharakasvamin temple	Durga
277.	Panaiyavaram	Netroddharakasvamin temple	Virabhadrar and Ganapati (Saptamatrika group)
278.	Kuvam	Tripurantakesvaram	Ganapati
279.	Kuvam	Tripurantakesvaram	Dakshinamurti
280.	Kuvam	Tripurantakesvaram	Lingodbhavar
281.	Kuvam	Tripurantakesvaram	Brahma
282.	Kuvam	Tripurantakesvaram	Durga
283.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Srivimana (south-west)
284.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Srivimana (south-west)
285.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Srivimana, garbhagriha, outer wall (north-west)
286.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Upper tala—North face
287.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Upper tala—West face
288.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Upper tala—North face (north section)
289.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Upper tala—South face
290.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Dvarapala

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
291.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Dvarapala
292.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Virabhadrar
293.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Bhairavar
294.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Ganapati
295.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Lingodbhavar
296.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Brahma
297.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Durga
298.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
299.	Tiruppasur	Vachisvaram temple	Tani Amman (bronze)
300.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Apsidal Srivimana—East view
301.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Apsidal Srivimana—rear view
302.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Apsidal Srivimana—side view
303.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
304.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Vishnu
305.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Brahma
306.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Durga
307.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Nataraja shrine
308.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Ekapadamurti—niche figure, rear of Nataraja shrine
309.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Kali
310.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Ganapati
311.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Panchamukha Ganapati
312.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Subrahmanyar
313.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Gaulisa
314.	Tiruvorriyur	Adipurisvarar temple	Adi-Sankaracharya, with disciples
315.	Kulambanda	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	General view (*before renovation*)
316.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	General view (*before renovation*)
317.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	General view (*after renovation*)
318.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	Garbhagriha, west face
319.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	Bhikshatanar
320.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
321.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	Lingodbhavar
322.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	Brahma
323.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gagaikondasolisvaram)	Durga
324.	Kulambandal	Jagannathesvarar temple (Gangaikondasolisvaram)	Dakshinamurti (*griva*)
325.	Mannarkoyil	Rajagopalasvamin temple	Srivimana, west view
326.	Mannarkoyil	Rajagopalasvamin temple	Garbhagriha

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
327.	Mannarkoyil	Rajagopalasvamin temple	Garbhagriha, adhishthanam mouldings
328.	Mannarkoyil	Rajagopalasvamin temple	Rasi-Chakram, wood-carving
329.	Mannarkoyil	Rajagopalasvamin temple	Kulasekhara Alvar shrine
330.	Sitibeta	Bhairavar temple	Srivimana
331.	Sitibeta	Bhairavar temple	Garbhagriha wall, with Bhairavar
332.	Sitibeta	Bhairavar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
333.	Sitibeta	Bhairavar temple	Bhairavar (bronze)
334.	Kolar	Kolaramma temple	Garbhagriha (west face) with Rajendra I's shrine (*extreme right*)
335.	Kolar	Kolaramma temple	Rajendra shrine, adhishthanam mouldings, with Rajendra's inscription
336.	Kolar	Kolaramma temple	Central shrine, srivimana superstructure
337.	Kolar	Kolaramma temple	Another view
338.	Tiruvalangadu	Vataranya temple	Nataraja (bronze, Madras Museum)
339.	Tiruvalangadu	Vataranya temple	Urdhvatandavamurti (bronze)
340.	Tiruvalangadu	Vataranya temple	Kali (bronze)
341.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	General view
342.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	Garbhagriha
343.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	Upapitham and adhishthanam
344.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	Miniature panel in adhishthanam
345.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	Miniature panel in adhishthanam
346.	Tribhuvani	Varadaraja Perumal temple	Miniature panel in adhishthanam
347.	Mannargudi	Kailasanathar temple	Somaskandar (bronze)
348.	Mannargudi	Kailasanathar temple	Adhishthanam of gopuram (Rajadhiraja I's inscription)
349.	Tiruvengadu	Tanjavur Art Gallery	Bhikshatanar (bronze)
350.	Tiruvengadu	Madras Museum	Ardhanarisvarar (front view) (bronze)
351.	Tiruvengadu	Madras Museum	Ardhanarisvarar (rear view) (bronze)
352.	Olakkur	Agastyesvarar temple	Srivimana
353.	Olakkur	Agastyesvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
354.	Olakkur	Agastyesvarar temple	Bhairavar
355.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	General view
356.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Chandesvarar
357.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Ganapati
358.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Virabhadrar
359.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Chamunda

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Plate No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
360.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Varahi
361.	Vikkanampundi	Vijayalayasolisvaram	Brahmi
362.	Kothamangalam	Vishnu temple (Rajakesari Vinnagaram)—	General view
363.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	General view
364.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Adhishthanam mouldings
365.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Inscription on the adhishthanam (Rajaraja I)
366.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Dakshinamurti
367.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Hariharar
368.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Brahma
369.	Gopurappatti	Pachchil Amalisvaram	Durga
370.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Ardhanari
371.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
372.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Bhikshatanar
373.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Amman (bronze)
374.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Amman (bronze) (rear view)
375.	Tiruppainjili	Nilivanesvarar temple	Siva and Uma (bronze)
376.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Srivimana
377.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Ganapati
378.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Dakshinamurti
379.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Ardhanari
380.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Durga
381.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Bhairavar
382.	Tiruvasi	Marrurai-varadesvarar temple	Bhogasakti (bronze)
383.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Subrahmanyar
384.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Dakshinamurti
385.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Nataraja (bronze)
386.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Sivakama Sundari (bronze)
387.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Adhikaranandi (bronze)
388.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Bhairavar (bronze)
389.	Tiruvanaikka	Jambukesvaram	Ganapati (bronze)
390.	Paluvur	Sundaresvarar temple	Chandesvarar
391.	Paluvur	Sundaresvarar temple	General view (front)
392.	Paluvur	Sundaresvarar temple	Inscription (Paluvur Nakkan Koyil)
393.	Chakkarapalli	Chakravagesvarar temple	General view
394.	Chakkarapalli	Chakravagesvarar temple	Inscription (Rajaraja I)
395.	Chakkarapalli	Chakravagesvarar temple	Makara torana
396.	Chakkarapalli	Chakravagesvarar temple	Surya (headless)
397.	Chakkarapalli	Chakravagesvarar temple	Lingodbhavar

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Plote No.	*Place*	*Temple*	*Description*
398.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	General view
399.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	North wall
400.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Rajaraja I's inscription
401.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Dvarapala
402.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Dvarapala
403.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Dakshinamutti
404.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Vishnu
405.	Tenneri	Kandalisvarar temple	Brahma
406.	Taadi-Malingi	Treasure trove	Kali (Early Chola)
407.	Sivapuram	Treasure trove	Nataraja (bronze), original
408.	Tanjavur	Treasure trove	Nisumbhasudani
409.	Konerirajapuram	Uma-Mahesvarar temple	Nataraja (bronze, giant size)
410.	Vadakkuppanaiyur	Madras Museum	Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman

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1. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi: Pls 1–3.
2. Director, The French Institute of Indology, Pondichery: Pls 7–16, 32–38, 81–85, 100–105, 121–125, 137–140, 209–231, 244–247, 250–252, 303–314, 319–322, 341–346, 355–361.
3. Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu: Pls 106–113, 141, 283–293, 338, 350–351 (Madras Museum).
4. American Academy of Indian Studies, Varanasi: Pls 300–302.

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TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl C 1 Rajaraja I (*painting*)

Pl C 2 Garbhagriha

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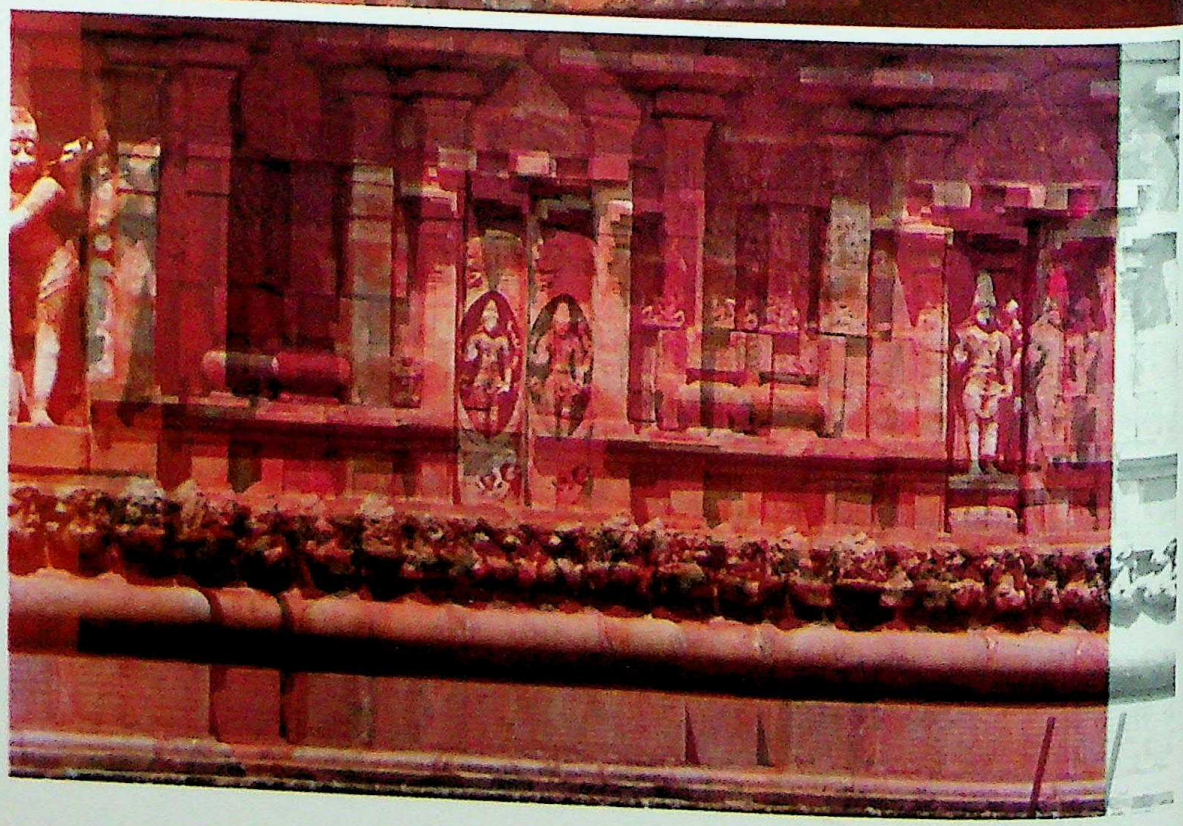

Pl C 3 Garbhagriha *(lower tier)*

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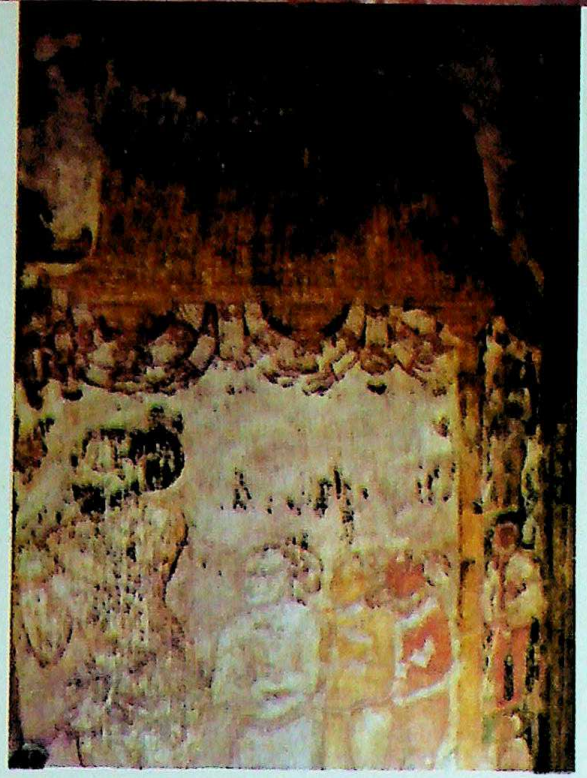
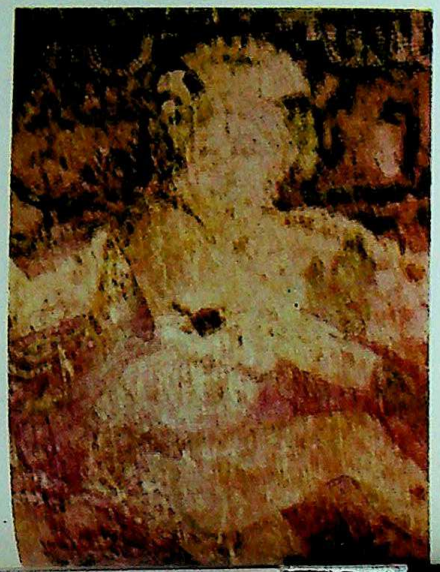
Pl C 6 Rajaraja I and his queens worshipping Nataraja in Chit-sabha (*painting*)



Pl C 7 Chit-sabha, srivimana (*painting*)



Pl C 8 Nataraja in

Pl C 9 Chit-sabha, Srivimana and devaganas (*painting*)

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

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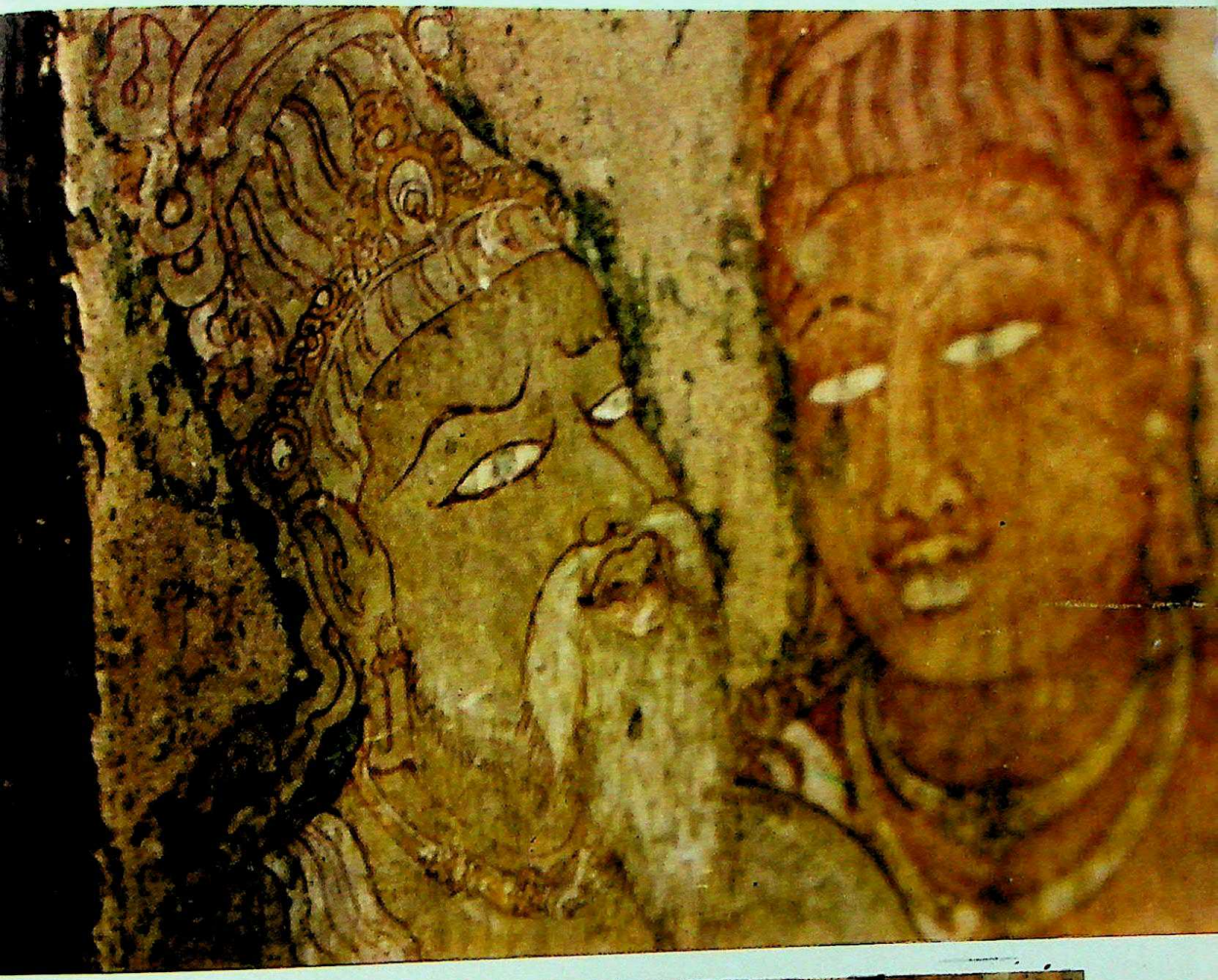
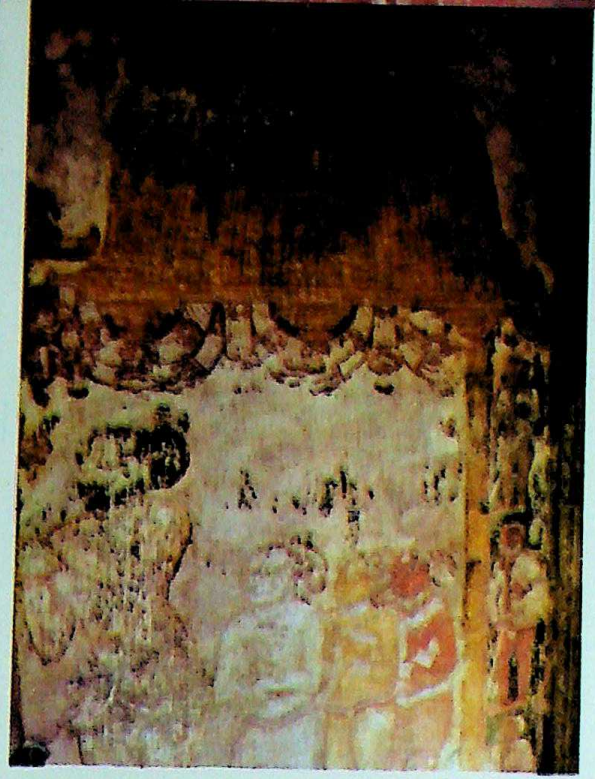
Pl C 10 Rajaraja I and Karuvur devar (*painting*)

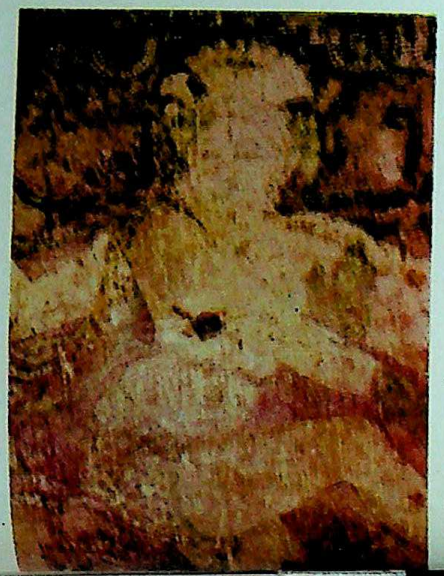


Pl C 11 Tripurantakar (*painting*)

Pl C 6 Rajaraja I and his queens worshipping Nataraja in Chit-sabha (*painting*)



Pl C 7 Chit-sabha, srivimana (*painting*)



Pl C 8 Nataraja in

Pl C 9 Chit-sabha, Srivimana and devaganas (*painting*)

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

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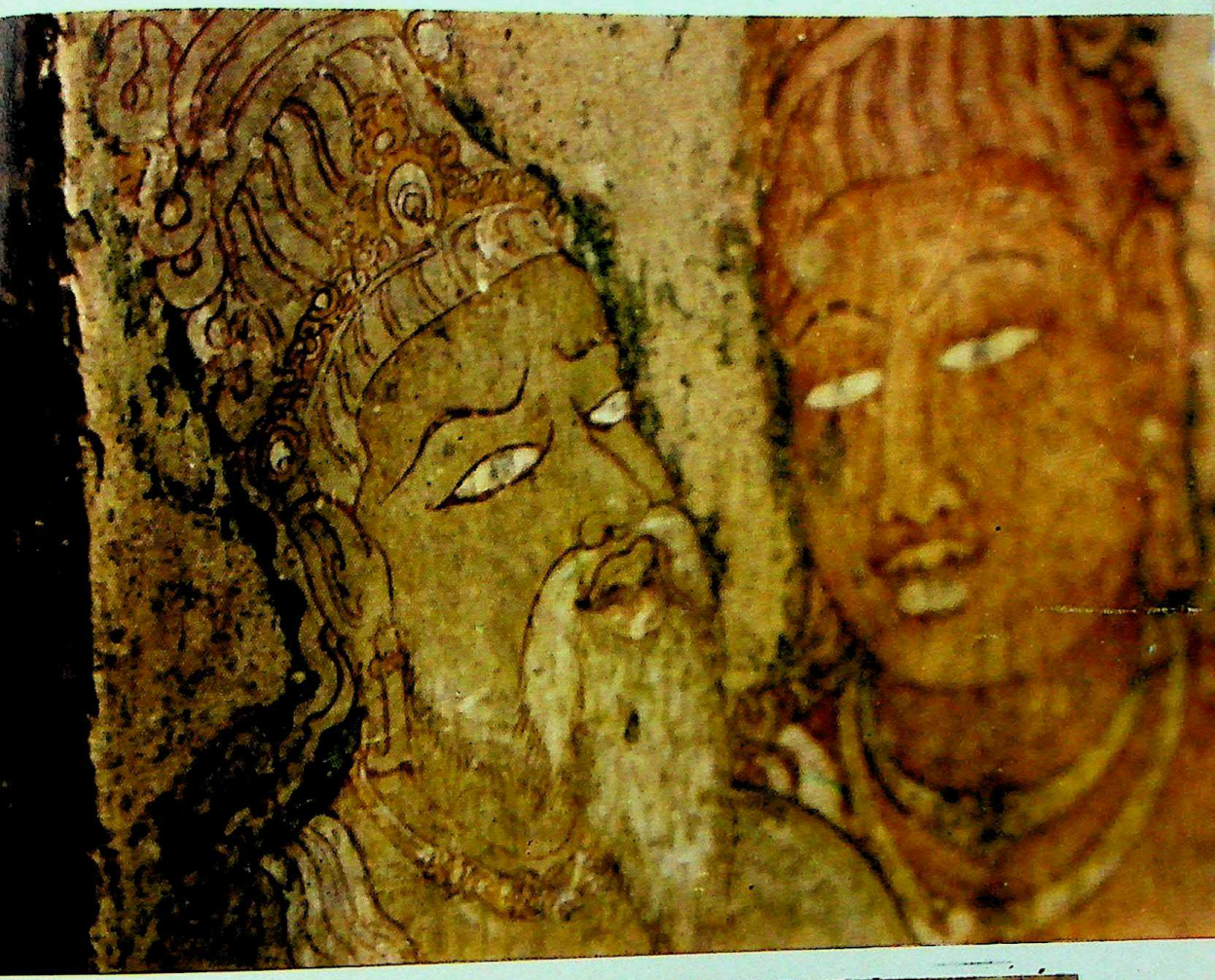
Pl C 10 Rajaraja I and Karuvur-devar (*painting*)



Pl C 11 Tripurantakar (*painting*)

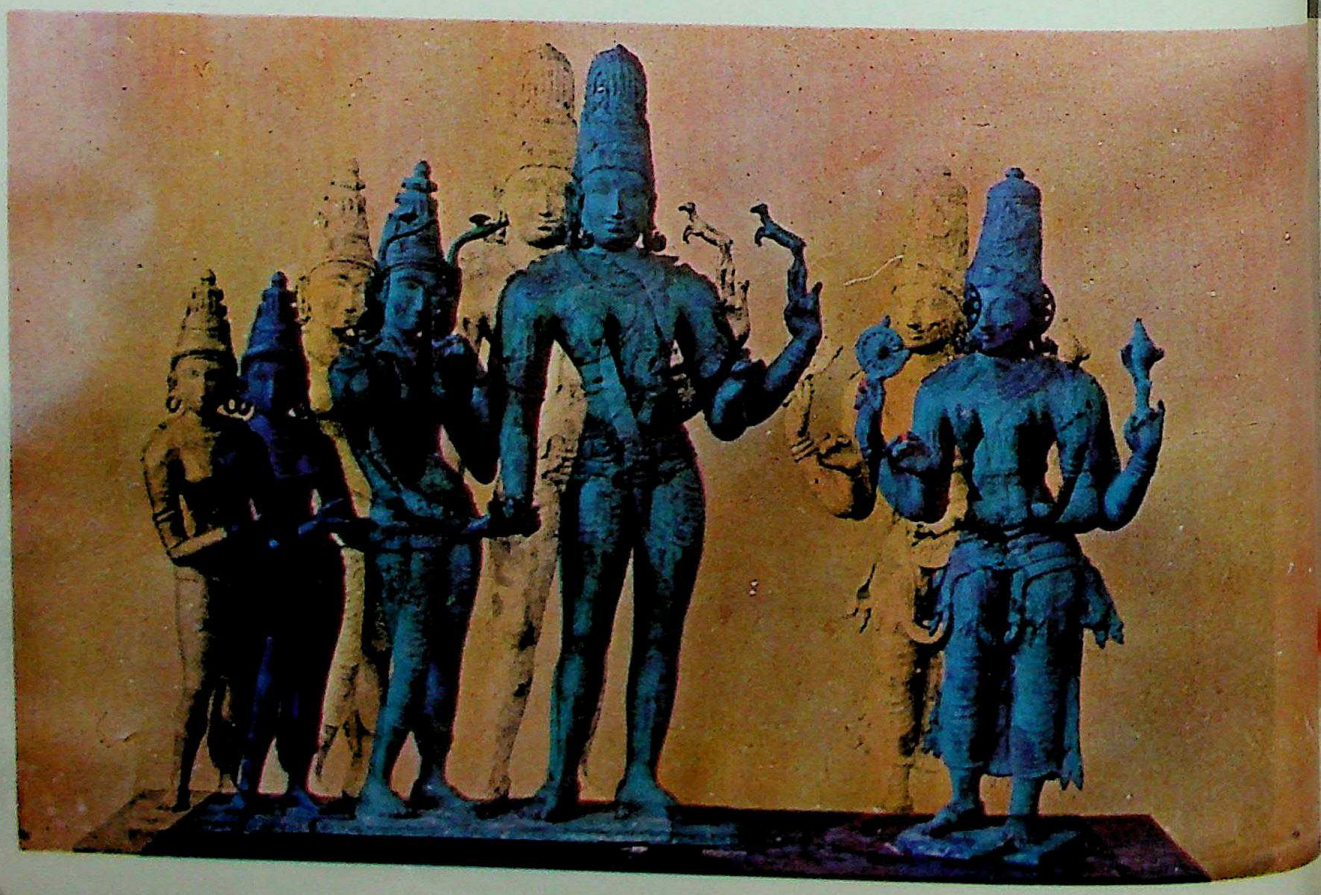
ion, Chandigarh

Pl C 12 Bharata Natyam Karanas (*stone*)

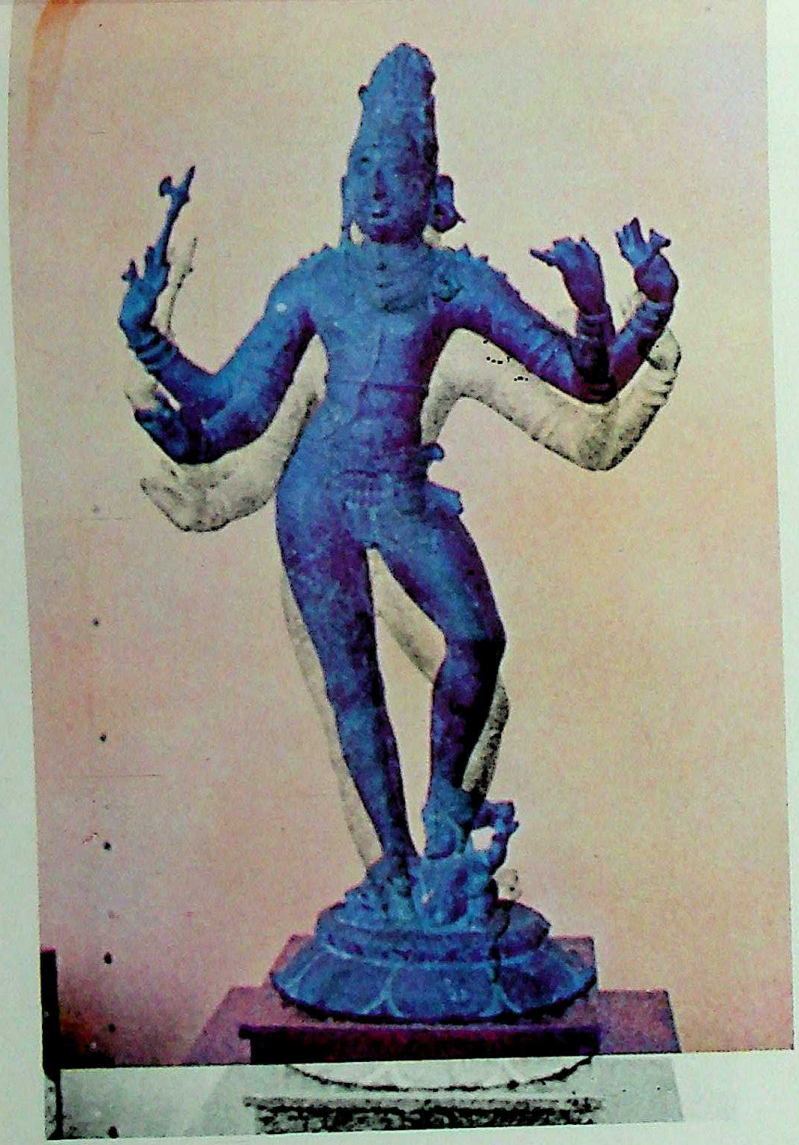
TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

TIRUVENKADU
Tanjavur Art Gallery

Pl C 13 · Kalayanasundarar group (*bronze*)



TIRUVENKADU
Tanjavur Art Gallery



Pl C 14 Tripurantakar (*bronze*)

Pl C 15 Bhairavar (*bronze*)

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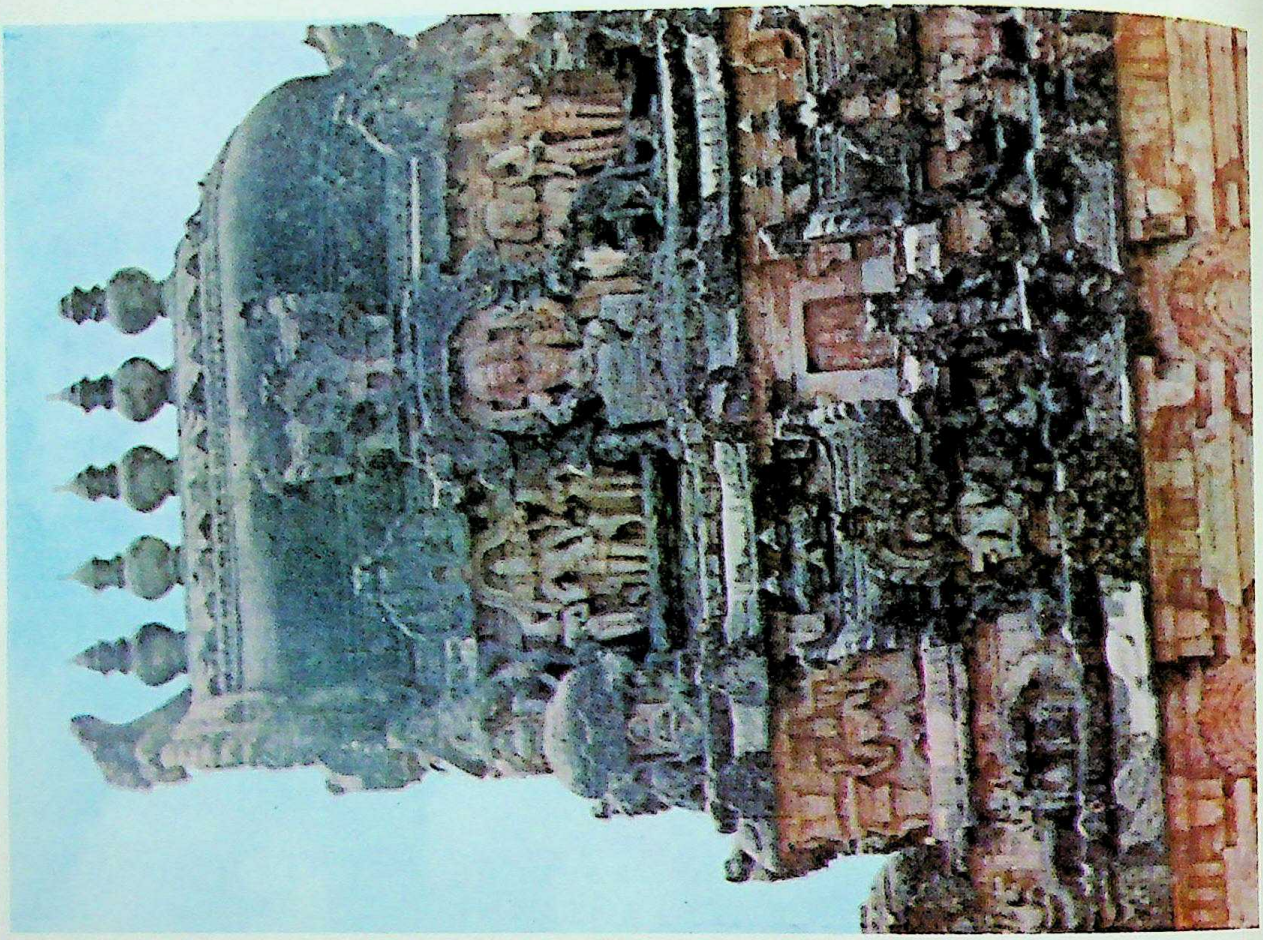
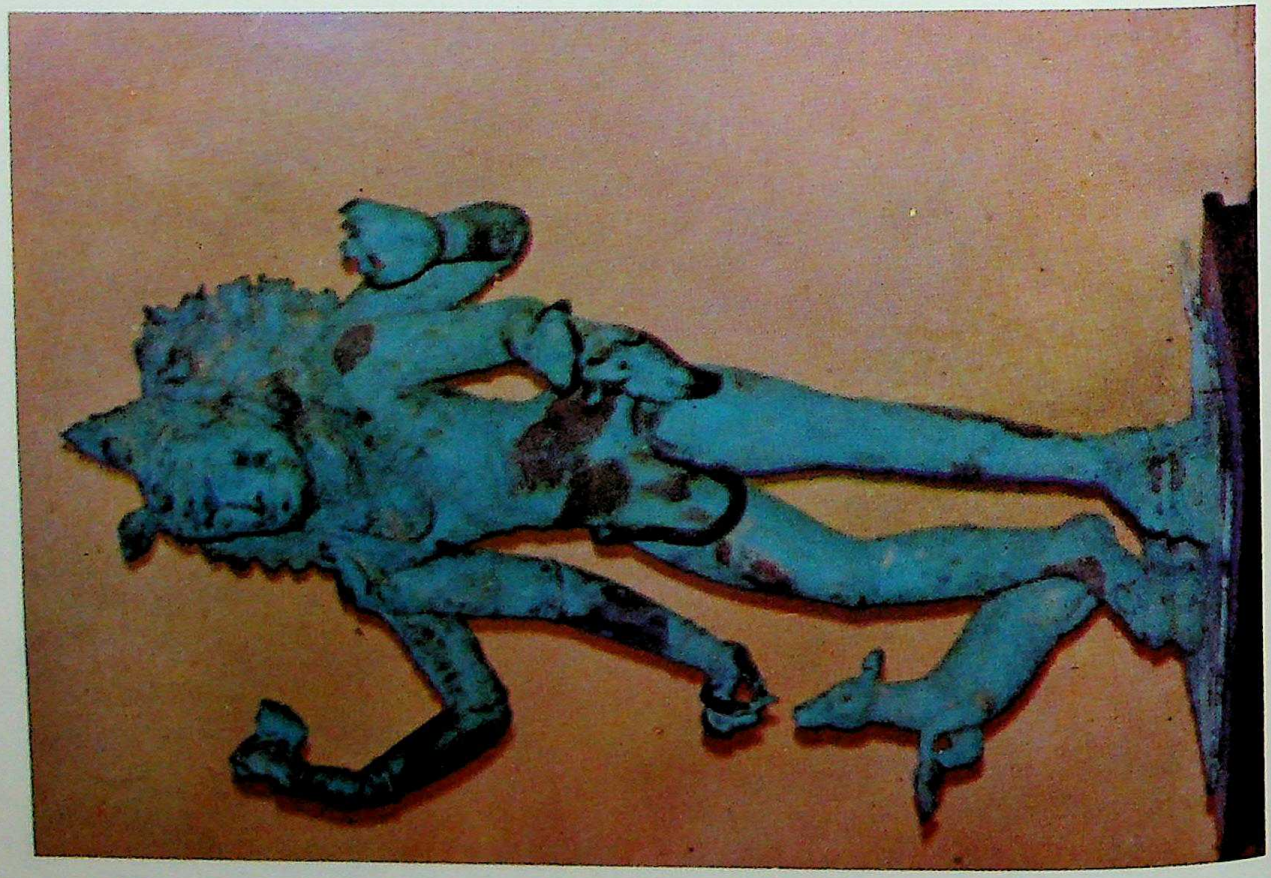


Pl C 17 Sivimana (*apsidal*) TIRUPPASUR



Pl C 16 Bhikashatanar (*bronze*) TIRUVENKADU

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1

Rajaraja I
(A.D. 985 to 1014)

The Cholas were one of the greatest and most gifted of the dynasties which ruled in India; they held sway for a continuous period of about 430 years (A.D. 850–1280). In comparison, the Mauryas ruled only for about 137 years (B.C. 322–185), and the Guptas for about 223 years (A.D. 320–543). The Vijayanagara empire lasted for about 340 years (A.D. 1336–1676) with claim to greatness only for the first 200 years thereof, i.e., till A.D. 1565.

Rajaraja I can legitimately claim to have laid the real foundations for the glory and longevity of the Chola empire. He was a great soldier and general like Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar and Hannibal. The Cholas had the great good fortune of his being followed by a line of successors equally adept in the arts of war and administration. His son Rajendra I and his grandsons Rajadhiraja I, Rajendradeva II and Virarajendra, who followed him on the throne in that order, each has a claim to be rankde among the greatest generals of their or any other age — a unique record in the history of mankind. The Cholas were no less great in the fields of administration, culture and art. They were the greatest temple builders India has known, and during the period under survey, in particular, their achievements in this field attained unprecedented and unsurpassed heights. Their temples were built not only in their homeland but also in the conquered territories, extending from Sri Lanka in the south to the river basins of the Tungabhadra and the Godavari and even as far as the Mahendra hills (in modern Ganjam district of Orissa)[1] in

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the north; in addition, permission was granted to the Sailendra kings of Sri Vijaya and Kadaram for the erection of (Buddhist) temples and *viharas* at Nagappattinam. A few Jain temples were also built in this period.

Rajaraja I was the son of Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II by his queen Vanavan Mahadevi. The Tiruvalangadu Plates mention that "at the birth of Arulmolidevan (future Rajaraja I), the wives of the serpent Adisesha, who carries the earth on his shoulders, danced for joy on the belief that he (Arulmolidevan) would relieve their husband of the burden of bearing the earth." (SII, III, 19). He was born under the asterism *Satabhishak* (*Sadayam* in Tamil) in the month of *Aippasi* (SII, II, 26; also Travancore Archaeological Series, I, p. 292). In his formative years, he came under the powerful and constructive influence of his great-grand-aunt Sembiyan Mahadevi (the queen of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Chola) and of his own elder sister Kundavai. It was the people's wish even during his boyhood that he should succeed his father to the Chola throne in order to "dispel the darkness of the Kali age". But Arulmolidevan (as he was then known) resisted the popular pressure and gracefully let his paternal uncle ascend the throne since the latter greatly coveted it. In this act, Rajaraja I exhibited not only great self-denial but political insight and statesmanship as well. He, however, associated himself with his uncle as heir-apparent and allowed the latter's son Madhurantaka to wield great influence and political power even after his own accession to the Chola throne.*

The Chola kings called themselves alternately Parakesarivarman (Vijayalaya being the first such) and Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I being the first such). Occasionally, embellished forms of these titles were used. There is one inscription of Vijayalaya's which describes him as "*Tanjai-kotta-ko-parakesaripanmar*", i.e., the Parakesari who took (conquered) Tanjavur. Aditya I was generally known only as Rajakesarivarman, but his Tillaisthanam inscription calls him "*Tondai-nadu-paavina Cholan*"—the Chola

*See Appendix on the Tiruvalangadu Copper Plates.

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who overran the Tondai (Pallava) country. His son and successor, Parantaka I, was known as *"Madiraiyum Ilamum konda Kop-Parakesarivarman"*. Rajaraja I made a notable departure from prior practice by introducing in the *prasasti* part of his inscriptions an up-to-date account of the conquests and other achievements of his reign, so that, as the years go by, we find the *prasasti* increasing in size. His earliest inscriptions describe him as *"Salai-kalam-arutta"* or *"Kandalur-salai-kalam-arutta"* — one who destroyed the (Chera) fleet at Kandalur Salai (on the west coast between Kanya Kumari and Trivandrum)[2]. From his eighth regnal year, however, his inscriptions begin with the historical introduction of *"Tirumagal pola"*. The *prasastis* generally describe his conquests in chronological order, giving particulars of great value for the historian and belying the notion generally prevalent among western historians that Indians had no historical sense.* This innovation of his was happily continued and indeed considerably elaborated by his successors and later by the Pandyas as well, and the *prasastis* of these rulers form perhaps the most valuable source for the reconstruction of the history of the land. While the originals (in copper plates or palm-leaf manuscripts) of grants, royal writs and other documents have been mostly lost in the course of the political convulsions that the country passed through, it is fortunate that copies thereof, so assiduously made and preserved for us by having them engraved on the sacred walls of stone-temples built by them in such large numbers, have come down to us for our knowledge and enlightenment.

According to the *prasastis* of Rajaraja I, his first important conquest was over the Cheras already referred to, the Chera contemporary being Bhaskara Ravivarman Tiruvadi (A.D. 978–1036). He destroyed the Chera fleet at Kandalur Salai and

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*A learned French art critic, Marguerita Marie Deneck, in her recent book, *Indian Art, The Colour Library of Art*, Hamlyn (Oxford), makes the following observations:–

"It is difficult to know anything about Indian History, particularly, early history. It is often considered that the *Indian mind does not possess an historical sense* because it is *unused to thinking of the past in terms of sequence* and was slow to record chronological history: External events alone allowed scholars to date certain facts accurately." (italics ours)

South Indian inscriptions—especially those of Rajaraja I and his successors—will disprove this sweeping and erroneous generalisation due to prejudice or ignorance.

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captured Vilijnam and the fort of Udagai (north-west of Nagerkoyil in the Kanya Kumari district). He also defeated the Pandya king Amarabhujanga and annexed the Pandyan territory, after which victory he claims to have "destroyed the splendour of the Pandyas." Certain territories, known as Sitpuli nadu and Pakki nadu, which had been annexed to the Chola kingdom under Parantaka I but were lost to the Rashtrakutas after the battle of Takkolam, were brought back into the Chola dominion by Rajaraja I, as we learn from a Kanchipuram inscription of his sixth regnal year (ARE 79 of 1921). He next conquered the Vengi country and supported Saktivarman and his brother Vimaladitya of the Eastern Chalukyas against their rivals. Rajaraja's daughter (the younger), Kundavai, was given in marriage to Vimaladitya by way of fostering close ties between the two dynasties to foil the designs of the Western Chalukyas under Satyasraya on the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom. Gangapadi, Tadigaipadi and Nolambapadi consisting of parts of southern and eastern Karnataka and of the north-western districts of Tamil Nadu (North Arcot, Salem, Dharmapuri etc.) as also portions of Andhra Pradesh (districts of Kurnool, Anantapur etc.) were annexed to the Chola empire. So were Kollam and Kudamalai Nadu (Coorg). The land of the Rashtrakutas, called Irattaipadi-elarai-laksham (Rattapadi — 7,50,000), which had been already overrun by the Western Chalukyas, was also conquered and added to the Chola empire. Then the kingdom of Kalinga, lying between the Godavari and the Mahanadi rivers, was overrun. Rajaraja I then invaded Ila-mandalam (Sri Lanka) and annexed it. According to the Tiruvalangadu Plates, Rajaraja I "excelled Sri Rama by crossing the sea, not with the aid of a causeway built by monkeys but by using ships and conquering Lanka" (verse 80). By this time, the naval supremacy of the Cholas had been well-established in the Indian Ocean, and his reign culminated with the conquest of the 12,000 islands off the western (Arabian) sea. Thus his kingdom extended from Sri Lanka in the south to the basin of the Tungabhadra in the north and Mahendragiri (The Mahendra mountains) in the north-east.

Rajaraja I seems to have raised and maintained a large

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standing army. A Western Chalukya inscription at Hottur (in Dharwar district of Karnataka State) avers that the Chola army which fought a bloody battle there under the command of his son Rajendra I against Satyasraya of the Western Chalukyas consisted of nine lakhs of soldiers. The total strength of the standing army must thus have been considerably larger than this figure, when we take into account his engagements in other sectors such as the Pandya country, Malainadu, Vengi and Sri Lanka. The fact that the commanders of the various armies dreaded defeat and the consequent wrath of the king is evident from the endowments made by a large number of them to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, seeking divine blessings for averting defeat.

Rajaraja I organised a highly bureaucratic system of administration which aimed at central stability and local autonomy. His revenue administration in particular was noteworthy. By his seventeenth regnal year, he had completed a land survey of his empire; land as small in extent as 1/52,428,800,000 of a *veli* was measured and assessed to revenue; there was an elaborate cadre of revenue officers such as accountants, ledger-keepers, issuers of royal orders and executors of royal decrees, at all levels — village, district and central. It is a pity that most of the original documents have disappeared and we have to content ourselves with just a few glimpses of the elaborateness and complexity of the revenue organization, as can be gleaned from stone inscriptions and royal copper plate grants such as the Larger Leyden Grant. It is of interest to note that some decades later in England, William I (the Conqueror) organized the land-survey recorded in the Domesday Book. Rajaraja's survey was as elaborate as that of William I, as evidenced by the detailed descriptions of the lands, boundaries, systems of irrigation, revenues to be collected and revenue-exemptions in respect of lands endowed to Rajarajesvaram and other temples in his vast empire.

Before his accession to the throne, Rajaraja was known as Arulmoli (Devan). His other titles and surnames are: Rajarajan, Kshatriya Sikhamani, Rajendra Simhan, Uyyakkondan, Pandya Kulasani, Keralantakan, Nittavinodan, Rajasrayan, Sivapada-

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sekharan, Jana-nathan, Ravikula Manikkam, Nigarili Cholan, Cholendra Simhan, Chola Marttandan, Raja Marttandan, Telunga-kula-kalan, Kirti Parakraman, Mummadi Solan, Chola Narayanan, Jayangonda Solan, Singalantakan, Taila-kula-kalan and others (ARE 78 of 1930–31).

Of the many queens of Rajaraja I, the Chief one was Loga Mahadevi *alias* Danti Sakti Vitanki. Of the others, Vanavan Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi has the distinction of being the mother of Rajendra I. The others were: Chola Mahadevi Trailokya Mahadevi, Panchavan Mahadevi, Abhimanavalli, Lata Mahadevi, Prithvi Mahadevi, Meenavan Mahadevi, Viranarayani and Villavan Mahadevi. Many of them have either built temples of their own or donated bronzes to temples.

The greatest event of the life of Rajaraja I was the building of the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. Some hold that there was an older temple in that place called that of Tanjait-tirut-talik-kulattar mentioned in Appar's *Devaram*, the *Tiruttandagam*, and that it was this temple that Rajaraja I rebuilt as the grandest stone-temple of all times. It may be remembered that he was a close associate and disciple of Sembiyan Mahadevi, who, as we know, rebuilt the Tirunallam temple of the *Devaram* hymns fame as the Gandaradityam and clearly stated the fact of such conversion in her dedicatory inscription at Konerirajapuram. If the older temple in Tanjavur had indeed been the nucleus of the Rajarajesvaram, Rajaraja would have followed his mentor's example and explicitly stated that such a conversion had been effected. In the absence of such a statement, it seems inconceivable that the great temple would have been erected on an older foundation.

Some hold that the stones for this temple came from the banks of the Narmada. This view appears rather far-fetched. The quarrying area for the stones used in this temple should have been the same as for the other innumerable temples of the region.

The earliest reference to this temple occurs in the nineteenth regnal year of Rajaraja I. The *stupik-kudam* (copper pot for the finial) was handed over to the temple authorities on the 275th day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the consecration of

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the temple should have taken place about that time. Rajaraja I seems to have died in or after his twenty-ninth regnal year; before his death, he ordered the recording on the *srivimana* of this temple all gifts to the temple made by himself, his elder sister, his queens and other donors ; these inscriptions contain, in particular, the fullest and most detailed description of the bronzes gifted by the king and other donors, incorporating such details as height, weight, metal-composition, whether solid or hollow, whether seated or standing, descriptions of the *pitha* and the *prabha*, number of hands and (other) adjuncts, attendant deities, and numerous other details baffling the imagination—a record again unique in history.

A fuller account of the temple will be found in the next chapter, which deals with the temples of the time of Rajaraja I.*

Rajaraja I was a great king. All the elements were so mixed in him—piety, courage, liberality, gratitude, sweetness, courtesy, wisdom, intelligence, purity, tranquillity, dignity, mercy, forbearance, vision, firmness of purpose, perseverance and devotion to the welfare of all—that Nature might stand up and say, "Here was not only a *man*, but a supreme leader of *men*!"

The great qualities of the Chola family and their claims to to be leaders of men are brought out in the eulogy of the Court poet in the Larger Leyden Grant.

"As long as the moon-crested deity (i.e. Siva) sports with His Consort on the Kailasa Mountain, as long as Hari (Vishnu) performs meditative sleep (Yoga-nidra) on the serpent-couch on the ocean of milk, and as long as the sole light of all the world dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long may the Chola family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth." (verse 2)

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*From a fragmentary inscription of Rajendra I found in the Pushpavanesvarar temple at Tiruppunturutti (ARE 120 of 1931), we learn that a donation of land was made to a *Savarna* named Naranan Bhattadittan for the reading of *Sri-Rajaraja-vijayam*. This must have been a composition in praise of Rajaraja I, recounting his great victories and was evidently different from the *Rajarajesvara-natakam*, which was staged in the temple at Tanjavur (SII, II, p. 306). We do not know the language of this composition, whether it was Tamil or Sanskrit, nor have we any trace of it now.

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यावत् कैलास शैले विहरति भगवान् इन्दुमौलीश्व देव्या
यावत् क्षीराम्बुराशौ हरिरहि शयने योगनिद्रान्तनोति ।
यावद्ध्वान्तन्नितान्तम् व्यपनयति रविर्विश्वलोकैक दीपस्तावत्
पायादपायादयमखिल महीमण्डलान्चोलवंशः ।।

The Cholas belonged to the Solar race, and to Rajaraja I was attributed the virtue of dispelling the dense darkness of the world and protecting his subjects from danger.

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Notes

1 Mahendragiri is in the modern Ganjam district of Orissa. It lay on the border between the medieval kingdoms of Vengi and Kalinga. On this hill, there is a temple of Gokarnesvarar, with shrines for Kunti and Yudhishthirar. There are four undated inscriptions in this place. One of them (ARE 397 of 1896) is the Tamil version, in three fragments, of another in Telugu (ARE 396 of 1896). The texts are fragmentary and no safe deductions could be drawn from them. They describe the setting up of two *jayastambhas* (pillars of victory) on Mahendragiri by one Rajendra after he had defeated one Vimaladitya of the Kulutas. Venkayya, and following him, others, identified this Vimaladitya with the Vengi prince Vimaladitya (son of Vishnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukyas) and concluded that he was defeated by Rajendra Chola in battle and taken prisoner to the Chola court.

Recently, B. Venkatakrishna Rao, in his *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* (written with a touch of chauvinism), has challenged the usual identification of the victor Rajendra and has postulated that the Mahendragiri battle should be ascribed to the period of Kulottunga I and as part of the Kalinga expedition (A.D. 1093-96) and that the victor was Rajendra Chola, the Velanati viceroy of Vengi and a vassal of Kulottunga I's. This identification seems far-fetched. My own view is that the victor at Mahendragiri was indeed Rajendra Chola I and that the vanquished was Vimaladitya of the Kulutas (ruling to the north of Vengi) and not Vimaladitya of the Eastern Chalukyas who presumably went to the Chola court of his own free will—and not as a prisoner of war—after being driven out of Vengi. The last-mentioned figures in an inscription of the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I as the donor of eight silver *kalasams* (finials) weighing 1,148 *kalanjus* to the Loga-Mahadevi Isvaram built at Tiruvaiyaru by Rajaraja I's queen of that name. We know that he married Kundavai, daughter of Rajaraja I, and was restored to the rulership of Vengi with Chola help and ruled for seven years (A.D. 1015-22). It is not improbable that Rajendra Chola I subdued a recalcitrant chief at Mahendragiri to secure the borders of Vengi, of which he was the overlord. Another fragmentary inscription (ARE 858 of 1917) in the neighbourhood mentions *Rajendra* and *Madhurantaka* (surname of Rajendra I), thus confirming the control of this region by Rajendra I.

As the Chola victory at Mahendragiri is not found included in the description of the Gangetic campaign of Rajendra I's, it seems likely that it took place independently of and before it, in an effort to re-establish the Chola protege Vimaladitya on the Vengi throne and to help overcome the enemies on his borders. It seems safe to conclude that, at the close of Rajendra I's reign, Mahendragiri formed part of Vengi and of the Chola empire.

2 *"Kandalur-salai-kalam-aruttaruli"* : This achievement claimed by Rajaraja I in his *prasasti* is usually taken to be a naval victory of the Cholas over the Chera fleet.

But a new interpretation was offered by the late S. Desikavinayakam Pillai that it might mean that "the *scale of feeding* in the feeding-house of Kandalur was regulated by the king." (Kerala Society Papers, 2. pp. 100 ff).

Again, the late T.N. Subrahmanyan, after discussing the *salai*, an academy established at Parthivasekharapuram by Karunandadakkan, the *Ay* king of Venadu, concluded that Rajaraja I "might have, in the course of his southern expedition, come into conflict with the members of the academy—a quasi-educational military organization and must have used force in getting control over it". This explanation is far-fetched as Tamil kings never interfered in the normal functioning of local bodies except in cases of maladministration, defalcation or gross indiscipline.

Further, he examined the use of the expression in a Rajakesarivarman inscription at Koyil Tevarayan-pettai (SII, XIII,no. 250) and advanced the view that this expression was used in the sense of "having gained a victory by defeating the opponents." (South Indian Temple Inscriptions, III, Pt.II, 1-16).

But he himself admitted that the term *kalam* might have more than one meaning, and that

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it might mean *ship* (note 4, p. 13), as is used in the *prasasti* of Rajendra I: "*alai-kadal-naduvil-pala-kalam-selutti*".

This exploit at Kandalur-salai is claimed by a few later Chola kings also; Rajendra I (ARE 363 of 1917), Rajadhiraja I (SII, III, p. 56) and Kulottunga I. The *Kalingattupparani* sung by his Court poet on Kulottunga I, eulogises the king thus: "Was it not with his navy that Vilijnam on the sea was destroyed and *Salai* captured?" (Stanza 378).

Again verse 91 of *Kulottunga-Solan-Pillait-Tamil*, a poem on Kulottunga II, describes that the hero with his army destroyed the fort of Vilijnam (on the west coast) and obtained the entire proceeds of the pearl-oysters at the *Salai* of Poraiyan (The Cheras). The Salai of Poraiyan will mean only Kandalur-Salai of the Cheras.

So, we will be justified in concluding that the expression "*Kandalurch-chalai-Kalam-aruttaruli*" means the naval victory of Rajaraja I over the Chera fleet at Kandalur-Salai.

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Appendix on Tiruvalangadu Copper Plates

The Tiruvalangadu Copper Plates of the sixth year of Rajendra Chola I, speaking of Rajaraja I, say :

69. Though requested by the subjects (to occupy the Chola throne), in order to destroy the persistently blinding-darkness of the powerful Kali (age), Arunmolivarman, who understood the essence of royal conduct, desired not the kingdom for himself even in (his) mind, while his paternal uncle coveted his (i.e., Arumolivarman's) dominions.

70. Applying (his) mind to (the devotion of) Sarva (Siva) utilising (his) wealth in the act of performing His worship (employing) all (his) retinue in the construction of houses (i.e., temples) for Him, and directing (his) subjects to (regularly) perform His festive processions, (showing his) wrath (only) in the killing of enemies and (distributing his) riches among virtuous Brahmanas, that king (Madhurantaka) bore on (his) broad shoulders, the (weight of the) earth.

X X X

72. Arunmolivarman was himself then installed in the administration of the kingdom (as if) to wash away the stain of the earth caused by the Kali (age) of his body (bathed by the water during the ceremony of installation); and the ends of the quarters heavily roared with the tumultuous sounds of the war-drums, rows of bells and bugles, kettle-drums, tambourines and conches.

73. (Surely) the milky ocean formed itself into a circle in the shape of (his) parasol in the sky and came to see its (own) daughter Sri (Lakshmi) resting on the chest of this (king).

74. Indeed, the ladies of (the lords of) the quarters, who were taken captive during the *digvijaya* (i. e., the conquest of the quarters), rendered (their) service to this victorious monarch with *chowries* (made) of (his) fame, lustrous as the shining moon-beams.

75. Although, in the *tulabhara* (ceremony), the king was weighed against gold-pieces in the scales (*tula*), he was still (found) a-*tula* (i.e., unequalled). (Hence,) it is difficult to comprehend the greatness of the great.

76. This king — a pile of matchless prosperity, majesty, learning, strength of arm, prowess, heroism and courage — invaded and conquered, in order, (all) the quarters commencing with the direction of Trisanku (i.e., the south).

77. The moon as if to afford protection to the Pandya king born in his own family, and thinking (unto himself) "I am also a *raja* (king), became the white parasol of this (king) who was intent upon conquering that (southern) quarter.

78. (King) Amarabhujanga being seized, (other) dissolute kings, whose rule was secretly mischievous, being much afraid of him at heart, wishes to hide (themselves) somewhere (just like serpents with sliding crooked bodies).

79. The commandant of (this) ornament of the Solar race, the hereditary home of (the Goddess of) victory, captured (the town of) Vilinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors.

80. The Lord of the Raghavas (i.e., Rama) constructing a bridge across the waters of the ocean with (the assistance of) able monkeys, killed with great difficulty the king of Lanka (i.e. Ravana) with sharp-edged arrows ; (but,) this terrible General of that (king) Arunmolivarman crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Lanka (Ceylon). Hence Rama is (surely) surpassed by this (Chola General).

81. This is strange that though Satyasraya fled to avoid misery from the attack of his (i.e. Arunmolivarman's) ocean-like army, (still) misery found a (permanent) abode in him. But this is not strange, that his flight is due to (i.e., is the result of) his birth from Taila.

82. "Since Rajaraja, an expert in war, of the (same) name as myself, has been killed by a powerful club, I shall, therefore, kill that Andhra (king) called Bhima though (he may be) faultless." So saying, he (Arunmolivarman) killed him (i.e. Bhima) with a mace.

83. Having conquered the country (which was) the creation of Rama (i.e. Parasurama) whose beloved vow was to annihilate the whole of the Kshatra (Kshatriya) race — the country

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which was adorned with pious people, was matchless and inaccessible on account of the mountains and the ocean, he caused abundant joy to all kings that held a bow (in their hands), (and made) his commands shine on the rows of the diadems of all rulers of the earth.

84 Having subdued in battle the Ganga, Kalinga, Vanga, Magadha, Aratta, Odda, Saurashtra, Chalukya and other kings, and having received homage from them, the glorious Rajaraja — a rising sun in opening the groups of lotuses, viz., the faces of crowds of learned men — ruled the earth whose girdle is the water of all oceans."

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Inscriptional References—General

1. Larger Leyden Grant (Rajaraja I and Rajendra I) ; *Epigraphia Indica* XXII, 34.
2. Tiruvalangadu Copper Plate Grant ; sixth year of Rajendra I ; SII, III, Pt. III, 205.
3. Karandai Tamil Sangam Copper Plate Grant ; eighth year of Rajendra I; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy 1949–50 ; Section A, 57 and 58.
4. Journal of Oriental Research ; XIX, Part II.
5. Kalidindi Grant of the Eastern Chalukya King Rajaraja I (Narendra) ; *Epigraphia Indica* XXIX, Pt. III, 8.
6. Kanyakumari Stone Inscription of Vira Rajendra ; *Epigraphia Indica* XV and XVIII.
7. Tirumukkudal Stone Inscription of the fifth year of Vira Rajendra ; *Epigraphia Indica* XXI, 38.
8. Charla Plates of the seventh year of Vira Rajendra — Saka 991 — A. D. 1069 ; *Epigraphia Indica* XXV.
9. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. II, Pts. I to V.
10. Tirukkalar Plate of Rajendra Chola I, eighteenth regnal year ; SII, III, Pt. IV, 207. It registers the extent of *devadana* lands belonging to the temple of Mahadevar at Tirukkalar.
11. Tirukkalar Plate of Rajadhiraja I, thirty-first regnal year ; SII, III, Pt. IV, 208. Tirukkalar is 16 kms south-east of Mannargudi, Tanjavur District. The historical introduction states that the king took the head of Vira Pandya, *Salai* of the Chera king and *Ilangai* (Sri Lanka).

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2

Temples of Rajaraja I's Time

TANJAVUR

1 RAJARAJESVARAM

This great temple, the grandest of the Chola monuments, was named Sri Rajarajesvaram, after its builder, Rajaraja I, as the earliest inscriptions on its *srivimana* testify. We do not know when exactly its construction began, but it might have been some time in or before the nineteenth regnal year of the king. (The title "Rajaraja" appears for the first time only in the records of his nineteenth regnal year.)

The temple was built of stone which might have been brought from a hillock called Mammalai, eight miles (13 kms) from Tiruchirapalli and about thirty miles (48 kms) from Tanjavur.

The first-to-be-engraved and most important inscription on the walls of the temple (SII, II, 1) consists of 107 paragraphs; the engraving was begun on an order of the king issued on the 20th day of his twenty-sixth regnal year, and the inscription continues into the twenty-ninth (the last known) regnal year of the king. The first fifty paragraphs describe—in chronological order, with the solitary exception of para 18 referring to the *stupi* (for the final consecration ceremony) being handed over by the king on the 275th day of his twenty-fifth regnal year—various gifts made by the king and others to the temple between his twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth regnal years, while paras 51

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to 107 detail a miscellaneous collection of such gifts made between the twenty-third and twenty-ninth regnal years. It appears that in his twenty-ninth year, the king had a premonition of his approaching end, and so he was anxious to have all the gifts made so far placed on permanent record in stone on the walls of the temple itself. The first paragraph contains the customary Sanskrit historical introduction: "*Etad visva-nrpa sreni mouli malopalalitam sasanam Rajarajasya Rajakesarivarmanah*" and the Tamil one beginning with "*Tirumagal pola*". The initial order for the recording of the gifts was made by the king from the royal bathing hall (*tiru-manjana-salai*) lying to the east of the hall of Irumadi Cholan in the palace at Tanjavur, and directs that the gifts made by the king himself, his elder sister, his queens and other donors to "the sacred stone temple (*tiruk-karrali*) called Sri Rajarajesvaram which we have caused to be built at Tanjavur" be engraved on the *srivimana*. Paragraphs 3–4 refer to gifts made in the twenty-fifth year, 312th day; paras 5–9 in the twenty-sixth year, 14th day; paras 10–16 in the twenty-sixth year, 27th day; para 17 in the twenty-sixth year, 34th day; para 18 (breaking the chronological order of the list, as mentioned above) in the twenty-fifth year, 275th day; paras 19–32 in the twenty-sixth year, 104th day; para 33 in the twenty-sixth year, 318th day; paras 34–50 in the twenty-sixth year, 319th day; and finally, paras 51–107 various gifts made between the twenty-third and twenty-ninth regnal years. Here again paras 51–54 refer to gifts made by the king, partly from his treasury and partly out of the booty obtained after his victory "over the Cheras and the Pandyas of Malai nadu"; paras 55–91 list the gifts of the king after the conferment on him of the titles of 'Sivapada-sekhara' and 'Sri Rajaraja'; and paras 92–107 list the gifts made after his victory over Satyasraya of the Western Chalukyas.

As stated earlier, we do not know when exactly the construction of the temple began. It must have attracted many gifts soon after the start and during the *adhivasa* stage itself. It is clear from para 18 of the inscription that the final consecration should have taken place (with the installation of the *stupi*) on the 275th day of the twenty-fifth year.

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The Temple Complex :

Rajarajesvaram may justly be called *Devalaya-chakravarti**— an Emperor among temples; among other reasons, it stands on the highest point in the entire neighbourhood of Tanjavur, the capital and citadel of the Chola empire and dominates the sky-line for miles. Both in its simplicity and in its grandeur, it has very few compeers.

The temple complex covers an overall area of the size of a rectangle of 240.79 ms east to west and 121.92 ms north to south. It consists of the *srivimana*, the *ardhamandapa*, the *mahamandapa*, the *mukhamandapa* and a *Nandi-mandapa* in front. There is a vast courtyard with a circumscribing *tiruch-churru-maligai* (a columned, raised, covered verandah), measuring 152.40 ms in length and 77.20 ms in breadth. Outside this wall, there are two further walls of enclosure, the outer being a defensive one with bastions and gun-holes. In the courtyard (or *prakara*), there are shrines for Amman and Subrahmanyar, which are the major ones, and a number of other smaller ones. A later *mandapa* in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard and two *gopurams* in the eastern perimeter walls complete the complex.

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* The temple of Mahadeva at Ittagi, a small town in the Raichur Doab 22 miles (35 kms) east of the railway station of Gadag on the South Central Railway, is a later Chalukyan temple built by Mahadeva, the Dandanayaka of Vikramaditya VI ; he was a native of Ittagi. The temple came into existence in A.D. 1112. Close to it he also built a Vishnu temple called that of Narayana, so named after his father.

The construction of these two temples is recorded in a Kanarese inscription found on a slab planted in the verandah of the Vishnu temple. One of the verses of this inscription describes the Mahadevesvara temple as the *Devalaya Chakravarti*, the Emperor among temples.

This Siva temple facing east consists of a shrine housing a Linga with an ante-chamber (a partly enclosed and partly open hall) in front. It measures 120 feet (36.58 ms) by 60 feet (18.29 ms) and has four storeys over the sanctum. The fourth storey is damaged and its finial is missing.

H. Cousens describes the temple thus : "This is one of the most complete and highly finished of existing Chalukyan temples — probably the finest temple in the Kanarese districts after Halebid." This later Chalukyan temple (Vesara order ?) may be said to mark the transition from the Later Chalukyan to the Hoysala type of temples.

The Siva temple at Ittagi is a century later than the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur built by Rajaraja I, but the fine expression *Devalaya Chakaravarti* coined by the Kanarese poet can be applied with greater justification (though anachronistically) to the Rajarajesvaram.

See Henry Cousens : *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts* : Text pp. 100–2, Plates CI to CVII).

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Walls of enclosure and gateways

The temple faces east. As one approaches the complex from the east, a deep uneven moat of varying width and depth confronts us; at the entrance to the temple, it has been filled up to provide a passage on a level with the floor of the temple. After crossing the moat, we come across the wall of fortification with bastions, which runs all along the fringe of the moat. This wall is broken by a gateway whose upper inner surface is semi-circular and top flat, though somewhat raised from the general level of the wall. An inner and more massive wall of enclosure runs all round the four sides of the temple, parallel to the outer wall of defence and removed about 6.10 ms from it. It is over the eastern opening on this wall that the outer (and first) *gopuram* rises. This gate is called *"Keralantakan tiruvasal"* (the sacred gate of Keralantaka, a surname of Rajaraja I). It is a massive stone structure; the entablature is, however, unpretentious, the superstructure being stocky and short. After crossing this gateway, we traverse almost a hundred metres westwards before we reach the inner *gopuram* known as *"Rajarajan tiruvasal"*, with attractive panels on the *adhishthanam*, depicting pauranic and other themes. This entrance admits us into the extensive courtyard in the middle of which is located the main temple. This inner wall of enclosure, the central structural complex and the subsidiary shrines constitute the hard core of the temple. The wall of enclosure is distinct in design from the outer walls of defence.

THE CENTRAL SHRINE

This stupendous structure, comprising the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, the *mahamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*, extends over an area of 54.86 ms by 30.18 ms and is set beautifully in the walled and cloistered courtyard formed by the wall of enclosure.

The Srivimana

The crowning constituent of the entire edifice is of course the *srivimana* itself, which rises to a grand height of 63.41 ms from the floor of the inner courtyard. The *garbhagriha* measures 30.18 ms by 30.18 ms at the base, according to the latest measure-

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ments taken by the Archaeological Department; the figure for the height of the *srivimana* has also been recalculated during the recent cleaning operations undertaken by the Department and the height from the floor of the courtyard to the top of the stupi is 63.40 ms. The figure mentioned by Fergusson (and others following him) was 57.91 ms. The *kalasam* (or *stupi*) measures, not 3.66 ms as mentioned by earlier writers, but only 3.35 ms (as measured during the recent cleaning operations). Possibly the original measurement assessed on the basis of figures given in the inscriptions could be inclusive of the portion of the *stupi* which is inserted into the *sikhara*. The cella is double-storeyed, each storey being indicated by a massive overhanging cornice; the double-storeyed cella is a further development of the same principle found in the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur.

Sculptures on the Garbhagriha walls

The walls of the first tier of the *garbhagriha* are adorned with a set of life-size sculptures of a variety of forms of Siva. There are six sculptures on each wall except the eastern one, three on either side of the central opening, which exposes the sculpture in the vestibule. They include a pair of *dvarapalas* (on each of the three walls) immediately flanking the central opening. On the eastern wall there is however only one sculpture on each side of the entrance to the *garbhagriha*; on the south wall, an extra figure has been accommodated, thus disturbing the symmetry. These figures are given below :

South Wall	*West Wall*	*North Wall*	*East Wall*
1. Bhikshatanar	1. Hariharar	1. Ardhanari-svarar	1. Lingobhavar (South side)
2. Virabhadrar	2. Lingodbhavar	2. Gangadharar (without Uma)	2. Siva standing
3. Dvarapala	3. Dvarapala	3. Dvarapala	3. Pasupatamurti (North side)
4. ,,	4. ,,	4. ,,	

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5. Dakshina-murti (extra)	5. Chandrasekh-arar (without *prabhavali*)	5. Pasupata-murti (or Virabhadrar)
6. Kalantakar	6. Chandrasekh-arar (with *prabhavali*)	6. Siva-Alin-ginamurti
7. Nataraja		

In addition to these sculptures, there are three on the southern and three on the northern side of the *mahamandapa*. They are :

South side	*North side*
1. Ganesa	1. Bhairavar (with *urdhvajvala*)
2. Vishnu with His Consorts	2. Mahishasuramardini
3. Gajalakshmi	3. Sarasvati

In the corresponding niches of the second tier above the intervening cornice, Siva as Tripurantakar is repeated in different poses, corresponding to the deities mentioned above. (Plates 1–34)

Over this base rises the towering structure of thirteen storeys (*talas*). Topping the storeys of the *srivimana* is a single block of granite 7.77 ms square estimated to weigh about eighty tons. Over this block which forms the floor of the *griva* are *Nandis* in pairs adorning the four corners, each *Nandi* measuring 1.98 ms by 1.68 ms. It is on this granite slab that the *griva*, the *sikhara* and the finial stand; the gilded *stupi*, which alone is said to be about 3.81 ms in height, was gifted by the king himself to the temple in his twenty-fifth year, 275th day (SII, II, 1, para 18). Each storey is adorned with ornamental *salas* and *kutas*, combining strength with grace. The gradual upward sweep of the *srivimana* towards the sky is breath-taking; in this respect it outrivals the Pallava shore temple at Mamallapuram and even the grand *srivimana* attempted by his son at Gangaikondasolapuram. The *srivimana* is pyramidal in form and not curvilinear as that of the Gangaikondasolisvaram is. The 25-ton cupola-shaped *sikhara* and the golden (no longer so) *stupi* give a fitting crown to an all-stone edifice, which is a marvel of engineering skill unparalleled by any structure anywhere in India built during that period.

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It is the grandest achievement of the Indian craftsmen. That this monument has so splendidly survived for about a millenium now, in spite of the ravages of time, the political vicissitudes and the utter misuse to which the temple campus was put during the wars between the French and the English, is itself a tribute to the skill and attainment of the Dravidian *sthapati* in building a stone structure so solid, so perfect and of such magnitude.

The *garbhagriha* rests on a high-moulded *upapitham* and *adhishthanam*. The *upapitham* measures 140 cms in height and the *adhishthanam* measures 360 cms; the entire basement thus measuring 500 cms. In the *sanctum sanctorum* is a monolithic Linga of giant proportions rising to the full height of the two storeys of the *garbhagriha*. There runs a corridor between the outer (*bahya-bhitti*) and the inner (*antara-bhitti*) walls of the *garbhagriha*; in this respect the temple resembles the Pallava Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. The inter-space is again two storeyed, corresponding to the storeys of the *garbhagriha*; in the lower storey, the vestibule is adorned with three stone sculptures of exquisite workmanship. Both faces of the walls of the vestibule are covered with mural paintings of great artistic merit and co-eval with the monument, with an overlaid layer of paintings of the seventeenth century when the city served as the capital of the Nayakas of Tanjavur and the temple received considerable attention from these rulers.

In the corridor corresponding to the second storey of the *aditala* (of the vertical wall portion) of the *srivimana*, there is a set of panels of stone sculptures in high relief depicting 81 *karanas* of *Bharatanatyam*, out of the total of 108; this would really mark the first (known) plastic representation of these *karanas* anywhere in India. Against the remaining unrepresented *karanas*, there are mere blank blocks of stones. Labelled sculptures of all the *karanas* prescribed in Bharata's *Natya Sastra* are found in the *gopurams* of the later Cholas—the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram in the inner faces of the gateways and the Sarangapani temple at Kumbhakonam on the upper tier.

There is a small seated Bhogasakti in bronze by the side of the north jamb of the doorway of the *garbhagriha*.

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THE ARDHAMANDAPA AND THE SIDE GATEWAYS

An *ardhamandapa* is in front of the *garbhagriha*. It also served as the bathing hall of the deity, as is seen from the *snapana* platform (bathing dais) in the centre of the hall. The *ardhamandapa* is approached from the sides as well as the front; the side gateways are imposing. As the *adhishthana* of the temple is very high, the floor of the *garbhagriha* and of the *ardhamandapa* is almost about 6.1 ms from the floor level of the outer courtyard and these two gateways on the north and south walls of the *ardhamandapa* are approached by imposing flights of steps, one on each side. The steps are in two stages, the first flight being from the courtyard level to the top of the *upapitham*; there is a small landing there, followed by the second flight of steps reaching up to the threshold of the gateway. Massive sinuous and ornamental balustrades flank these flights. Both these gateways are flanked by huge imposing *dvarapalas* carved in the true Rajaraja style. Over the lintel of the southern gate is a brief inscription which reads: "*Svasti sri Vikrama solan tiru-vasal*"—the sacred gate of Vikrama Chola, which was a surname of Rajendra I.* We will do well to remember here that Rajendra I had been a co-ruler for two years or more when the details of all grants and donations made to the temple were ordered by Rajaraja I (who was still alive) to be engraved on stone. One could presume the active participation of the son in this sacred and unprecedented building venture of the father and the association of his name with the temple. There is a reference to the existence of a gateway known as the *Anukka tiru-vasal*, which has not been identified so far. If one keeps in mind the close association of Rajendra I with Anukkiyar Paravai Nangai (of Tiruvarur and Panayavaram fame), one could reasonably presume that the northern gateway to the *ardhamandapa* (opposite the *Vikrama solan tiru-vasal)* was the *Anukka tiru-vasal*.†

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* ARE 414 of 1924. This Vikrama Chola refers not to the son of Kulottunga I, but to Rajendra I (also see verse 113 of the Tiruvalangadu Plates).

† Since *anukka* means proximity, this gateway could also have been so named due to its closeness to the palace which lay to the north of the temple.

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MAHAMANDAPA AND MUKHAMANDAPA

Further ahead of the *ardhamandapa* is the *mahamandapa* with rows of six pillars both east to west and north to south. Bronzes of Vitankar and the king Rajaraja I (both later substitutions) are housed in this hall. Two giant *dvarapalas* guard the entrance to this hall. The *mukhamandapa* is in front of the *mahamandapa* and is approached by a sweeping flight of broad steps leading up to the hall.

Dvarapalas

In all there are 18 *dvarapalas* in the temple, all massive and grandly conceived in the Rajaraja style. Two are on the front face of the first tier of the *Rajarajan tiruvasal,* two flank the entrance to the *mukhamandapa,* two adorn the entrance to the *ardhamandapa,* two are there, one on either side of each of the two entrances to the *ardhamandapa* from the flanks; two are there on either side of the entrance from the *ardhamandapa* to the *garbhagriha* and two on either side of each of the openings in the south, west and north walls of the *garbhagriha.*

Nandi Mandapa

In the same axis as the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* is the *Nandi mandapa* housing an enormous monolithic sculpture of *Nandi,* worthy of the magnitude and grandeur of the temple and the founder's conception of it. It is 3.65 ms high, 5.94 ms long and 2.59 ms broad and is estimated to weigh 25 tons.

Krishnan Raman Tiruch-churru-maligai

Reverting to the wall of enclosure surrounding this shrine and its adjuncts, we learn from the inscriptions that at the behest of the Lord Sri Rajaraja deva, his able minister and general, by name Narakkan Krishnan Raman *alias* Mummadisola Brahmamarayan built this wall of enclosure (SII, II, 31, 33 and 45).

For convenience of reference, we may call it the Krishnan Raman wall. It may be noted that the same general finds mention twice in the Larger Leyden Grant. He was also the Chief Secretary *(Olai-Nayakan)* during the days of Rajaraja I and was called

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Mummadisola Brahmamarayan after a surname of the king. He evidently outlived Rajaraja I and served under his son and successor Rajendra I, and during the latter's days he went by the name of Rajendrasola Brahmamarayan, in keeping with the tradition in vogue then of adopting the ruler's name.

In fact, the wall is part of a multi-pillared raised platform running all along the four sides of the temple; it rises to a height of nearly 6.10 ms from the *prakara* floor level and is decorated with stone *Nandis* mounted on the top of the wall at intervals; this *tiruch-churru-maligai* has a large number of cellas interspersing the open pillared verandah, most of them housing Lingas the remaining being vacant; these cellas are not evenly spaced, nor are they all of the same size; in fact they are in two sizes; one group of them having a front wall relieved by four pilasters corresponding to the pillars of the verandah while others (which are fewer in number) have walls with six pilasters.

Dikpalas

The cellas in the four corners and the middle of the walls on the south, west and north, are crowned with *vimanas,* consisting of a *griva,* a *sikhara* and a *stupi;* thus we have seven such shrines. In the cella in the north-eastern corner, Isanadeva is housed; Nirutti is housed in the cella in the middle of the north wall, Kubera in the north-western corner cella, while Varuna is in the western cella; the rest of the cellas are without any sculptures at present but must have housed the remaining *Ashta-dikpalas;* this, as mentioned elsewhere, is confirmed by the references in inscriptions on the eastern part of the wall of enclosure to the shrines of Agni deva and Isana deva, which are said to be located to the south and north of the Rajarajan *tiru-vasal.*

We have further confirmation of an unequivocal nature about the setting up of eight shrines for the eight *dikpalas* from a record of the third year of Rajendra I (SII, II, 20). This record lists the gifts of *kalasams* (pinnacles) for the various shrines in the temple, made by Guru Isana Siva Pandita, the Chief Priest of the Raja-rajesvaram temple till the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, for being placed on the shrines *(alayangalil).*

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Even though the inscription is much damaged and we are not able to get the names of all the eight *dikpalas,* the mention of a few of them confirms the installation of all the eight guardian deities—*viz.*, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirutti, Varuna, Vayu, Soma and Isana. The shrine of Indra, who is the regent of the east, seems to have been located in the second (inner) *gopuram* itself, for which five *kalasams* had apparently been provided by the king himself. So only seven pots (pinnacles) are provided for the remaining seven deities.

Ashta-Parivara-devatas

Besides these eight shrines for the eight *dikpalas,* there were shrines for the eight *parivara-devatas** (*ashta-parivara-devatas, viz.*, Surya, Saptamatrikas, Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, Jyeshtha Devi, Chandra, Chandesvarar and Bhairavar), of which, however, we have only vestiges left. In the cella on the west wall, to the immediate north of the corner shrine, is a massive Ganesa sculpture, which the inscription describes as the *Parivaralayattu Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar* to distinguish it from the Pillaiyar of the main temple (*Alayattu Pillaiyar*) and the numerous other icons of Pillaiyar in metal, dedicated to the temple by pious personages of the royal household and nobles. The original image of Ganapati set up in the days of Rajaraja I in the *parivara-alaya* would appear to have been replaced at some later point of time and the one we see now in the cella is a substitute; the orginal, which is majestic and beautiful and is of the same quality of stone as is used for the sculptures of the original temple, is now found kept by the Archaeological Survey in the southern verandah *(tiruch-churru-maligai)* of the temple, where temporarily they have located their field office and spot-museum. Of the *Saptamatrika* group of images, nothing is left or seen, excepting the broken upper half of Varahi which is

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* *Ashtra-Parivara Devatas :* K. V. Soundararajan (*Indian Temple Styles*, p.33) gives the names of the following deities : Subrahmanya, Surya, Chandra, Chandesa, Saptamatrikas, Jyeshtha, Durga and Ganesa.

Durga is not an *ashta-parivaradevata.* At a later stage Lakshmi replaces Jyeshtha. For a discussion see my *Early Chola Temples* (pp.327–329).

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now housed in a small modern brick and cement cubicle in an inconspicuous portion of the courtyard near the well in the southern *prakara*. The Bhairavar image, now placed loosely in the *mukhamandapa* of the temple, might be the original *ashta-parivara-devata*. The Subrahmanyar idol is again not in its proper place, nor does it appear to be the original one; it is in the north-western section of the *prakara* and is housed in a structure of florid style built by one of the Nayak kings in the seventeenth century A.D. The only shrine standing as originally built is that of Chandesvarar, which is north of and close to the *srivimana*; it contains some valuable inscriptions of Rajaraja I. None of the other shrines can be traced now.

THE TEMPLE, A COMPOSITE PLAN:

Thus, the Rajarajan plan for the temple of Rajarajesvaram* contained the central shrine with the *ardhamandapa,* the *mahamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa,* the eight shrines for the *parivara-*

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* On the name of the temple at Tanjavur, we have the authority of Rajaraja I himself, the founder of the temple. In the foundation inscription, he refers to it thus :

"Pandyakulasani nattu Tanjavur kurrattu Tanjavur nam edppichcha tirukkarrali Sri Rajarajesvaram.." (SII, II, 1).

The temple was Sri Rajarajesvaram in Tanjavur in the subdivision of Tanjavur in the district of Pandyakulasani. The deity was referred to as Paramasvamin or Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar. Karuvur Devar, a contemporary of Rajaraja I and his son, in his hymn called *Tiruvisaippa* has sung of Rajarajesvaram and Gangaikondasolisvaram. Even during the Pandyan period when the Amman temple was built in the courtyard of the main temple, the foundation inscription refers to the Amman shrine in the following words,

"Tanjavur Udaiyar Sri Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar Koyilil... nam elundarulivitta Ulagamuludum mudaiya Nachchiyaarkku ..." (SII, II, 61).

Even here the main temple is called *Sri Rajarajesvaram* and the Amman is named after the Pandyan queen.

Nearly 600 years after the temple came into being, a certain Mallappa Nayakar refers to the deity in the central shrine as *Periya Udaiyar Nayanar*, 'the great Lord', evidently in recognition of the size and greatness of the main deity. Tiru Peruvudaiyar is a variant that has come into vogue in the subsequent period, with *Brihat-Isvarar* as its Sanskrit equivalent. The Amman has been given the corresponding Sanskrit name of Brihat Nayaki or Brihan-nayaki, which means 'the great lady'. But in none of the epigraphs in this temple or which refer to it do we get these names. Therefore there does not seem to be any justification for the name of Brihadesvarar for the deity of the main shrine and Brihannayaki for the Amman of the temple of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. It seems only fair to call this temple by the name its builder gave it.

On the same grounds there is no reason for the use of the term Brihadisvarar being applied to the deity of the temple at Gangaikondasolapuram. Epigraphs give the temple the name of Gangaikonda-solisvaram only.

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devatas, the eight shrines for the *dikpalas*, the Krishnan Raman *Tiruch-churru-maligai* with the Rajarajan *Tiru-vasal* and the immediately outer wall of enclosure with the Keralantakan *Tiru-vasal*. The walls of fortification with the bastions and the moat round it find mention in the *Tiruvisaippa* of Karuvur Devar, the guru of Rajaraja I. This work describes Tanjavur as "*Inji-sul-Tanjai*"—Tanjavur surrounded by a moat. Hence these elements of the periphery of the temple also are not likely to be later accretions but part of the master plan of the grand temple as originally conceived. This is the first instance of such defence works in any South Indian temple. The Rajarajesvaram not only was a temple meant for public worship but also served as the chapel-royal for the use of the royal family whose palace was in its vicinity. Hence perhaps the works of fortification.

The Rajarajesvaram temple was built completely with its necessary adjuncts during the time of Rajaraja I himself, based on a well-defined and stately plan which was preserved till its completion (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*). The Chandesvarar shrine which was very much a part of the original master plan was built before his conquest of the 12,000 islands; the shrines of Dakshinamurti, Subrahmanyar and the Amman however are of different later dates. According to a Marathi inscription dated in Saka 1732 (*A.D.* 1801), Sarfoji Maharaja of the Tanjavur Maratha dynasty executed certain elaborate repairs to the shrines of Ganesa, Subrahmanyar, Ulagamulududaiya Nachchiyar (Amman), Sabhapati, Dakshinamurti and Chandesvarar, built one or two *mandapas* and renovated the *prakara* walls, the temple kitchen and the flooring of the courtyard; all this was presumably necessitated by the ravages wrought on the temple complex during the British occupation of the campus for over 30 years (from *A.D.* 1772 to almost 1801–2). In fact, the temple became out of bounds for the civilian population, and worship was perhaps even abandoned, during this period.

On the Krishnan Raman wall, there are three entrances, (two of which are now closed) giving one access from the outer defence perimeter to the inner courtyard; they are directly opposite the south, west and north walls of the *garbhagriha*;

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the northern entrance was perhaps used solely by royalty, being closest to the palace, which lay north of the temple complex.

SABHAPATI-MANDAPA

The Sabhapati *mandapa* houses a beautiful bronze of Nataraja, accompanied by His Consort, a gift made by Rajaraja himself (Pl 1). It lies further east of the Amman shrine.

AMMAN SHRINE

The Amman temple of Ulagamulududaiya Nachchiyar, now called Brihannayaki temple, is a Pandyan foundation of the thirteenth century; in the early and middle Chola period, there were no separate Amman shrines attached to any temple; the only Devi shrines known in this period are those of Durga (Draupati ratha) at Mamallapuram, of Meenakshi at Madurai and of Kanya Kumari at Kanyakumari (in Pandya country) and perhaps the Kamakoti (Kamakshi) temple of Kanchipuram. In the early Chola period, we have many instances of the installation in the main shrine itself of metal images of Devi as Bhogesvari, Uma Bhattaraki or Palliyarai-Nachchiyar as well as of the installation in the *srivimana* niches of stone images of Durga, Lakshmi and Sarasvati. One of the four inscriptions of Parantaka I found in the Adityesvaram temple at Tiruverumbur refers to the consecration of Uma Bhattariyar; this must refer to either the Bhogasakti Amman or to the Palliyarai-Nachchiyar and not to any deity with an independent shrine for it. The Mangalambika shrine at Tirukkandiyur was originally a Siva temple, re-dedicated later on as an Amman shrine; the Vada-Kailasam and the Ten-Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru are actually Siva temples and *not* Amman shrines, built in the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I respectively; the same pattern was followed in the case of the Gangaikonda-cholapuram temple, where the Vada-Kailasam and Ten-Kailasam temples were originally both dedicated *only* to Siva; this is evident from the sculptures found on the *garbhagriha* walls of these two temples; it was only later that the Vada-Kailasam temple there was converted into an Amman shrine (perhaps in the days of the Later Cholas).

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Another piece of evidence adduced in support of the theory that separate independent Amman shrines existed even in the days of Rajendra I is taken to be the mention of the existence of a Sri Bhattaraki icon, besides Durga and other sculptures, in a list of icons enumerated in an inscription of the twenty-sixth year of Rajendra I at Ennayiram (ARE 335 of 1971; also vide *The Colas* by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 2nd edition, p. 715). There is no separate Amman shrine at all of the age of Rajendra I at Ennayiram. The earliest positive evidence that we have of the construction of an independent, separate Amman shrine different from the main shrine of Siva, is in respect of the Sivakami Amman shrine, otherwise known as the temple of *Tirukkamakkottam-Udaiya Nachchiyar* in the enlarged campus of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram; this temple for the *Amman* was built during the period of the Later Cholas, *viz.*, Kulottunga I and his successors. In fact, this is the earliest instance of its kind in the whole of the Tamil country.

PARIVARALAYATTU PILLAIYAR

From an inscription (quoted in SII, II, 36, but not numbered separately), partially covered, on the first pillar (counting from the south-west corner) of the western *tiruch-churru-maligai,* it appears that an image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar, who is called in the inscription Parivaralayattup-Pillaiyar (Pillaiyar of the *parivara-alaya* or sub-shrine) was set up by Rajaraja I before his twenty-ninth year and that it was made of copper and measured 14 *viral* in height. Was it a processional image, made of copper?

From an inscription on a pillar of the same west wing (SII, II, 88), we gather that one Kanjan Kondaiyan, a native of Kamadamangalam in Purakkilliyur nadu, a subdivision of Pandyakulasani valanadu, and a servant *(pani-maganar)* of Rajaraja devar and the master (chief) of the rent roll in the department *(Tinaikkalam)* of taxes levied from endowments *(Puravari-tinaikkalattu-varip-pottaga-nayakan)*, presented a bell-metal dish *(vengalat-taligai)* weighing 29 *palams* to the Parivaralayattup-Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar.

On a niche of the same west wing is another inscription (SII,

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II, 89) which refers to gifts to this Ganapati—"*ikkanapati-yarukku*"; the inscription being in the western enclosure, in which the Parivaralayattup-Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar is located, we may presume that the gifts relate to this Pillaiyar.

Mural Paintings in the Rajarajesvaram Temple

The *sanctum sanctorum* of the Rajarajesvaram temple as mentioned earlier, has a vestibule 1.88 ms (6 feet 2 inches) in width between the two parallel walls of the *garbhagriha*. In the 30's of this century, some remarkable paintings were discovered on the inter-facing walls of the vestibule by the late S.K. Govindaswami (See *Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. II, 1933; and J.I.S.O.A., Vol. I, pp. 73-80). He however found on close scrutiny that the entire wall surface was covered with paintings belonging to the days of the Nayak rulers of Tanjavur and that in places the painted surface had crumbled, exposing to view exquisite paintings datable in the Chola period. Trying to preserve both the Chola and the Nayak paintings, the Archaeological Survey authorities have done a remarkable job of scientifically cleaning up the exposed portions revealing the excellence of the Chola paintings and at the same time retaining in tact the second layer on which the Nayak paintings are drawn.

The vestibule consists of fifteen chambers made up of four corner chambers, three central chambers and eight intervening chambers, two to each side. The space of the sixteenth chamber is taken up by the entrance to the *garbhagriha* from the *ardhamandapa*. On each side, the vestibule measures 17.07 ms (56 feet) from end to end. The chambers are nominally separated from one another by door-sills 0.46 m (a foot and a half) in thickness, without, however, any intervening door. All the chambers have recesses which in the case of the central ones are deep, and in the case of the longer intervening chambers, shallow. The wall surfaces of these recesses and in some cases those of the adjoining jambs have provided the lithic canvas for the Chola paintings, though not all of them have been made use of. For convenience, the chambers have been numbered in the clockwise order as seen in the Ground Plan. Presenting a grand view from the

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prakara round the *srivimana,* through the central openings in the outer wall of the *garbhagriha,* are three giant-size sculptures in the central chambers, one each on the north, west and south faces, with their backs to the inner wall. The one on the southern side (in chamber no. 4) is of Jvarahara-Isvarar, with two arms carrying a sword and a trident (?). This deity is generally covered over with a thick layer of *chandana kavacham* (sandal-wood paste) and local tradition has it that the deity has healing qualities. The sculptures in the western central chamber (no. 8) is described as Sadyojatamurti, wielding the *gada,* the *tanka,* the sword and the *sula* in the arms to the proper right, while on the proper left one arm is flung across the chest in the *gajahasta* style, two others wield the noose and the shield, the fourth being broken. On the proper left is an image of Parvati; on the proper right is Vishnu playing the drum. The image is presently covered with stucco; this was possibly done during the Nayak period. We have an equally majestic sculpture of a female deity, in the northern central chamber (no. 12) holding an *akshamala* in the proper right and the lotus in the proper left arm. It could be a representation of the concept of the integration of Parvati and Lakshmi, but this requires to be examined further.

At present, not all the Chola paintings have been exposed, but those exposed so far are found—

(i) on the north wall of chamber number 5,
(ii) on the east wall and jamb of chamber number 7,
(iii) on the east wall and jambs of chamber number 9,
(iv) on the inner jamb facing north in chamber number 10, and
(v) on the south face of chamber number 11.

Chamber No. 5: Dakshinamurti

The painting on the northern side of the chamber depicts a forest scene. Various animals such as lions, tigers, deer, bears, monkeys and reptiles like pythons are shown in their characteristic attitudes and postures. A deer scratching its back-turned face with its hind hoof, and a monkey perched on the top of a tree which is densely foliated enliven the scene. The trees are outlined in

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black, while the animals have been shown in brown (as in the case of the bear) or yellow (as in the case of the dog). A very natural green gives form and reality to the foliage in the forest. At the lower end of the panel, we discern the bold outline of an enormous figure, which could be identified with Siva as Dakshinamurti seated on a tiger skin in a yogic posture complete with the *yogapatta*. The outline is brown, the body is reddish yellow and the jewellery is in red, blue and white tints. The background is green. Besides, we have two other figures both in brown outline, the body colours being light red and green, respectively. A standing human figure perhaps represents a hunter in his natural habitat and attire—a *kachcham*. The representation of Dakshinamurti in this forest scene seems to be a mural replica of the metallic image Rajaraja I presented to the temple before the twenty-ninth year of his reign (SII, II, 59), which has been described in great detail in his grant.

A fine portrait of Rajaraja I and his guru Karuvur Devar occupies the lower left-hand corner showing them in a mood of reverence before Dakshinamurti.

Chamber No. 7: Sundaramurti Nayanar episode

Certain major events in the life of Sundaramurti Nayanar, so vividly depicted in literature as well as in sculpture, both stone and metal, have been sequentially portrayed by allocating a horizontal third of the painted surface to each episode. The lowest layer depicts the marriage of Sundarar being prevented from taking place by Siva in the garb of an old man; the middle section shows Sundarar and Cheraman ascending to Kailasa, and in the uppermost segment is depicted the effulgent scene of Kailasa with the arrival of these two from the Earth.

(i) The marriage scene of Sundarar is characterized by realism and a deep insight into details; the cooking scene for instance is shown with great attention to minutiae; the cooking oven, firewood and cauldron lend a down-to-earth look to the scene; the colour scheme is interesting. Siva in the guise of an old man, fussing about his rights over the *brahmana* slave, who, he contended, Sundarar was to him, is subtly brought out by

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giving him an angry and aggressive look exuding self-confidence, while Sundarar, with his marriage stalled, is delineated as a frightened person in front of the irate old man, who is shown producing a palm leaf, as a document to prove his contention that Sundaramurti and his ancestors were the bond slaves of the old man. The Chola craftsman has obviously got into the spirit of the scene and has vividly brought out the utter consternation in the faces of the persons who had come to attend the wedding.

(ii) The wedding stalled, Sundarar plunges into the service of god and begins his pilgrimage to the temples of the south, that ultimately ends at Tiruvanjaikkalam. There he ascends to Heaven and attains oneness with God. His close associate, the Chera king, Cheraman Perumal, hearing of this event hastens to catch up with Sundarar, for fetching whom the divine elephant Airavata was sent from Heaven. The middle portion of this painting depicts the ascent of Sundarar and Cheraman to Kailasa. Sundarar is riding the elephant Airavata, shown in dark brown outline with white trappings outlined in red and its divine origin is indicated by the trifurcated tusks *(shad-danta);* Cheraman is shown riding a galloping horse, its outline being in dark brown and the saddlery in white-in-red. A lighter vein is introduced to the proceedings by the Court craftsman, when he shows a figure clinging to the tail of the elephant in the hope of attaining Heaven at least that way. A row of musicians and divine dancers accord ceremonial welcome to the ascetic and the royal guest at the portals of Kailasa. In the northern segment of the wall is a scene showing Cheraman worshipping Lord Siva in a temple in Vanji, the then capital of the Cheras, presently called Tiruvanjikulam (Cranganore). The surfaces of the wings of the wall, provided by the flanking jambs, have also been painted on in delineating this fast-moving and time-spread theme.

(iii) On the top third portion of the wall, the scene of Kailasa is depicted symbolically with Siva and Parvati witnessing a dance by two divine damsels; the scene is complete with the presence of Nandi and the *ganas;* there is a female figure, akin to the tribal belle, standing at the extreme right—reminiscent

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of the forest scene, where there is an attired male, very much like one of the hunting tribes.

Chamber No. 9: Rajaraja and his three Queens worshipping Lord Nataraja

In this chamber the entire canvas is covered with a panel showing the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram, the four walls running along the sides of the panel framing it as it were. We are able to derive a clear idea of the *gopurams* on the four sides as they should have existed in the days of Rajaraja I, i.e., before the present ones came up during the days of the Later Cholas. They are very much like the *Rajarajan Tiru-vasal* in Rajarajesvaram, with a broad base and a small *gopuram*. They are found on all the four sides. The wall of enclosure is simple and has no *tiruch-churru-maligai;* the *Chit sabha* is shown in magnified dimensions to accommodate the figure of Nataraja which dominates the scene; the dome is similar to what we see now; the *Kanaka sabha* shown respectfully smaller, accommodates Rajaraja and his three queens; what is noteworthy, among others, is the fine handling of the drapery of the queens who are shown wearing fine quality *saris* with lines and dots and decorative designs on them. The legs are revealed through the fineness of the diaphanous drapery. (See colour plates)

This panel is indeed a masterpiece of the Chola artist, who was as versatile in handling the human form as in portraying Nature in all her facets. The figure of dancing Nataraja (Adavallan) is exquisite in workmanship and enormous in proportions, comparable to the actual size of some of the man-size bronzes of Nataraja cast in this period, with emphasis on poise and balance. The *dhatura* flower is enchantingly natural, while the cobra wriggles and dangles from the divine body in all its sinuousness and colour; the outline of the shrine of Nataraja is possibly a representation of the *Chit sabha* at Chidambaram as it existed then.

The panel in the wall opposite to this also belongs to the Chola period but is much damaged and worn out; however rows of dancing figures are discernible, as also a miniature

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Nataraja (?). A little further up is Rajaraja with his guru Karuvur Devar.

Chamber No. 10*: Rajaraja I and Karuvur Devar*

In this chamber, on the inner jamb facing north is a fine representation of Rajaraja I and his *guru* Karuvur Devar. We have already noted yet another panel where they are shown in the forest scene in the fifth chamber.

Chamber No. 11*: Tripurantakar*

On the southern surface of the inner wall facing north in chamber no. 11 is perhaps the most graphic and dynamic of all the paintings so far unveiled to us by the hand of man. Nothing delighted the master artists of the Dravidian Court so much as the concept of Siva as Tripurantakar; and the Chola painter drew upon it and gave it a new dimension. The entire canvas here is covered by the enormous figure of Tripurantakar riding a chariot driven by Brahma and accompanied by Karttikeya on his mount the peacock, Ganesa on his mouse and Kali on her lion, with Nandi in front of the chariot. Tripurantakar is shown standing in a fighting *(alidha)* posture on a *pitham* in a two-tiered chariot, the two wheels of which are represented as Surya and Chandra, and his eight arms are shown carrying the traditional weapons, the bow and the shield among them; one arm is swung across the body to the opposite side; one hand is shown in the posture of taking an arrow from the quiver; there is another quiver on the base of the chariot as a standby.

The anger in the eyes and the smile on the lips are brought out very subtly and effectively; Siva is shown not as aiming the arrow at the enemy but in the act of pulling out an arrow from the quiver; the consternation among the *asura ganas,* who are accompanied by their female companions, shown clinging to them, is patent, and one of the frustrated among them is shown lifting a boulder to throw at Siva; hatred and fear are both brought out in the facial expression of this *asura; Asura-guru* Sukracharya is shown in a posture of surrender and despair at the right hand corner of the panel; lower down in the panel is

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shown an *asura* carrying Siva (in the form of a linga) (?). This painting is a masterpiece and perhaps the greatest among those which have come down to us and have so far been exposed to view in this temple; in its rhythm, composition and concept of form and dimension, it has no equal in any contemporary painting (or could one add sculpture too?). There is a confluence of emotions and sentiments depicted in this panel, majesty and valour etched in the face and form of Tripurantakar, piteousness and utter despair in the faces and postures of the female demons; wonder in those of the many gods and demi-gods, at the feat of the Lord; and finally a portrayal of the unusual and the grotesque in the shape and form of the *ganas*. It is no wonder, Rajaraja I or his court painter chose this theme; was not the story of Tripurantakar the theme of Rajaraja's life itself, of a great warrior, a great benefactor, a king among kings?

On the opposite wall of the same chamber, we have scenes showing Ravana shaking and trying to lift the Kailasa mountain; the ten-headed *rakshasa* is shown in a fine shade of green and the attempt to lift the mountain is portrayed effectively by a neck bent low and a face showing strain. Parvati is frightened and clings to Siva from whose arms the snake has slid and fallen to lie coiled on the ground. Lower in the same panel are shown the *devas* and the *ganas,* some in fright and others in postures of trying to dissipate the efforts of Ravana. The panel has not yet been fully exposed and will turn out to be one of the best paintings of the Tanjavur group.

Chamber No. 13

There are patches of Chola painting peeping out of the exposed patches where the Nayak layer has peeled off; but the theme cannot be clarified unless the superimposed Nayak painting is removed.

The roof over the ground floor vestibule also has paintings which require to be exposed; whatever is visible now relates to a later period. Owing to years of neglect, rain water had seeped through the crevices in the *srivimana* stones and so the topmost foot or two of the panels have been virtually washed out and are

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thus lost irretrievably. The *sikhara* is now being cleaned and the gaps are being plugged and it is to be hoped that whatever of the paintings are left will suffer no further damage. These are perhaps the best set of paintings of the Chola period, in fact, of South India of the Chola and Pandya periods, and should therefore be preserved jealously. One wishes, judging by the exquisite quality of the paintings, that some at least of the secular buildings like the palaces at Tanjavur, Gangaikonda-cholapuram and Palaiyaru could have come down to us, if for nothing else, at least to give us an idea of the mature skill and versatility of the Chola painters.* (Colour Plates 1–10)

A Unique Monument

The Rajarajesvaram is unique in many respects. It has a well-conceived unitary plan and its execution is perfect. Its plinth—*upapitham* and *adhishthanam*—is high and strong and has fine mouldings which give dignity and grandeur to the whole edifice. Stones of excellent texture have been brought from a long distance, and were properly dressed and raised by an artificial inclined plane to the required height. It is a rare feat, considering the limited technology of the age. With great engineering skill, the downward thrust of the heavy stone superstructure has been well distributed. The Linga is huge and it is housed in a double-storeyed *garbhagriha* supporting the upper part of the *srivimana*. All the members of the structure are well proportioned and there is harmony in their assemblage. The steep upward sweep of the *srivimana,* resembling Meru, with the needle-like *stupi* at the top seems to point to the devotee the path to the lap of the Lord of the Universe.@

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*In a very informative article written in 1937, S. Paramesvaran, the then Chemist of the Government Museum at Madras, has dealt with the technical aspects of these paintings, the plaster used for the base, the pigments, the binding medium, the method of execution and other interesting details. (See *Technical Studies*, Harvard: V 4 (1937), pp. 222-239.)

@In the Author's Preface to the book '*The Story of Indian Art*', S. K. Bhattacharya (Atma Ram & Sons) observes:

"*Indians were never an architectonic people*: The Buddhist Chaitiyas, Jain and Hindu Temples are all replete with the sculptural quality of the builders. They never aspired towards the

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The calligraphy of the inscriptions on the walls of the temple has reached a level of unparalleled excellence. So magnificent and stupendous a structure has been completed in such a short time, and built to last till eternity.

The *vimana* sculptures continue the sublimity of the earlier Chola period. It is really the *"Devalaya Chakravarti"* of Indian temples.

The eleventh century was the grandest period of temple-building activity in India. It was the age when India witnessed the highest achievements in temple architecture. Among them are those of Khajuraho built by the Chandelas between A.D. 950 and 1050, the most conspicuous of these being the Khandariya Mahadeva—33.22 ms (109 feet) long, 18.29 ms (60 feet) broad and 35.51 ms (116 feet) high; and the Lingaraj of Bhubanesvar in Orissa built about A.D. 1000, with a square base of side 15.55 ms (51 feet) and a height of 38.10 ms (125 feet). About this time some Hindu and Jain temples were also built at Osia in Rajasthan, and again two Jain temples, in marble, at Mt. Abu. Even among these, the Rajarajesvaram holds the pride of place.

ROYAL GIFTS OF ICONS TO RAJARAJESVARAM

After his extensive conquests in the four directions, Rajaraja I became a "Lion among the Emperors" of that era and as if to commemorate such an undying name in the history of this country, he built a grand temple and showered all his wealth and war-won booty on the construction and embellishment of this temple and endowed it with stupendous wealth, as if to ensure that for all time to come it would continue to be the

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heaven like the Gothic Churches of Mediaeval Europe. They are firmly based on earth, and as such, they belong to our world rather than the world beyond".

I wonder if this view is correct. The builders of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur knew the basic principles of planning and constructing buildings. This temple seems to belong both to this world and the world beyond, with a happy blend of the allied twin arts of Architecture and Sculpture. Indian *Vastu* and *Silpa* Sastras describe various kinds of temples with *vimanas* of many *talas* (or *bhumis*) and multi-storeyed *gopurams* of which there exist, even today, many examples, and the Rajarajesvaram is the grandest of them all (see Plates 32 and 42 of his book). On page 67, he admits: "The great sweep of the pyramidal *vimana* enclosed by *niches* gives it a *monumental vertical effect and speaks of the techtonic sense of Chola rulers*" and thus contradicts himself.

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towering temple. The royal metal casters were busy casting some of the most beautiful and incomparable metal images of all time, and these icons were gifted and consecrated in the Rajarajesvaram temple by him, his sister Kundavai, his queens and the nobles and relatives; they also made extensive and sometimes staggering endowments and gifts to these deities.

In this section, we shall list out all the metal images gifted to the Rajarajesvaram by the above personages and in the subsequent section deal with their other gifts and grants. We have records to establish that as many as 66 metal images were set up in this period.

1. *IMAGES SET UP BY RAJARAJA I*

(a) Gold, Silver and Panchaloha Images:

1. Adavallar*.
2. Uma Paramesvari, Consort of Adavallar.
3. Adavallar Dakshina Meru Vitankar.
4. Tanjai Vitankar.
5. Maha Meru Vitankar.
6. Kolhai-devar (gold).
7. Kshetrapalar (gold).
8. 9, 10, 11. Vasudeva (silver).

Rajaraja I set up a number of giant-size icons, possibly of *panchaloha,* which included Adavallar, Adavallar Dakshina Meru Vitankar, Tanjai Vitankar and Maha Meru Vitankar. While there is no description of these images in the lithic records that have come down to us, references to Rajaraja I setting them up are found in the records of grants made by Kundavai and others.

Besides, on the 312th day of his twenty-fifth year, Rajaraja I

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*1) J. N. Banerjee : In 'Hindu Iconography' dealing with the *ananda tandava* form (p.280) holds: "Numerous bronze replicas of the same type of dancing Siva are found in Southern India, but *most of them belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. or even later.*"

2) M. M. Deneck : In her Indian Art 'Shiva Dancing' mentions:
"Dravidian bronze:–
Height 154 cm (6ft. 1/2 inch).
including pedestal — twelfth to thirteenth century."
My Survey will disprove the above conclusions.

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gave one gold image of Kolhai-devar, which was to be present at the time of the sacred offerings (*sri bali*), and it weighed 829 3/4 *kalanjus* and three *manjadi*, as weighed by the standard stone called *Adavallan*. He also gifted a gold icon of Kshetrapalar weighing 72½ *kalanjus*.

At least three and possibly four silver images of Vasudeva with aureolae also in silver in three cases, were presented to the temple. These are the only silver images gifted that we know of. Of the Vasudeva images, whether with or without aureola, one weighed 1043 *kalanjus*, while its aureola weighed 17¼ *kalanjus* including 1½ *kalanjus* and 1 *kunri* of gold laid over its flame (*sudar*). Yet another image weighed 355 *kalanjus* no mention being made of its aureola. These images and aureolae together weighed 3162½ *kalanjus*. Perhaps, there was a fourth image of Vasudeva, which finds mention as item no. 141 in the relevant inscription.

(b) Copper Images:

In addition to the images of the deities mentioned above, he also set up a number of copper icons which are mentioned in six inscriptions found in the temple (SII, II, 29, 30, 49, 50, 52 and 84). All the dimensions of these icons were measured by the standard unit of longitudinal measurement, *viz.*, the *mulam* (the cubit), preserved in the temple of the Lord, and recorded.

They are:

1. Chandesvara Prasada Devar group (SII, II, 29) consisting of :
   - *(a)* one solid* image of Chandesvara Prasada Devar, with four hands and a jewelled *padma-pitham*,
   - *(b)* one solid image of Musalakan with two hands,
   - *(c)* one solid image of Uma Paramesvari with *padma-pitham*,
   - *(d)* one *pitham* for the god and goddess together,
   - *(e)* one solid image of Mahadevar with one projecting arm,

* 'Solid' is used as the English equivalent of the Sanskrit word *ghana* (along with its Tamilized version *gana*), meaning 'cast solid', as opposed to 'cast hollow', the two processes of metal casting followed by South Indian metal-casters (*sushira* and *ghana*) (*South Indian Bronzes* : Lalit Kala Akademi : C. Sivaramamurti, p. 14).

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(*f*) one solid image of Chandesvarar, with two hands,
(*g*) one solid image of Chandesvarar's father, with two hands and in the posture of lying on the ground,
(*h*) one solid image of Chandesvarar, with two hands, represented as receiving Siva's blessing,
(*i*) one flower-garland given to Chandesvarar, as a boon, and
(*j*) one solid *prabha*.

2. Pancha-deha-murti (SII, II, 30) consisting of:
   (*a*) one solid image with five bodies and ten arms,
   (*b*) four solid images, joined to the main image, with four hands corresponding to each of the four faces, and
   (*c*) one *padma-pitham* as pedestal to the image.
3. Subrahmanya Devar (SII, II, 49) consisting of:
   (*a*) one solid image of Subrahmanya Devar, with four hands,
   (*b*) one bejewelled *padmam*,
   (*c*) one *pitham*, and
   (*d*) one solid *prabha*.
4. Dakshinamurti (SII, II, 50) consisting of:
   (*a*) one solid image of Dakshinamurti with four hands, seated on a mountain,
   (*b*) a mountain serving as the seat of the above image, with two peaks (*sikhara*),
   (*c*) two solid images of *kinnaras* joined to these peaks and having two hands each,
   (*d*) two solid images of *kinnaris* with two hands,
   (*e*) one solid image of Musalakan, with two arms and lying under the Lord's feet,
   (*f*) two sets of two solid images of *rishis* with two hands each,
   (*g*) one solid image of a *snake*,
   (*h*) two solid images of *karna-pravratas* (large-eared beings, using the ears as cloak) having two hands each,
   (*i*) one solid image of a tiger recumbent on the mountain,
   (*j*) one solid image of a banyan tree (*ala-vrksha*) atop

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the mountain, on which were 'sewn' nine separately made large branches and forty-two minor branches,
(*k*) one wallet (*pokkanam*) suspended from the tree, and
(*l*) a solid handle (*kai*) and, joined to it, one bunch of peacock's feathers to be carried in it.

5. Mahavishnu (SII, II, 52) consisting of:
(*a*) one solid image of Mahavishnu, with four hands,
(*b*) one bejewelled *padmam*,
(*c*) one *pitham* on which was mounted the *padmam*, and
(*d*) one solid *prabha*.

6. Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar (seven images) as follows:
(*a*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar in the dancing posture, with four divine arms with
(*i*) one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels,
(*ii*) one pedestal on which this image stood, and one solid aureola covering this image,
(*b*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar in the standing posture, with four divine arms with
(*i*) one lotus base, on which this image stood, set with jewels,
(*c*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar in the standing posture with four divine arms, with
(*i*) one lotus set with jewels forming part of this image,
(*d*) one solid image of Pillaiyar, comfortably seated with four divine arms, with
(*i*) one shrub (*sedi*) forming part of this image,
(*e*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar, in the dancing posture with four divine arms, with
(*i*) one pedestal, and
(*ii*) one solid aureola, forming part of this image,
(*f*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar, comfortably seated with four divine arms, with
(*i*) one lotus forming part of this image, and
(*ii*) one aureola covering this image, and
(*g*) one solid image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar, comfortably seated with four divine arms, with

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(i) one lotus forming part of this image.

All these were copper images, set up (before his twenty-ninth year) by Rajaraja I himself.

2. *IMAGES SET UP BY KUNDAVAI*

1. Uma Paramesvari, Consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar.
2. Uma Paramesvari, Consort of Tanjai Vitankar.
3. Ponmaligai Tunjiya Devar.
4. Vanavan Mahadevi (Tammai).

We have already mentioned that Rajaraja I and Kundavai were the children of Parantaka Sundara Chola II through his queen Vanavan Mahadevi; hence Kundavai is known as Pirantakan (magal) Kundavaiyar, that is, Kundavai, the daughter of Parantakan. From paras 1 and 2 of inscription SII, II, 6, we gather that Kundavai set up four images in metal; two of them were of the Consorts of Dakshina Meru Vitankar and Tanjai Vitankar, whose images were set up by her brother Rajaraja I; both the Consorts were called Uma Paramesvari. The other two were of her father and mother, *viz., Ponmaligai Tunjiya Devar* (Sundara Chola) and Vanavan Mahadevi, whom she merely describes as "*Tammai*" (mother); the extent of her devotion to her parents is shown by the unusual use of the expression *tirumeni* with reference to the icons of her parents—*tirumeni* being used generally only to refer to icons of gods, and the icons of human beings, otherwise described as portrait sculptures, being generally termed "*pratimai*".

3. *IMAGES SET UP BY HIS QUEENS*

Among the queens of Rajaraja I who find repeated mention in the inscriptions of the period are Loga Mahadevi also known as Danti Sakti Vitanki who was his principal queen, Panchavan Mahadevi, Chola Mahadevi, Prithivi Mahadevi, Trailokya Mahadevi, Abhimana Valli and Ilada Mahadevi. Each of them took her legitimate share in the raising of the Rajarajesvaram temple by casting metallic images and making gifts of ornaments as well as provision for proper worship to them.

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(A) *Loga Mahadevi: the Chief Queen of Rajaraja I*

1. Pichcha Devar

The chief among them, Loga Mahadevi *alias* Danti Sakti Vitanki, is best remembered as the one who apart from making her own contribution to the growth of art during this period of great dynamism, built the Vada Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru. She performed the *hiranya-garbha* ceremony in the Siva temple at Tiruvisalur; a portrait sculpture of the pair is etched on the southern wall of the temple of Siva-yoga-natha-svamin there. She also built a shrine for Kshetrapala devar in the temple of Kapardisvarar at Tiruvalanjuli (ARE 633 of 1902).

Apart from these, she made extensive gifts to the Rajarajesvaram temple. She gave a copper image of Pichcha Devar (Bhikshatana Devar) to this temple (SII, II, 9), some time before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I. We get confirmation of this donation from another record of the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I (SII, II, 34) which mentions, *inter alia*, the setting up of this image of Pichcha Devar before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I by Loga Mahadevi, the consort of "our lord Sri Rajaraja Devar" and enumerates the gifts made by her of ornaments and vessels of gold and silver.

This image is described as having four arms and standing on a pair of (wooden) sandals (*tiru-adi-nilai*) with an attendant deity, *viz.*, one solid goblin (*bhuta*) standing near this image and holding a vessel for offerings (*bali patra*), one solid antelope (*maan*) standing near this image, one pedestal (*upapitham*) on which the image stood, set with jewels, and one solid aureola, encircling the deity, consisting of two pillars (*toranak-kal*) and the linking crescent-shaped upper element (*ardhachandra*).

(B) *Queen Panchavan Mahadevi**

1. Tanjai-Alagar
2. Uma Paramesvari (Siva's Consort)

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*In SII, II, 51 and 53, Queen Panchavan Mahadeviyar is mentioned without *aliases*; in SII, II, 42 and 46, Queen Chola Mahadeviyar is mentioned, again without *aliases*. Panchavan Mahadevi is stated to be the daughter of Avani-Kandarpa-Purattu-devanar of Paluvur in an inscription of the twenty-seventh year of Rajaraja I at Melappaluvur (ARE 385 of 1924), and

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3. Ganapati
4. Saint Patanjali

Panchavan Mahadevi gave a gift consisting of one solid copper image of Siva bearing the sacred name of Tanjai-Alagar having four divine arms; Muyalakan lying recumbent at the sacred foot on which the Lord stood; one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels; one solid image of His Consort Uma Paramesvari with a lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels; one pedestal on which the Lord and His Consort stood; and one solid aureola encircling the two deities, consisting of two ornamented pillars and the *ardhachandra* upper element connecting the two (SII, II, 51). Besides, her gifts included one solid Ganapati in a standing pose having four divine arms, and the lotus on which he stood, set with jewels, one pedestal and one solid aureola framing the icon. The same queen also gave (SII, II, 53), before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, one solid image of the saint Patanjali devar shown with a human body above the navel and three serpentine coils below the navel; the five-headed serpent hood formed an umbrella over the head of the icon; he had a crown (*makuta*) and two arms; also there was a lotus seat (*padma asana*), set with jewels, on which he sat and one solid aureola covering this image; besides, she endowed this image with innumerable gifts of gold flowers, sacred ear-rings, arm-bands and so forth.

(C) *Queen Chola Mahadevi*

1. Adavallar and
2. Uma Paramesvari
3. Rishabhavahana Devar and
4. His Consort

Chola Mahadevi as the daughter of Tittaipiran, in an inscription of the twenty-third year of Rajaraja I at Tiruvallam (ARE, 223 of 1921). However, an inscription of the 3rd year of Rajaraja I at Tirumalpuram (ARE, 294 of 1906) makes reference to "Chola Madeviyar *alias* Panchavan Madeviyar, Queen of Mummudi Chola". It is thus not clear whether these two names refer to one and the same queen; since the inscriptions list the gifts to the Rajarajesvaram under the two names separately, we have also listed them likewise.

(An inscription of the sixteenth year of Rajaraja I at Tiruppugalur (ARE 47 of 1928) refers to "Nakkan Tillai Alagiyar *alias* Panchavan Mahadeviyar, Queen of Rajaraja I").

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5. Ganapati

Chola Mahadevi, one of the principal queens of Rajaraja I gave, before his twenty-ninth year, a gift of one solid image of Adavallar, having four divine arms, with the image of Ganga-bhattaraki on the braided hair, nine braids of hair (*jata*) and seven flower garlands in between (*poo-malai*), along with an image of Muyalakan lying at the feet of the Lord; one lotus on which this image stood set with jewels, one pedestal, one solid aureola, one solid image of His Consort Uma Paramesvari with a lotus on which her image stood, set with jewels; one pedestal on which this stood; and one solid aureola; to these two images of Adavallar and Uma Paramesvari, she made innumerable gifts consisting of a string of round beads, a spiral with stones, strings with pearls and many others (SII, II, 42).

Chola Mahadevi also set up in the temple the following other copper images; one solid image of Rishabhavahana Devar having four divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels, one solid image of His Consort Uma Paramesvari, one lotus on which this image stood, one bull (*rishabha*) partially solid and partially hollow, one pedestal on which the God, His Consort and the bull stood, one solid aureola encircling all three and consisting of two ornamented pillars and one *ardhachandra* linking the two; one solid image of Ganapati, one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels, one pedestal and one solid aureola to cover this image. To these images she made extensive gifts enumerated in the inscription (SII, II, 46).

(D) *Queen Prithivi Mahadevi*

1. Srikanthamurti and Parvati

Prithivi Mahadevi, one of the queens of Rajaraja I presented an image of Srikanthamurti to the Rajarajesvaram temple before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I. This image represents Siva swallowing the poison *halahala,* but holding it in his throat, thus acquiring the name of Nilakantha (the blue-throated); the *Karanagama* gives the inconographic characteristics of Siva in this form as having one face, three eyes, braided hair, and four arms with the upper holding the antelope and the axe, while

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the poison is held in a cup in the right lower hand. Left of the image is the icon of Parvati shown with two arms. Inscription SII, II, 82 gives details of the gifts of ornaments, vessels etc. given to this image and the Consort.

(E) *Queen Trailokya Mahadevi*

1. Kalyanasundarar and Uma Paramesvari, with Vishnu and Brahma.

Before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, his queen Trailokya Mahadevi set up copper images of Siva under the name of Kalyanasundarar, of his Consort Uma Paramesvari and of Vishnu and Brahma represented as worshipping the main image. We gather that these were set up by her, from an inscription of the tenth year of Rajendra Choladeva (SII, II, 11). Here is a description of the deities: one solid image of Kalyanasundarar having four divine arms with one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels; one pedestal on which the God and His Consort stood, one solid aureola covering the God and His Consort consisting of two pillars and one crescent-shaped link between them; one solid image of standing Vishnu, having four arms and in the act of pouring out water; one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels; one four-legged pedestal; one solid image of Brahma represented as offering oblation (*huta*), having four arms and four faces, comfortably seated on a pedestal joined to a lotus, set with jewels. To these images she made extensive gifts of jewels and vessels (the details of which are contained in the inscription referred to above) which included strings of beads, sacred ear-rings, arm-rings, foot-rings, spirals and others (SII, II, 48).

(F) *Queen Abhimanavalli*

1. Lingapurana Devar (Lingodbhavar)

Before the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Rajaraja I, his queen Abhimanavalli set up a copper image of Lingapurana Devar. It consisted of the following: One image of Lingapurana Devar in the shape of a Linga with one solid image of Siva represented as rising out of this image, having four divine arms, one solid

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image of Brahma, having four divine arms, joined to the Linga; and one solid image of Vishnu with the head of a boar (*varaha-mukha*) and having four divine arms joined to the Linga. This image was presented with a necklace, strung with four hundred and thirty pearls in clusters, and one necklace strung with eight hundred and eighty seven pearls in clusters (SII, II, 44).

(G) *Queen Ilada Mahadevi*

1. Pasupatamurti

While we have no exclusive inscription dedicated to the setting up of any images by this queen, there is a reference in an inscription dealing with the donation of sheep, cows and buffaloes for the maintenance of lamps in the temple (SII, II, 95, para 56), to the setting up of an image of Pasupatamurti by this queen who presented cows and she-buffaloes for the purpose of burning lamps to this image. In all probability, her gift of this is recorded in some inscription in the inner enclosure of the temple which is still buried underground.

4. *ICONS SET UP BY RAJARAJA I'S OFFICERS AND OTHERS*

(A) *Krishnan Raman*

(1) Ardhanarisvarar

One of the important officers and generals of Rajaraja I was Narakkan Sri Krishnan Raman *alias* Senapati (general) Mummadi-Chola-Brahmamarayan, a *perundanam* of Lord Sri Rajaraja devar and a citizen of Keralantaka chaturvedimangalam in Vennadu, a subdivision of Uyyakkonda valanadu. It was he who constructed the innermost wall of enclosure round the Rajarajesvaram temple, as is evidenced by three inscriptions on its southern and western wings. Inscription SII, II, 39 gives the details of the metal image of Ardhanarisvarar set up by him in this temple before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I: one solid image of Ardhanarisvarar; one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels; one pedestal on which this image stood; one solid aureola covering the image. The deity was half-male,

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half-female, and the Siva (*Isvara*) half had two divine arms and and the Uma (*Isvari*) half had one divine arm. It was made of copper and covered with brass.

(B) *Adittan Suryan*

1. Nambi Aruranar
2. Nangai Paravaiyar
3. Tirunavukkaraiyar
4. Tirujnana Sambandar
5. Periya Perumal (Rajaraja I)
6. Loga Mahadevi, his consort
7. Devaradevar
8. Miladudaiyar
9. Kshetrapalar
10. Bhairavar
11. Siruttonda Nambi
12. Tiruvenkattu Nangai
13. Siraladevar

Perhaps the most significant of all the metals donated by any of Rajaraja I's ministers and officers were those by Adittan Suryan, *alias* Tennavan Muvendavelan, the headman of Poygai nadu, who carried on the management of Rajarajesvaram (SII, II, 38). He set up, before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, the following images:

(a) One solid image (*pratimam*) of Nambi Aruranar (Sundarar) having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal on which the lotus was placed;

(b) one solid image of Nangai Paravaiyar, having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(c) one solid image of Tirunavukkaraiyar having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(d) one solid image or Tirujnana Sambandar having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(e) one solid image of Periya Perumal (Rajaraja I) having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

(f) one solid image of his consort Ologamadeviyar (Loga Mahadevi) having two sacred arms, one lotus on which this image stood, one pedestal joined to this lotus;

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(g) one sacred image (*tirumeni*) in solid brass of Chandrasekhara devar set up as Devaradevar* for Periya Perumal (*Periya Perumalukku Devara-devaraga elundarulivitta . . . tirumeni*) having four divine arms; one brass pedestal bearing a lotus, which was joined to this image; one solid aureola of copper covering this image;

(h) one solid image of Miladudaiyar, who said: "*Oh, Tatta,* watch out; (*he is*) *one of us* (one of the devotees of Siva)", having two arms; one pedestal on which this image stood joined to a lotus (SII, II, 40). According to the sixth chapter of the *Periyapuranam,* one Meypporul Nayanar, a Chedi (?) king residing at Tirukkovalur, was stabbed by his enemy Muttanadan who had managed to obtain a private interview in the disguise of a Saiva devotee; the door-keeper who was about to kill the assailant was prevented from doing so by the dying king who exclaimed: 'Oh Tatta, he is a devotee of Siva; therefore do not harm him'; and Meypporul Nayanar is also called Miladudaiyar (the lord of Miladu).

Adittan Suryan also gave the following *tirumenis* and *pratimas* of copper until the third year of the king Rajendra I :

(1) One solid image of Kshetrapala devar having eight divine arms;

(2) One solid image of Siva in his fierce form of Bhairavar, represented as dancing, having two divine arms, and one pedestal on which this image stood, joined to a lotus;

(3) One solid image of Siruttonda Nambi, having two arms;

(4) One solid image of Tiruvenkattu Nangai;

(5) One solid image of Siraladevar, having two arms; and one pedestal on which the three images (i.e. 3, 4 and 5) stood, joined to a lotus (SII, II, 43, which deals with the gifts of *tirumenis* and *pratimas* made by the same chief, Adittan Suryan).

(C) *Velan Adittan*

1. Siva and Uma
2. Subrahmanyar
3. Ganapati

Devaradevar means the deity before whom the *Devaram* was recited (by the king, in this instance).

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Another royal officer named Velan Adittan *alias* Parantaka Pallavaraiyan, a headman (*kilan*) of ... and a *perundaram* of Lord Sri Rajarajadevar, set up a copper image of Siva and Uma before the twenty-ninth year of the king. The gift consisted of one solid image of Siva having four divine arms in the *sukhasana* posture; one solid image of his Consort Uma Paramesvari, seated; one solid image of the god Subrahmanyar having two divine arms, standing; and one solid image of Ganapati having four divine arms (SII, II, 32).

(D) *Rajaraja Muvendavelar*

1. Kratarjuniya Devar

Another important officer of the royal court of Rajaraja I was the Minister Udaya Divakaran Tillaiyaliyar *alias* Rajaraja Muvendavelar, a native of Kanchivayil. He set up the image of Kratarjuniya Devar (Kiratarjuniya Devar) in the Rajarajesvaram temple and deposited thirteen *kasus* of money for the sacred food and other requirements of the deity (SII, II, 9).

(E) *Kovan Annamalai*

1. Bhringisar
2. Surya Devar

Yet another prominent royal officer is Kovan (i.e. Gopan) Annamalai *alias* Keralantaka Vilupparaiyan, a *perundaram* of the minor treasury (*sirudanam*) who made a gift of the following: one solid image of Bhringisar, with three divine feet and three divine arms and bearing a bush (*sedi*), and one pedestal on which this image stood, set with jewels (SII, II, 47).

The same officer set up a copper image of the Sun god, Surya Devar, before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I and presented some ornaments to this image. The gift consists of one solid image of Surya Devar having two divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels, one pedestal (*bhadra-udaiya pitham*) and one solid aureola.

(F) *Mummadisola Posan*

1. Chandesvara Devar

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We have another officer of Rajaraja I's court, Irayiravan Pallavayan *alias* Mummadisola Posan, who set up an image in copper of Chandesvara Devar before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I and presented certain ornaments (SII, II, 55). Pallavayan was a *perundanam* of Rajarajadevar and the gifts made are: one solid image of Chandesvara Devar, having two divine arms, one lotus on which this image stood, set with jewels, one pedestal (*bhadra-udaiya pitham*), one solid aureola and one solid axe (*malu*) held by this image. This Chandesvara Devar is, of course, different from the Chandesvara Prasada Devar presented by Rajaraja I which has been mentioned earlier under the gifts of images made by the king himself (SII, II, 29).

(G) *Vadugan*

1. Durga Paramesvari

One Vadugan, a native of Nallur *alias* Panchavan Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam, made a gift of a copper image of Durga Paramesvari, which was set up in the temple of Rajarajesvaram before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, and also endowed it with a number of ornaments and jewels. This image (*tirumeni*) of Durga Paramesvari was of solid metal and had four hands; it stood on *padma* and *bhadra pithams* with a *prabha* over it; the aureola was also made of solid metal (SII, II, 79).

(H) *Rajaraja Kattiyarayan*

1. Kala Pidari

Finally, Perundanam Kandayan *alias* Rajaraja Kattiyaraiyan, son of Kattiyarayan, made a gift before the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I to the Rajarajesvaram temple, of a solid image of Kala Pidari having four arms, along with one pedestal and one solid aureola (SII, II, 81).

(I) *Guru Isana Pandita*

1. A *pratima* of the Guru

Guru Isana Siva Pandita is often mentioned in the records of this temple and was one of the important *Saiva acharyas* charged with the spiritual administration of the temple; apart from the

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money deposits made by him for various services in the temple, he also set up an image *(pratima)* of *himself* in the temple. "To the shepherd Nallaran Villanai of Mangalam were assigned 32 *kasus* out of the money deposited by the priest (*gurukkal*) Isana Siva Pandita for a lamp to the image of the *gurukkal* set up in the temple" (SII, II, 95, para 82).

One may conclude, reading inscriptions 96, 20 and 90 together, that Sivacharya Isana Siva Pandita continued to be the chief priest of the temple till the second or even the third year of Rajendra I when he was succeeded by Sivacharya Pavana Pidaran. We learn from inscription no. 90 that the latter presented a pot (*kalasa*) in the third year of Rajendra Chola for one of the subshrines in the temple. He, in turn, was succeeded by Saivacharya Sarva Siva Pandita, as attested by a nineteenth year record of Rajendra (SII, II, 20), according to which Rajendra ordered, *inter alia,* while camping in the college (*kalluri*) which surrounds the king's flower garden (*aram*) on the north side of the royal hall (*tiru maligai*) of Mudikonda solan within the palace (*koyil*) at Gangaikondasolapuram, that two thousand *kalams* of paddy fully measured by the *marakkal* called Adavallan preserved in the temple should be supplied every year, as long as the sun and the moon last, to the treasury in the city, to be enjoyed by the priests (*acharya*) of the temple of the lord of Sri Rajarajesvarar, *viz.*, our Lord the Saivacharya Sarva Pandita and by those who deserve it among the pupils (*sishya*) of this Lord and the pupils of his pupils (*prasishya*). The above order was written (engraved on stone), as heard from the lips of the king. "May the *Sivacharyas* of this *spiritual line* protect this charity (*dharma*)," ends the order. The deification of this guru is indicative of the high esteem in which the rulers held the spiritual leaders of this line.

ICONS: GENERAL:

The age of Sembiyan Mahadevi and Rajaraja I was one when artistic "works of individual creative power" were made by artists "who were trained in a guild tradition of imparted knowledge and followed a system of canonical proportion and technique, relying on inspiration through meditation; and yet,

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inevitably, their productions combine system and freedom, dream and reality to produce at once works of individual genius and awesome religious power"—these are the wise words of an outstanding art critic, Benjamin Rowland, who believed in the traditional school of art.

The icons are elaborately described. The name of the main deity and the attendant deities, where any, the composition of the metal—whether copper, brass-coated, silver, gold or alloy (bronze or bell-metal) was used for their making, the height and and weight of each unit, the number of hands and the attributes in each of them, the seat (*asana* or *pitha*) and the aureola, if they were solid or hollow, their shape and composition—all these particulars furnished in the foundation inscriptions are unique and unparalleled in the history of any ruler in our land or elsewhere.

The loss of most of these icons, the gold and to a lesser extent the silver vessels for their services during worship, the fabulous ornaments of gold and precious stones, corals and pearls of fantastic numbers, variety and value so elaborately described, is a sad tale of a vanished glory whose shadow alone we can now see and read from the mute records inscribed on the temple walls and whose purport and value has been made available to us in the pages of the Epigraphical Reports, thanks to the indefatigable labours and the mature scholarship of one of the greatest epigraphists of our period, E. Hultzsch and his able band of fellow workers.

If there is no autobiography or biography of our rulers as in the case of the Moghul emperors, and no accounts of contemporary foreign visitors as we have of Nuniz and Paes for Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagara, we have at least some copper plate grants and the innumerable inscriptions on the walls of temples, an invaluable source material to help us recapture, however, feebly it be, the glory that was Rajaraja I and the grandeur that was the Rajarajesvaram.

GIFTS — OTHER THAN ICONS — AND DONATIONS

(A) *Rajaraja I*

There are perhaps few lithic records in recorded history so

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fascinating as the one found in nine sections engraved on the north wall and four sections on the west wall of the central shrine, which the inscription itself terms as Rajaraja's edict. It opens with a Sanskrit *sloka* followed by the Tamil part. After listing out his conquests, it goes on to mention the date after which this and all the other grants relating to this temple were incised on the walls and pillars of the temple. On the twentieth day of the twenty-sixth year of his reign, Ko-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Rajarajadeva ordered that the gifts made by himself, his elder sister Kundavaiyar, his queens, and other donors should be engraved on the stone walls of the temple. It is in fact from this inscription that we get to know that Rajaraja himself built this temple and called it the temple of the Isvara of Rajaraja. Then it mentions a list of gold images, gold vessels and ornaments studded with precious stones which the king himself presented to the temple and to the image of Dakshina Meru Vitankar, on various dates, the earliest date being in his twenty-third year and the last being on his twenty-ninth year. We gather that part of the gifts which the king made between his twenty-third and twenty-ninth years were taken from the treasures which he seized after defeating the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu ; after he assumed the titles of Sivapadasekhara and Rajaraja, he made a gift of a number of gold trumpets and after his triumphant return from the victory over Satyasraya, the Western Chalukya king, he made a gift of a number of gold flowers. In calligraphy, historical content and the fascinating details of jewellery and ornaments listed out in it, this record stands out as a gem of epigraphy (SII, II, 1).

The gifts made by Rajaraja I may be divided into three categories : (*i*) metal images of deities, (*ii*) gold ornaments and vessels, and (*iii*) jewellery.

We have dealt with the gifts of icons in the earlier sections.

Besides those, he made a gift of ornaments and vessels numbering thirty-two and weighing 22,257 *kalanjus*.

From the *bhandaram* (treasures) captured by him after defeating the Chera king (Seraman) and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu, Rajaraja I gave on the 319th day of his twenty-sixth year to the

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Paramasvamin (the Supreme Lord) of the Sri Rajaraja-Isvaram temple, a number of gold *chinhas* (emblems) which were weighed by the stone called *Adavallan* and details of these gifts were engraved on stone.

These two groups of gifts, which total 22,256 and 5,705 *kalanjus* respectively, relate to those given to the Lord of Rajarajesvaram in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years, the latter being from the treasures which he seized after having defeated the Chera king. These are enumerated in the first part of the inscription.

In the second part, there is specific mention that it confines itself only to those gifts given from the twenty-third to the twenty-ninth years of his reign, *excluding* those gifts of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years which had already been engraved on the adjacent stones, ahead of this part of the inscription, on the east of the upper tier (*jagatippadai*). The gifts listed here can again be divided into three parts, (*i*) those given out of the treasures secured after the defeat of the Cheras, valued at 67 *kalanjus* of gold, (*ii*) those offered after he was bestowed the illustrious titles of Sivapadasekhara (he whose forehead is always at the feet of Siva) and Sri Rajaraja (the illustrious king of kings), valued at 2,937 *kalanjus* of gold, (*iii*) gifts made from his own treasures, amounting to 2075 *kalanjus*, (*iv*) gifts given to the Lord after he returned from his victory over Satyasraya, which he showered as flowers at the sacred feet (*sri pada pushpa*) of the God by way of thanksgiving (with the flowers of gold, listed in the inscription) amounting to 264 *kalanjus*, and (*v*) one more category of gifts given not to the Lord of the Rajarajesvaram but to the processional deity, known by the name of Dakshina Meru Vitankar, also set up by Rajaraja.

And finally apart from those given out of his own treasure, he gave one diadem (*tiruppattam*) made of gold taken from the treasures which he seized after having defeated the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu, weighing 981¾ *kalanjus* (*seramanaiyum pandiyanaiyum malai nattu erindu konda bhandarangalil pon kondu seydu kudutta tiruppattam onru pon* ...).

And to all these, we should add the gold element of the *kalasam*

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for the great temple, that he made over on the 275th day of his twenty-sixth year, which consisted of one copper water-pot (*kudam*) to be placed on the copper pinnacle (*stupi tadi*) of the *srivimana*. Its copper constituent weighed 3,083 *palams* and the gold gilding which was in the shape of plates (*tagadu*) weighed 2926½ *kalanjus*. When we add together all the gifts in the shape of gold images, ornaments, vessels and so forth, made by Rajaraja I, we get a staggering figure of 38,604 *kalanjus* in round figures.

In addition to the above, a number of ornaments were gifted to the temple, which were made partly of gold and jewels from the temple treasury, and partly of pearls which the king had presented to the temple before the twenty-ninth year of his reign. A number of corals were also secured by the temple treasury out of the booty which the king had seized after conquering the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu. With these, one diadem and nine girdles were made for the use of the image of Rajarajesvarar, the principal deity of the temple. The details of these jewels are given in an inscription "engraved on stone on the *jagatippadai* and on the *upapithattu kandappadai* of the *koyil* of Chandesvara". Besides these gifts, 30 more ornaments, made partly of gold and jewels from the temple treasury and partly of pearls, which Rajaraja I had given to the temple up to his twenty-ninth year, were gifted (SII, II, 59 and 3).

In the enumeration, the gifts are divided into various groups : (*i*) one diadem, weighing 1,197 *kalanjus* (value lost) and nine sacred girdles weighing 643 *kalanjus* and valued at 2,730 *kasus* make one group ; (*ii*) a second group of six girdles, weighing 325 *kalanjus* and valued at 460 *kasus* ; (*iii*) bracelets numbering 16, made of pearls constituted a third group, weighing 155 *kalanjus* and having 5,770 pearls, valued at 403 *kasus* ; (*iv*) five pearl ornaments called *srichhandas* gifted to the Lord make up yet another group ; they contained 38,844 pearls, weighed 158 *kalanjus* and were valued at 209 *kasus*. And finally three more items were gifted, *viz.*, a crown (*sri-mudi*), a garland (*tiru-malai*) and an umbrella (*tirupurak-kudai*).

Thus in all, a crown, a diadem, 15 girdles, 16 bracelets, five *srichhandas*, a garland and a parasol were gifted to the temple

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(SII, II, 59 and 3). Excluding the diadem (whose value is lost), these items had a total value of 4072 *kasus* (adding up 86 *kasus* for the crown, 18 *kasus* for the garland, 71¼ *kasus* for the parasol, 2735 *kasus* for the nine girdles, 403 *kasus* for the 16 bracelets, 550 *kasus* for another six girdles and 209 *kasus* for the five *srichhandas*).

Out of the treasures seized from the Cheras and the Pandyas and out of his own treasures, Rajaraja I presented further jewels and ornaments to the Lord. They include necklaces, armlets, bracelets, rings and sandals (footwear) made of wood and covered with gold plates and set with jewels. An interesting aspect is that there were four rings, which had all the nine gems (*navaratnam*) set in them, *viz.*, diamond, sapphire, pearl, topaz, cinnamon stone, coral, emerald, lapis lazuli and ruby. This complete complement of gems is found recorded only in the inscription in Rajarajesvaram (SII, II, 93). These items are described as bejewelled ornaments (*rattinattin tiru-abharanangal*).*

We get the names of all the nine gems in Tamil. They are : *vairam* (diamond), *nilam* (sapphire), *muttu* (pearls), *pushparaga* or *pushyaraga* (topaz), *gomedakam* (cinnamon stone), *pavalam* (coral), *maragatam* (emerald), *vaiduryam* (lapis lazuli) and *manikkam* (ruby). There are special types of rubies called *sattan* and *ilaisungi* (presumably named after some of their characteristics), inferior rubies called *kuruvindam*, and superior rubies like *halam*, *komalam* and *halahalam* : again, there are plain diamonds, *kuppi* diamonds and crystal (*palingu* or *palikku*) diamonds. At least twelve different classifications in pearls were known to the Cholas : (1) round pearls ; (2) roundish pearls ; (3) polished pearls ; (4) small pearls ; (5) *nimbolam* ; (6) *pavittam* ; (7) *ambumudu* ; (8) crude pearls ; (9) twin pearls ; (10) *sappati* ; (11) *sakkattu* ; and (12) pearls of brilliant water and red water, and others.

In all, this batch of gifts consists of 55 pieces — six necklaces, three composite necklaces, one *tali* (marriage badge), three armlets, one *padakkam*, six pearl bangles, two bracelets, two coral

*As usual, they were weighed against the stone called Dakshina Meru Vitankan; the standard manner of weighing jewellery was to exclude the threads (*saradu*), the frames (*sattam*), and the copper nails (*seppani*) and include the lac (*arakku*) and the *pinju* (?).

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bracelets, one girdle, two pearl *uruttus,* two coral *uruttus,* one diamond *uruttu,* two *sonaka-chidukkin-kudu**, five jewelled rings, four *navaratna* rings, one *prishtakandigai,* one *srichhandam,* three pairs of *sandals* and six others whose descriptions are lost. The value of these items (excluding 13, whose values are lost) comes to 4,390 *kasus.*

In his dainty little book on the *Jewellery of India,* Francis Brunel, an ardent admirer of Indian Culture and Art, observes :

> "India's fabulous heritage in the field of Jewellery is unparalleled anywhere else, for not only has it at least 5,000 years of unbroken tradition behind it, but also because it has given to its jewels the highest meanings in associating the most precious metals and the purest gems with a vision of the universe, nature and life, and the cosmic energies permeating the whole creation in works of beauty,"

and adds aptly that

> "...nowhere else have jewels had a greater place, or have been more associated with divinity, blessing and protection, power and glory, success and prosperity."

Kings and nobles in all ages have revelled in jewellery. The author points out that flowers and garlands of all patterns and colours have been the first jewels within the reach of the humblest ones. Another notable feature of Indian culture was that even the highest in the land gave away the best of every thing — even of jewels — to their patron deities. Hence it is that the temples became the most valuable custodians of the precious objects of art — and for this very reason also became the target of attack during periods of political convulsions.

We may next take up the gifts of silver made by Rajaraja I

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*A very interesting item of jewellery is the *Sonakachchidukkin kudu. Chidukku* is a commonly known ornament of the medieval period worn by women, and the term *"Sonaka"* would seem to have come into Tamil in the following manner: *Sonaka < Jonaka < Javanaka < Yavanaka* (a Greek or more generally one from the Middle East). So this item could have been modelled on a Greek piece of jewellery. We have at least one instance of an Arab who rose to eminence in the Chola court one who bore the Indian name of Paranjoti (of Savur) (SII, II, 95 and p. 460).

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to this temple. As Venkayya says, "it is worthy of note that there is only one inscription of the temple (SII, II, 91) which mentions presents made of silver. Most of the other inscriptions record gifts of gold". The Government Epigraphist humorously remarks : "It looks as if the king had more gold and precious stones at his disposal than silver". This inscription contains a list of silver utensils which are said to have borne the names of Sivapadasekharan and Sri Rajarajan and derived from the three sources, *viz.*, (1) the king's own treasure, (2) the booty seized in the war against the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malai Nadu, and (3) the silver seized in the same campaign. The inscription is damaged at different portions and thus prevents a full enlistment of all the silver utensils and aids for worship (*velliyin tirupparikkalangal*). Silver items, like gold items, were measured (weighed) by the unit of weight (for precious metals and stones) called the *Adavallan*. In all, a total of 155 silver items (vessels and utensils) were given to the Lord. There are seven more items which are not decipherable, apart from a number of items which have been lost to us as the inscription is much damaged at six places. These 155 items of silver weigh a total of 48,400 *kalanjus*. The inscription gives a complete list of these items with the weight of each including that of gold wherever it is an added element.

(B) *Kundavai*

Having set up the four icons mentioned in the earlier section, she proceeded to endow them as also the images of the two Vitankars set up by her brother, with ornaments and jewels, whose number, value and variety stagger the imagination of the reader. She gave to

(1) the image of her mother, 20 ear-rings (*kambi*) valued at six *kasus*, and a string of beads for the marriage badge (*tali-mani vadam*),

(2) the god Dakshina Meru Vitankar an ornament consisting of a single string on which were strung 35 old pearls, two corals, two lapis lazuli, one *talimbam*, one *padugan* and one *kokkuvay*, equal in value to 11 *kasus*, and

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(3) the goddess Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar, an ornament consisting of a single string on which were strung thirty-five old pearls, viz., roundish pearls, polished pearls and small pearls, two corals, two lapis lazuli, one *talimbam,* one *padugan*, and one *kokkuvay,* valued at 12 *kasus.*

In addition, for decorating the sacred hall (*tiruvarangu*) which the goddess Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of the Lord Dakshina Meru Vitankar, and the goddess Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of Tanjai Vitankar, occupied while on procession during the sacred festival (*tiru vilaa*), she gave 3,500 *kalanjus* of gold, which was a quarter superior in fineness to the gold standard called *dandayani* and 1,500 *kalanjus* of gold which was one degree inferior to that standard, making a total of 5,000 *kalanjus* of gold.

Further, for the sacred food (*tiru amudu*), temple garlands (*tiruppallittamam*), oil for the sacred lamps and other expenses (*alivu*) required when the goddess Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar and the goddess Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of Tanjai Vitankar were carried in procession, she deposited money with various village bodies, on interest in kind, i.e. paddy at the rate of three *kurunis* per *kasu* per year (which worked out to 12½%) to be delivered into the treasury of the temple of Rajarajesvaram, measured by the standard unit of volumetric measure for grains known as the *Adavallan.*

To meet the requirements of the image of Ponmaligait Tunjiya Devar, she made the following arrangements :

(1) one set of arrangements, similar to the above one, under which paddy as interest in kind at the rate of three *kurunis* per *kasu* per year on money (*kasu*) deposited with them, was to be measured into the sacred treasury, and for this purpose, she deposited with the local body of Gandaraditta chaturvedimangalam a sum of 520 *kasus* bearing an annual interest of 130 *kalams* of paddy.

(2) In addition, she enumerated a list of items connected with the daily worship of this image, for which a total of 51 *kasus* per year was needed. And this amount was to be met by the interest on certain deposits of cash she made with the various

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villages* which was to be paid into the sacred treasury in cash at the rate of one-eighth of an *akkam* (one twelfth of a *kasu*) per month per *kasu* as interest.

(3) In addition, for keeping ten twilight lamps burning for this deity, she deposited with Pirantakan Achchan Adigal 32 *kasus* for purchasing 96 sheep (at the rate of three sheep for one *kasu*) whose milk was to be converted to ghee and used for keeping the lights burning and for this purpose this donee was to give one *ulakku* of ghee every day.

An almost identical arrangement was made by Kundavai for the worship to be offered to the image of her mother Vanavan Mahadevi, set up by her. This was in three parts :

(1) For the general expenses of worship, she deposited 520 *kasus* with the village of Kundavai-nallur, fetching 130 *kalams* of paddy as interest per annum;

(2) The cash required for the purchase of sacred cloth, curtains, towels, canopies and other items was to be deposited in the sacred treasury, being the interest on a capital of 488 *kasus* deposited by Kundavai with the assembly of Sri Parantakachaturvedimangalam ; and

(3) She deposited with Pattattalan Kaliyan Paradan (Bharatan 32 *kasus* for the purchase of sheep for ten twilight lamps to be maintained before the image of her mother.

What elaborate arrangements !

Yet another inscription (SII, II, 2) gives further information on the contribution of Kundavai ; it consists of three distinct parts. The first part (comprising paras 1 to 12) mentions that on the 310th day of the twenty-fifth year of Rajaraja I,

*Details of the cash amounts deposited with various villages :

Village	*Capital*	*Interest*
	in *kasus*	in *kasus*
Viranarayana-chaturvedimangalam	196	24½
Parantaka-chaturvedimangalam	112	14
Sulamangalam	100	12½
Total	408	51

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Kundavai, the queen of Vallavaraiyar Vandyadevar and elder sister of Rajaraja I, presented eleven gold vessels to the "goddess Uma Paramesvari, who is the Consort of our Lord Adavallar"; the second part enumerates similar gifts of gold vessels and ornaments which were made by her between the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth years of Rajaraja I "to goddess Uma Paramesvari who is the Consort of our Lord Adavallar Dakshina Meru Vitankar' (paras 14 to 42). The last portion (paras 44 to 59) lists out the gifts to the goddess Uma Paramesvari, "who is the Consort of our Lord Tanjai Vitankar". A third inscription, relating to Kundavai's contribution to the temple (SII, II, 7) covers her gifts to the images set up by her in the Rajarajesvaram temple, till the third regnal year of her nephew, Rajendra I. It mentions 13 more ornaments of gold and jewels, given by her to "Uma Paramesvari, who is the Consort of our Lord Dakshina Meru Vitankar" until the 3rd year of the reign of Kopparakesarivarman *alias* Rajendradeva. The descriptions of these ornaments are very elaborate.

The total value of all the 13 pieces of jewellery and ornaments adds up to 11,820 *kasus* in all. It may be noticed that all these pieces relate to one image set up by her.

Kundavai's gifts to the icons set up by her and others (SII, II, 8) in the temple of temples were unceasing. A further record relates to similar gifts of a number of ornaments of gold and jewels which were presented by her until the third year of the reign of Rajendra I, the donees here also being the images which she had set up herself. This inscription which is in three sections of nine lines each ends in the middle with the statement that the inscription is continued at the bottom of the south wall of the portico, which unfortunately is built in. From the published part of the inscription we have the list of gifts given to the Consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar and the Consort of Tanjai Vitankar. These are: five pieces of gold ornaments, comprising a girdle, two foot-rings (anklets ?) and two *sri-pada-sayalam*, gifted to Uma Paramesvari, the Consort of Dakshina Meru Vitankar, adding up to a total value of 6,200 *kasus* ; 15 items of ornaments of gold consisting of a crown, ear-rings, pendants, *sayalam*, necklace

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and others, weighing in all about 391 *kalanjus*, whose value is not given ; and two items of jewellery made up of a *makuta* and a garland, the former valued at 700 *kasus*.

(C) *Rajendra I*

During Rajendra I's time gifts were made to the following deities :

1. Lord of Rajarajesvaram
2. Kiratarjuniya devar
3. Pichchadevar
4. Maha Meru Vitankar
5. Kalyanasundarar and His Consort
6. Chandesvara devar
7. Dakshina Meru Vitankar

Until the sixth year of Rajendra I, Guru Isana Siva Pandita, Udaya Divakaran Tillaiyaliyar (*alias* Rajaraja Muvendavelar), a minister (*adhikarin*) and a native of Kanchi-vayil and the *Valangai* Parambadaigalitar, each deposited 180, 13 and 252 *kasus* respectively with the temple, as represented by Chandesvara devar. These amounts were given out on interest to the assembly of Nedumanal *alias* Madanamanjari chaturvedimangalam. These amounts were supplemented by 805 *kasus* given out of the sacred treasury of the Lord, thus making a total of 1250 *kasus*. Towards interest on 1070 *kasus*, the said assembly was to measure with the Adavallan *marakkal*, 267 *kalams*, one *tuni* and a *padakku* of paddy into the large treasury of the Lord at Tanjavur and towards interest on the remaining amount of 180 *kasus*, the assembly was to pay every year into the treasury 22½ *kasus*.

The amounts (paddy and cash) thus received as interest were to be utilised as follows :

(*i*) out of 22½ *kasus* (which was the interest on the deposit of 180 *kasus* by Guru Isana Siva Pandita), 56¼ *kalanjus* of camphor (*karpuram*) was to be bought.

(*ii*) the interest of paddy on the 13 *kasus* deposited by the minister was to be used for the sacred food and other requirements of the image of Kiratarjuniya Devar set up by him ; and

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(*iii*) the interest of paddy on the amounts deposited by the army regiment and the sacred treasury was to be used for the sacred food and other requirements of the image of Pichchadevar, whose maintenance and worship was made the responsibility of this particular regiment by the king. It will be seen later that a similar arrangement was made for the other deities of the temple by royal order (SII, II, 9).

A further amount of 94 *kasus* was deposited with the assembly of Irumbudal, *alias* Manikulachchulamani chaturvedimangalam (present day Alangudi in Tanjavur dist.), a *brahmadeya* in Avur kurram in Nittavinoda valanadu in or before the tenth year of Rajendra I; the interest in paddy on this amount was to be utilised for food and other expenses of the image of Kiratarjuna Devar, referred to earlier (SII, II, 10).

The same assembly accepted 506 *kasus* from the funds made available by the *Sirudanattu Panimakkal* (the servants of the small treasury) and paid annually as interest three *kurunis* of paddy per year per *kasu* for the sacred food and other expenses required for the image of Maha Meru Vitankar and His Consort which had been set up by Rajaraja I (SII, II, 10).

The assembly of Arumolideva chaturvedimangalam in Purangarambai nadu of Arumolideva valanadu accepted (from Chandesvara devar) on interest a deposit of 294 *kasus*, which the *Niyayam Sirundanattu panimakkal*, who were attached to the images of Maha Meru Vitankar and his Consort had deposited for the services to the two deities, whose expenditure was to be met from the interest at the usual money rate (SII, II, 11).

The images of Kalyanasundarar and His Consort, which were set up by Trailokya Mahadevi, one of the queens of Rajaraja I, were by royal order made the responsibility of the *Nyayangalilar* and the latter body deposited for the expenses required by these images, sums which were received as follows:

i)	The Keralantaka-vasal-tiru-meykkappar	118 *kasus*
ii)	The Anukkavasal-tiru-meykkappar	8 ,,
iii)	The Keralantaka-terinda-parivarattar	35 ,,
iv)	The Jananatha-terinda-parivarattar	5 ,,

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v) The Singalantaka-terinda-parivarattar	1	,,
vi) The Parivara-meykkappargal of Tenkarai nadu	339	,,
all making a total of ..	506	*kasus*

On this capital, the same assembly was to credit into the temple treasury the interest in cash annually at the usual rate of interest (SII, II, 11).

The *Pandita-sola-terinja-villaligal,* a contingent of the *Niyayam Perundanattu valangai-velaikkara-padaigal,* which was a regiment of the Chola army, were attached to the *main deity* of the Rajarajesvaram temple; they deposited with Chandesvarar, who in turn was to give the interest to the assembly of Palliyil, in Nenmali nadu, a subdivision of Arulmolideva valandu, 31 *kasus* on money interest, for the expenses required for this image. Similarly the *Nittavinoda terinda valangai velaikkarar,* another contingent of the army, deposited 13 *kasus* with the same assembly for the same purpose (SII, II, 12).

The *Niyayam-uttama-sola-terinda-andalagattalar,* who were attached to the image of Chandesvarar which had been set up by Perundanam Irayiravan Pallavayan *alias* Mummadisola Posan *alias* Uttama Sola Pallavaraiyan deposited 60 *kasus* with the same assembly for the services to that image to be conducted out of the money interest on the said sum (SII, II, 12).

The *Rajavinoda-terinda-valangai-velaikkarar,* a contingent of the *Niyayam Perundanattu valangai-velaikkara-padaigal,* who were attached to the Lord of the Rajarajesvaram temple deposited with the assembly of Perumbalamarudur, a *brahmadeya* in Purangarambai nadu for the expenses required for this image, a sum of 310 *kasus* on money interest. The *Chandaparakrama-terinda-valangai-velaikkarar* deposited 223 *kasus* for the same purpose, and the *Pandita-Sola-terinda-villaliyar* 267 *kasus,* also for the same purpose. They total 800 *kasus* (SII, II, 13).

The *Niyayam-Sirundanattu-valangai-velaikkara-padaigalilar,* who were attached by royal order to the image of Dakshina Meru Vitankar set up by Rajaraja I, had deposited 1000 *kasus* with

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the assembly of Kalappal, a *brahmadeya* in Purangarambai nadu of Arumolideva valanadu for meeting the expenses of services to this image out of the interest (of 125 *kasus)* (SII, II, 14).

The same army regiment deposited a further sum of 500 *kasus,* for the same deity's requirements, with the assembly of Vanganagar, a *brahmadeya* of Purangarambai nadu, mentioned earlier (SII, II, 15).

Again, the same army regiment deposited 300 *kasus* for the services to the *same deity,* with the assembly of Kori, a *brahmadeya* in the same *nadu* as above; $37\frac{1}{2}$ *kasus* was the interest to be paid into the sacred treasury (SII, II, 16).

The same regiment, for the same purpose, for the *same deity* deposited 800 *kasus* bearing an annual interest of 100 *kasus* with the assembly of Arinjigai chaturvedimangalam (SII, II, 17). A similar investment of 500 *kasus* was made with the assembly of Kundavai chaturvedimangalam (SII, II, 18).

Further, the same regiment, for the same purpose, for the *same deity,* deposited 500 *kasus,* bearing an annual interest of $62\frac{1}{2}$ *kasus,* with the assembly of Panaiyur, a *brahmadeya* in Purangarambai nadu (SII, II, 19).

The icon of Dakshina Meru Vitankar appears to have received massive grants and considerable attention.

(D) *By Officers*

Gifts (other than icons) made by the officers of Rajaraja I are again numerous.

1. Kadan Ganavadi

Among them are those made by one Kadan Ganavadi (Ganapati), a native of Muruganallur in Puliyur nadu, a subdivision of Arulmolideva valanadu, and a *pani magan* (servant) of the minor treasury (*sirudanam*) of the Lord Sri Rajaraja devar. He deposited 56 *kasus* with the *perumakkal* of the *perangadi* of Tribhuvanamahadevi, which was situated within the city limits of the capital (of Tanjavur) for meeting the annual expenses on cardamom seeds and big *champaka* buds, out of the interest of seven *kasus.* This was for the main deity of the Rajarajesvaram temple.

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Similarly, for supplying 2,160 *palams* of scented roots*, a principal amount of 30 *kasus* was received on interest by the members of the assembly of Iramanur, a *brahmadeya* of Miraikkurram, a subdivision of Vadakarai Rajendrasimha valanadu (SII, II, 24).

2. Rajakesari Kodandaraman

Rajakesari Kondandaraman *alias* Jayangondasola Kadigai Marayan, a musician from Nattarmangalam in Manni nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasimha valanadu, deposited 40 *kasus* of money on interest. With the assembly of Viranarayana chaturvedimangalam, a *taniyur* in Rajendrasimha valanadu which accepted this deposit and agreed to pay five *kasus* to the treasury of the temple to meet the remuneration of ten musicians who beat the *tirupparai* (sacred drum) to announce certain festivals of the temple (SII, II, 25).

3. Karayil Eduttapadam

Karayil Eduttapadam, a native of Rajakesarinallur in Inga nadu, a subdivision of Arulmolideva valanadu, who was the headman (*kilaan*) of the said village and the minister who wrote the orders of Sri Rajarajadevar (*Tirumandira-olai*), deposited a sum of 50 *kasus* with the assembly of Perunangai-mangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Vennikkurram, a subdivision of Nittavinoda valanadu on interest for the purchase of camphor to burn a perpetual lamp.

From another record, we come to know of the donation of 100 *kasus* for the feeding of the *Sivayogins*. The name of the donor is lost. The money was received by the assembly of Perunangai-mangalam, who agreed to pay three *kurunis* of paddy per *kasu* per year, to be delivered to the big treasury of the temple.

Two hundred and forty *Sivayogins* were to be fed on 24 festival days (including the *Tiru-Sadaiyam* festivals) (SII, II, 28).

4. Adittan Suryan

Adittan (Adityan) Suryan *alias* Tennavan Muvendavelan who was in charge of the management of the temple of Rajarajesvaram, deposited 78 *kasus* on interest with the assembly of

Ilamajjaka (Sanskrit) = *khas* in Hindustani, a root used for adding fragrance to water.

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Perunangai-mangalam, which in turn was to measure every year 19 *kalams,* one *tuni* and one *padakku* of paddy into the treasury. Another sum of 16 *kasus* was also deposited under the same conditions so as to yield an annual interest of two *kasus* for burning camphor lamp along with the incense offered to the Lord of the temple and to the image of Dakshina Meru Vitankar. Thus 78 *kasus* for paddy and 16 *kasus* for camphor were donated by Adittan Suryan (SII, II, 26).

The same donor gifted in the second year of Rajendra I, four pots made of copper with gold coating, to the temple of Chandesvarar. He also presented copper, zinc (*tara*) and bell-metal vessels to the image of Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar in the main temple and a number of pieces of jewellery to the Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar of the Parivaralayam (SII, II, 86).

Appointment of Temple Servants and Administrative Arrangements

(1) *Land grants by Rajaraja I*

Rajaraja I gave extensive lands as *devadana* to the temple of Rajarajesvaram from all over his empire for the expenses *(nibandangal)* required for the Supreme Lord (*Paramasvamin*) of the sacred stone temple (*karrali*)*: Udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevar Tanjavur edupittta tiru-karrali Sri Rajarajesvaram udaiyar paramasvamikku vendu nivandangalukkut devadanamagach cholamandalattum puramandalangalilum udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevar kudutta....* (SII, II, 4). The revenue (*kanik-kadan*) from these villages was settled orally and then engraved on stone in the temple of Tanjavur. It was laid down whether the dues to the temple were to be paid in kind (paddy) or in cash (gold), or both. In the case of payments in kind, the paddy was to be measured by the *marakkal* called the *"Adavallan"*, which was equal to the standard unit of volumetric measure for grains then prevailing *viz.*, the *Rajakesari*. A replica of this standard unit of measure was preserved in the temple for reference. For fixing the levy on the village, the total area of the village was taken, and the area of the land of public utility excluded. Such excluded areas were the village site (*ur-irukkai-nattam*), the sites and the surrounding courtyards (*tiru-murram*) of the temples in

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the village like those of Mahadevar, Pidari, Settaiyar (Jyeshthadevi) and other deities, the channels which pass through the village, the stables, the burning ground of the cultivators, the burning ground of the *paraiyars*, the *paraichcheri* and the *ilachcheri*, the *kammanachcheri*, the stone-fold (*kar-kidai*) for cattle, the sacred bathing pond (*tirumanjanak-kulam*), the other ponds and their banks, the threshing floor, pasture land for cattle etc. The remaining area is assessed to land rent. These details are contained in three inscriptions of the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I (SII, II, 4, 5 and 92). From the first and the second inscriptions, we get a fund of interesting information about the administrative set-up of the empire. From the last of the three inscriptions, which deals with the lands donated by the ruler in the outlying provinces, we learn of the assignment to the temple of certain villages in Tondai nadu which bore the alternate name of Jayangondasola mandalam, after another surname of Rajaraja I, Pandi Nadu which bore the second name of Rajaraja mandalam (and which later on during the son's reign was to be renamed Rajaraja Pandi Nadu), Gangapadi, Nulamba-padi (also called "Nigarilisola-padi"), Malai Nadu, and Ilam (Sri Lanka) which was alternately christened Mummadisola mandalam. It may be recalled that in the inscription SII, II, 4 mention was made of villages in Chola-mandalam and the *puramandalams*, meaning the outlying provinces; this inscription covers the latter category of villages. While the villages in Chola mandalam alone number forty, those in the outlying provinces are comparatively few. While the revenue payable from the land in the villages of Chola mandalam was mainly in the shape of paddy, the exceptions being barely half a dozen where the payment was in terms of *kasu* and that too mainly in respect of *nagarams*, in respect of the outlying provinces the payment was partly in kind and partly in gold.

In respect of the forty villages in the heartland, the record goes into considerable details. In fact, the details regarding the extent of land (possibly determined after the great survey that Rajaraja I made during his reign) are amazing and can compare with those collected through any sophisticated modern machinery of Government set up for conducting land survey.

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From the lands of the 40 villages and towns lying in the *valanadus* (districts) of Arulmolideva, Kshatriyasikhamani, Uyyakkondan, Rajasraya, Nittavinoda and Rajendrasimha, Rajaraja I assigned for worship and for other requirements of the temple of Rajarajesvaram a total of 1,20,119 *kalams* of paddy and a sum of 1004 *kasus*.

In the case of Sri Lanka, the arrangement was somewhat different from the others. The villages were required to remit the revenue in the shape of paddy or money or *iluppai-pal*. The last expression literally translated means "the milk of the tree of *Bassia longifolia*" the oil from whose seeds is used extensively for burning temple-lamps in the south and Sri Lanka. This oil was measured in terms of *marakkal, kuruni* and *nali*.

In all, leaving out the particulars of some villages which are obliterated in the inscriptions, 25,770 *kalams* of paddy, 1630 *kalanjus* of gold and 9 *kalams* of *iluppai-pal* were to be delivered annually to the temple from the outlying provinces of the empire.

The extensive land survey undertaken by Rajaraja I over the entire length and breadth of his empire covering Chola mandalam, Pandi mandalam, Ila mandalam (Sri Lanka), Tondai mandalam and the conquered territories up to the banks of the Tungabhadra and the Godavari is unique in the history of the world. It is a strange coincidence that William the Conqueror of England undertook the Domesday survey of the conquered land, about three-fourths of a century later. But in elaboration, classification of land varieties and the nature of tax assessment worked out, the Rajaraja survey stands out as an unparalleled instance of its kind. The measurement was precise to the extent of 52,428,000,000th part of a *veli* (about 6 acres), particularly in respect of wet lands. This survey was brought uptodate later by Kulottunga I in his sixteenth year and again by his successors from time to time. Rajaraja I was anticipating by centuries the work of Todar Mall and Abul Fazl during the Mughal period and of Sivaji and the Marathas (under the Peshwas) of the seventeenth century A.D. The honour for this extensive land survey and settlement should go to Rajaraja I and the officer-in-charge of the mammoth operations,

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Senapati Kuravan Ulagalandan *alias* Rajamaharajan (*Ulagalandan* means he who measured the world).

(2) *Appointment of Treasurers, Accountants and Temple Servants*

Rajaraja I set up an elaborate administrative machinery for running the huge establishment of the temple; he issued orders, and had them engraved on stone in the temple, that the inhabitants of the *brahmadeyas* in Chola mandalam, in Pandi Nadu *alias* Rajaraja mandalam and in Tondai Nadu *alias* Jayangonda Chola mandalam should supply to the Lord of the Sri Rajarajesvarar temple (SII, II, 69):

(*i*) as temple treasurers, such *brahmanas* as were rich in land, connections or capital,

(*ii*) *brahmacharins* (*manigal*) for working as temple servants (*tirupparicharakam seyya*), and

(*iii*) accountants (*karanattar*) for maintaining the temple accounts (*kanakkeluda*).

And it was also laid down in the order that each treasurer should be given a certain number of *kalams* of paddy per year; each *brahmacharin*, one *padakku* of paddy per day and four *kasus* per year (somewhat higher rates for those who had taken vows?) and each accountant and sub-accountant 200 *kalams* and 75 *kalams* per year respectively. It was further laid down that the temple servants should draw their allowances at the city treasury (*ullur bhandaram*) of the lord of the Sri Rajarajesvarar temple and the treasurers (*bhandari*), accountants and sub-accountants at the up-country treasuries (*nattu-bhandaram*).

Leaving aside the instances where, owing to damage to the inscriptions, the number of servants to be supplied by some villages is not available, we get to know that four treasurers, 174 *brahmacharins*, seven accountants and nine sub-accountants were provided for service in the temple by a total of 144 villages, lying in the eight districts of Arumolideva valanadu, Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu, Uyyakkondan valanadu, Rajendrasimha valanadu, Rajasraya valanadu, Keralantaka valanadu, Pandyakulasani valanadu and Nittavinoda valanadu, all in the province of Chola mandalam. The actual numbers are likely to be slightly more.

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(3) *Watchman for the Temple*

Before his twenty-ninth year, Rajaraja I made elaborate arrangements for the security of the temple by appointing a large number of watchmen known as "*meykkappu*" (body-guards); his order in this connection was to the effect that the inhabitants of the *brahmadeyas* in Chola mandalam should supply temple watchmen to the Lord of the Rajarajesvaram, and that to each of these temple-watchmen, the inhabitants of the respective villages which supplied them should measure out 100 *kalams* of paddy per year by way of remuneration. This paddy was to be supplied and daily allowances paid every year, by the inhabitants of the respective villages, out of the tax due. And under royal orders, these allowances were engraved on stone. The order is contained in two inscriptions (SII, II, 57 and 70) which incidentally confirm that there were, to the north and south respectively of the Rajarajan *Tiru-vasal*, a shrine each to Isana Deva and Agni Deva, in the directions appropriate to these *dikpalas*. The list* contains as many as 131 villages, which among them contributed mostly one, in a few cases, two, and in one case, 6 watchmen to the temple, the total being 143 watchmen in all.

From the inscription SII, II, 11, we get to know that there were three contingents of *meykkappus*, two guarding the Keralantaka gate (the outer *gopuram*) and one the Anukka gate. We have already noted that the latter unit of the army was entrusted with certain responsibilities for maintaining the worship of the images of Kalyanasundarar and his Consort, set up by Trailokya Mahadevi, a queen of Rajaraja I.

From these two inscriptions, we also get the names of the following queens: Pallavan Mahadevi, Vanavan Mahadevi,

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*We learn from these and other grants that Chola mandalam comprised at least nine districts *viz.*,

1. Arumolideva Valanadu
2. Kshatriyasikhamani Valanadu
3. Uyyakkondan Valanadu
4. Rajendrasimha Valanadu
5. Rajasraya Valanadu
6. Keralantaka Valanadu
7. Pandyakulasani Valanadu
8. Nittavinoda Valanadu and
9. Vadagarai Rajaraja Valanadu.

Each of them in turn contained several subdivisions (*nadus* and *kurrams*). (For a detailed list of these, see SII, II, Part V, Addenda and Corrigenda, pp. 21–27.)

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Trailokya Mahadevi, Panchavan Mahadevi, Chola Mahadevi, Valavan Mahadevi and Ologa Mahadevi (Loga Mahadevi).

(4) *Talip-Pendir (Temple Women or Ladies) and Temple Servants*

The meticulous attention that Rajaraja I gave to the detailed administration and functioning of the Rajarajesvaram, is further demonstrated by the care with which he selected the men and women functionaries attached to the temple. In an elaborate record dated in his 29th regnal year (SII, II, 66), enshrining his order, Rajaraja I assigned the produce of certain lands to a number of men who had to perform various services in connection with the management of the temple and to four hundred women whose services were transferred from a large number of temples situated in various parts of his empire; each one of them was given an allowance (*nibandham*) in the form of shares (*pangu*), each share consisting of the net produce of one *veli* (26.755 square metres) of land which again was stipulated as one hundred *kalams* of paddy measured by the standard (wooden) measure (*marakkal*) called *"Adavallan"*, standardised and made equal to the royal standard called *"Rajakesari"*. It was further stipulated that in the event of any of these share-holders dying or emigrating, the nearest relations of such persons were to receive the shares and to discharge the ordained duty. In the event of the nearest relations not being qualified, they (presumably the nearest relations) were to select (other) qualified persons and get them to do the work and receive the allowance. Should there be no near relations, the (other) incumbents of such appointments were to select qualified persons from among those fit for such appointments, and the persons so selected and appointed were to be entitled to the allowance. The names of all these persons were ordered by the king to be engraved on stone.

For accommodating these new incumbents in the service of the temple, two entire streets were newly formed, called the *"Terkku"* and *"Vadakku Talich-cheri"* (the south and the north temple streets), each having two rows, the northern and the southern, there being as many as about a hundred houses to a row. The female temple-servants brought over from various

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other temples were given a house each in these streets, besides the remuneration in kind.

This inscription provides indirect confirmation of the existence, by the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, of a large number of temples in the Chola empire, which is of considerable historical significance, apart from enabling us to date many of the temples. We have here a number of Vishnu shrines which find mention in the *Nalyirap-prabandham,* like Arangam, Tiruvengadam, Ali and Tirukkurugur besides others like Avani-narayana-vinnagar at Ambar, Sritali-vinnagar at Arapuram and Sripudi-vinnagar at Pambuni.

A number of Saiva temples, which find mention in the *Periya Puranam* are also to be found in this inscription. (The *Periya Puranam* names, whenever they differ in form from the inscriptional names, are given in brackets below):

Araneri at Tiruvarur; Tirumandali (Paravai-un-mandali) at Tiruvarur; Tirumulattanam (Mulattanam) at Tiruvarur; Tirumangalam (Mangalam) at Ambar; Tirukkaronam (Karonam) at Nagappattinam (Nagai); Tiru-achchiramam (Achchiramam) at Pachchil, Tiruppadali-Isvaram (Padalichcharam) at Pambuni; Vadatali at Palaiyaru (Palaiyarai); Ambalam, Ponnambalam, Tillai, Porkoil-Tillai or Manram (Chidambaram); Ambattur; Kadambur; Kandiyur; Karayil (near Tiruvarur); Karuvur; Kottur; Nallur; Pandana-nallur; Paluvur (Tiruppaluvur); Talaiyalangadu; Tiruchchorrutturai (Chorrutturai); Tirukkollambudur (Kollambudur); Tirumaraikkadu or Maraikkadu (Vedaranyam); Tiruneyttanam (Neyttanam) i.e., Tillaisthanam; Tiruppalanam; Tiruppuvanam or Puvanam (in Pandya desa); Tiruttengur (Tengur); Tiruvaiyaru or Aiyaru; Tiruvalangadu; Tiruvanaikka; Tiruvedigudi (Vedigudi); Tiruvidaimarudil (Tiruvidaimarudur); Tunganai (Tunganai-madam); Vadavayil (Vadamullaivayil); Vayalur (Viyalur) and Venkadu (Tiruvenkadu). As many as 91 temples located in 51 different places contributed these temple-women, some temples deputing as many as five to eight women.

The names of these women are interesting. A number of them bear the names of well-known sacred places; while others have

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taken the names of royal patrons and personages. Among the former are: Araneri, Tirumandali, Tirumulattanam, Tirumagalam and Tirukkaronam; and among the latter could be mentioned names like Rajaraji, Rajakesari, Arumoli (all names of Rajaraja I), Kundavai (Rajaraja I's elder sister) and Arinjigai (after the name of the grandfather of Rajaraja I). Other such names are Kannaradevi and Seramangai.

In addition to these female servants, a large number of male servants were appointed for various services to the temple; they received shares on the scale applied to the *talip-pendir*. Some of the professions connected with the fine arts mentioned here are those of dancers, actors, vocalists and instrumentalists, including players on the *vangiyam* (pipe) and the *vina*, a large number of drummers (*uvachchar*), specifically among them, players of the small drum called *udukkai* and of the large drum called *kotti-mattalam* and yet others called *sagadaik-kottigal;* singers in Sanskrit (*Ariyam*) and in Tamil; and blowers of the conch (*muttirai-sangu*). In this connection, the terms *gandharva* and *gandharvi* applied to some male and female vocalists, and the term *pakka-vadyar* (accompanist), used without any further specifications of the profession or instrument used, if any, are of interest, even if their usage is somewhat mystifying. Other categories of servants mentioned include: a proclaimer of the commands of the Lord (*tiru-vay-kelvi*), accountants and sub-accountants, astrologers and subordinates, holders of the sacred parasol (*tirup-pallit-tongal*); lamp-lighters, water-sprinklers, potters for the kitchen, washermen, barbers, tailors, a jewel-stitcher (*ratna-tayyan*), a brazier, a superintending goldsmith (*kankani-tattan*) for the minor treasury of the temple, and several specific individuals named from among the various troops (*velaikkarap-padaigal*). Besides, the Chief Architect and two Assistant Architects (tachcha-acharyan), Virasolan Kunjaramallan *alias* Rajaraja Perundachchan, Gunavan Madhurantakan *alias* Nittavinoda Perundachchan and Ilatti Sadaiyan *alias* Gandaraditta Perundachchan, were also the recipients of Rajaraja's benevolence. They were evidently the architects who were entrusted with the erection of the temple at Tanjavur and after its consecration, with its maintenance.

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Altogether, by this order, Rajaraja I appointed, and made provision for the remuneration of, 400 women servants including dancers and 216 male servants including musicians, accountants and others, with the necessary supervisory staff.

(5) *The Role of Talip-Pendir in Temples*

There are some later inscriptions which throw light on the duties performed by *talip-pendir* and *devaradiyar*. An inscription (date lost) of Virarajendra from Tiruvorriyur gives us the following particulars:

Sixty *velis* of waste land in Simhavishnu chaturvedimangalam were reclaimed and named "*Virarajendra vilagam*". From its income in paddy, gold and *kasu*, various items of expenses are mentioned, among which are the maintenance of (i) twenty-two *taliyilar* who danced and sang; (*ii*) one dance-master who taught them dancing; and (*iii*) sixteen *devaradiyars* (temple women) who recited the *Tiruppadiyam* in *agamargam* or low pitch (ARE 128 of 1912).

Another inscription of Rajaraja III from the same place mentions that a royal officer Vayalur Kilavan Tiruvegambam Udaiyar Sendamaraikkannan *alias* Vaiyiradarayan made a dedication of five women and their descendants for husking paddy in the temple (ARE 122 of 1912 from the Adipurisvarar temple). A similar practice obtained at Srirangam.

Some other instances of dedicating women as *devaradiyars* to temple come from Tiruvakkarai in the South Arcot district and Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district. In the former case, three *vellalas* presented a woman (*adiyal*) and her daughter and their children (*makkal*) as *devaradiyar* to Tiruvakkarai Udaiya Mahadevar (ARE 183 of 1904, dated in the twenty-ninth year of Kulottunga I); in the latter case, a member of *Irumudi-solat-terinda-villaligal* dedicated five women of his family, including a daughter of his and her two daughters, as *devaradiyar*, in the service of the temple ("*tiruvallam udaiyar sri padattile udagam panni tiruchchulam satti devaradiyar aga vitten*"—ARE 230 of 1921).

It is well known that the Rajarajesvaram had a large-sized granary for stocking more than a lakh of *kalams* of paddy intended

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for food offerings and connected services to the deities of the temple. Some of these *talip-pendir* might have been attached to the granary. The cleaning and the decoration of the temple premises and the gathering of flowers and making of garlands for the deities must have been done by those who had an aptitude for the work. But, generally, they seem to have devoted themselves to singing, dancing, painting and allied fine arts. How much interest and attention Rajaraja I paid to music, dancing and painting is brought out from his inscriptions and those of his venerable elder sister Kundavai in the temples of Siva and Vishnu built about the same time at Dadapuram in the South Arcot district and at Tirumalai in the North Arcot district.

(6) *Recovery of the Devaram Hymns*

The ritual singing of the *Devaram*, also known as the *Tiruppadiyam*, in temples, is a practice of great antiquity; the singers of these hymns of Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar were known as "*Tiruppadiyam Vinnappam Seyvar*" or "*Pidarar*". We have no way of knowing when exactly this practice began, but, from about the middle of the eighth century A.D., we have inscriptional evidence of endowments being made for this purpose.

The earliest epigraphical reference to such an endowment is found at Tiruvallam and relates to the seventeenth year of the reign of the Pallava Vijaya Nandivikraman *alias* Nandivarman (II) of the middle of the eighth century A.D.* There are only very few Early Chola gifts for the recitation of the *Devaram* hymns. Without any pretensions to a full survey, we can trace at least three of them during the reign of Parantaka I. They are at Tiruvaduturai (third year—ARE 139 of 1925), Lalgudy (thirty-seventh year—ARE 373 of 1903) and Andanallur (fourteenth year—ARE 358 of 1903, see p.16 of *Early Chola Temples*). Then we come to the reign of Rajaraja I.

Rajaraja I had a strong religious bent. His patron deities

*Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvarar temple : Vijaya-Nandi-Vikraman, on the north wall of the *mahamandapa* : "tiruppallittamam pariyarkkum tiruppadiyam ullitta pala pani seyvarkkum nellu nanurrukkadiyum ..." (ARE 1–a of 1890).

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were Adavallan (Nataraja) of Chidambaram and Thyagesa (or Vitankar) of Tiruvarur. His religious fervour took two forms: one was the building of temples, the other was his desire to unearth the vast and rich treasures of the *Devaram* hymns, not very much in vogue during his time. He decided to recover this great legacy. While he was thus pre-occupied, he heard of the miracles wrought by Nambi Andar Nambi of Tirunaraiyur. Nambi Andar Nambi's father was a temple priest of Pollappillaiyar of Tirunaraiyur in Sonadu—a village lying between Chidambaram and Kattumannarkoyil (in the South Arcot district). One day the father asked his son to officiate for him during his absence, at the worship of Pollap-pillaiyar. The boy did so. But the Lord did not eat the food-offerings made by him. Annoyed at this, the boy attempted at self-immolation. Then Pollap-pillaiyar yielded to his prayers and the offered dishes vanished. The boy then requested the Pillaiyar to teach him too, as it was then too late to attend school. The Lord did so. It was a great miracle and the news reached the ears of the king then in distress about the mystery of the missing *Devaram* hymns.

Rajaraja I rushed to Tirunariayur, arranged a festival in honour of the Pillaiyar and requested the miracle boy to help him recover the *Devaram* hymns. Inspired by his Pillaiyar, Nambi revealed that the full set of the *Devaram* hymns lay in a heap of *cadjan* leaves in a room in the western *prakara* of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram under the seals of the hymnists themselves. The king and Nambi went to Chidambaram and requested the Tillai-three-thousand to open the sealed room. The Dikshitars replied that the room could be opened only when the saints themselves were physically present. The Chola king then hit upon a strategem. He arranged a festival in honour of the Tamil *Nayanmars*. Their images were placed in front of the room. The seals broke and the closed room was thrown open. As prophesied, the *cadjan* heap was there, covered however with a mound, full of white ants flourishing upon the leaves. The king was in great distress. He was consoled by a divine voice that said that the heap contained whatever was necessary for that age. Oil was poured over the heap and the extant leaves

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were salvaged. Nambi Andar Nambi's redaction of the *Devaram* hymns led to a new life for these hymns, with Chidambaram (Tiruch-chirrambalam) as its centre. Chidambaram became *the koyil*—the temple of all Saivite temples in the Tamil land and Rajaraja, the Saviour of the Tamil hymns.

Some scholars hold that this great event of the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns took place during the reign of Aditya I, not that of Rajaraja I. The appended note* examines the source material on which this theory is built and how this view is not sustainable. There is, as far as we know, no reference to endowments for the recitation of *Devaram* hymns during the reign of Aditya I.

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* *Views of Pandarattar and Vellai Varanar* : The fact that the recovery of the *Devaram* hymns is to be attributed to Rajaraja I is evident from the two works of Umapati Sivacharya, the great *Samayacharya* of the *Saiva Siddhanta* school (late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries). In his *Nambi Andar Nambi Puranam* alias *Tirumurai Kanda Puranam*, he states that the king concerned was "... alahil-puhal-peru Rasarasamannan Abhayakula-sekharan" (stanza 1), and again refers to that king as "Irasarasa mannavan" in stanza 6, and as "Kulasekhara" in stanza 13. In his other work, *Tiruttondar Purana Varalaru* alias *Sekkilar Svamigal Puranam*, this king is referred to as "*Seya-Tirumurai-Kanda Rasarasadeva*" (stanza 24).

Despite these clear indications of the name of the king concerned, two Tamil scholars—T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar, in his *History of the Later Cholas* (in Tamil, Annamalai University), and, perhaps following his lead, Vellai Varanar, in his *Panniru Tirumuraigal* (in Tamil, Annamalai University)—hold the view that this achievement is to be ascribed to Aditya I. To support this view, they cite four stanzas (nos.50, 65, 81 and 82) from *Tiruttondar Tiruvandadi* written by Nambi Andar Nambi himself; this, incidentally, is an enlarged version of Saint Sundaramurti Nayanar's *Tiruttondat-togai*, and these two works together form the source for Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam* alias *Tiruttondar Puranam*.

Of these, stanza 50 is on Pugal Chola Nayanar, described there as "Kogana-nathan Kulamudalon". *Kogananathan* means the sun, and since Aditya is a synonym, the above scholars have apparently interpreted the description above as "an ancestor of Aditya". This appears far-fetched; the obvious translation would be "a descendant of the solar dynasty" and, since the Cholas claimed to belong to it, would simply mean 'a Chola".

Stanza 65 is on Idangali Nayanar, described there as "*Sirrambala Mugadu Kongirk-Kanakam-aninda-Aditan*-Kulamudalon" (an ancestor of Aditya who gilded Sirrambalam with the gold obtained as booty from the conquest of Kongu). This description is echoed in Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam* stanza 3 of the *Idangali Nayanar Puranam*: "*manniya Ponnambalattu mani muhattil pak-Kongin-pannu-tulaip-pasumponnal payil-pilambam misaiyaninda ponneduntol Adittan pugalimarabir-Kudi-mudalor*". The reference here may be taken to be to Aditya I.

Stanzas 81 and 82 are on Kochchengat-Cholan *alias* Kochchenganan. Stanza 81 calls him a *Sembiyan* (=Chola) and stanza 82 describes him as "*sempon anindu sirrambalattai sivalokam eidi namban kalal kil irundon Kulamudal*" (an ancestor of [the king] who gilded *sirrambalam* and made it a *Sivaloka* [on earth] and sat at the feet of the Lord [there]. There is no explicit mention of Aditya I as the King referred to here; it could be any one of the many Chola kings who gilded the Chidambaram temple, even Rajaraja I himself.

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Thrilled with the recovery of the lost hymns, the greatest contribution made by any king for the growth of Tamil literature, Rajaraja I arranged for the recitation of the hymns in the temple of his creation at the capital. He appointed 48 *Pidarars* or *Tiruppadiyam-vinnappam-seyvars*, for singing the hymns before Rajarajesvarar, and two drummers to play on the kettle drum and the big drum to keep beat as the others sang (SII, II, 65) and made liberal provision for their and their successors' maintenance. As already noted, Rajaraja I cast an image of Siva (as Chandrasekharar) before whom he practised daily the singing of *Devaram* and this deity is named in his inscription as *Devaradevar*.

The two scholars take the last description to refer to Aditya I apparently since his name is explicitly mentioned in a similar context in stanza 65. Thus they conclude that all the the three, stanzas (50, 65 and 82) refer to the same king, namely Aditya I, and hence that Nambi Andar Nambi must have been his contemporary and that the recovery of the Devaram hymns must, therefore, have taken place during his time.

Our view is that only stanza 65 makes any explicit reference to Aditya I. As for stanza 82 Aditya I is not the only king credited with gilding the sacred hall at Chidambaram: for instance, the description there finds an echo in Umapati Sivacharya's *Tiruttonda Purana Varalaru*, making a reference to Kulottunga II *alias* Anapaya who also gilded the above hall and by his acts of merit converted Chidambaram into a Kailasa on earth: "*Perumparrapuliyur* Bhuloka-Sivalokam-*ena polindu tonra*". (The *Periyapuranam*, incidentally, confirms that Kochchenganan was an ancestor of Anapaya and thus of the Imperial Cholas: "*Anapayan mundai varum Kulamudalor aya mudar* Senganar"). The three stanzas quoted merely imply that the three king-saints they refer to were Cholas and ancestors of the Chola dynasty but do not in any way prove that Nambi Andar Nambi was a contemporary of Aditya I. Thus the theory that Nambi Andar Nambi recovered the *Devaram* in the days of Aditya I has to be dismissed in favour of the theory that such a recovery was made in the days of Rajaraja I.

Devaram hymns:

The view of the Government Epigraphist that the *Devaram* hymns were rescued and compiled during the reign of Kulottunga I cannot be sustained (see para 34, p. 149, ARE 1918).

2. *Tiruvunnaligai* and *Aganaligai*

(a) *Sivapuram* temple No.30 - pp.167-170 of text.

(b) *Attur*, Temple No.37 - pp.178-185 of text.

There are frequent references to Tiruvunnaligai - or Tiruvunnaligai *sabhaiyar* or *udaiyar* in the inscriptions of the Cholas in Chola desa. An inscription of Rajendra I from Sivapuram (Temple no.30, p.167-170) mentions the sale of land by the local *sabha* whose proceeds were to be used by the *tiruvunnaligai udaiyar* to feed a *sivayogin* at the time of offerings to the Lord (ARE 226 of 1961-62). An inscription, in the same place, of Rajadhiraja I mentions the *tiruvunnaligai-udaiyar* as one of the many beneficiaries in the list of the revenues due to the king (p.168). An inscription in the sixteenth year of Kulottunga I (ARE 145 of 1900) mentions a gift of cows for curds and a sheep for lamps which were given over to the *tiruvunnaligai sabhaiyar* of the temple who agreed to maintain the charity. A variant of the term *tiruvunnaligaiyar* found current in the Pandya desa is *Aganaligaiyar*. In the Somanatha temple at Attur (temple No. 37, p.178) there is a record of

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The singing of *Devaram* hymns by *oduvars* was also followed in other temples of Tamil land, a practice which has come down to modern times.

(7) *Gifts for Lamps in the Temple of Rajarajesvaram*

The lighting arrangements for the Rajarajesvaram received particular attention at the hands of the Emperor. As many as about 160 lamps and torches lit up the campus of the temple and its various shrines; and for providing *ghee* for burning these lamps, the king made extensive grants to shepherds in various parts of the empire for maintaining cows, she-buffaloes and ewes; these shepherds were called upon to deliver into the temple treasury a certain quantity of *ghee* for lamps.

These gifts are covered by two very elaborate inscriptions (SII, II, 63 and 94; 64 and 95). Nos. 63 and 94, which are taken up together first, consist of a list of shepherds who had to supply *ghee* for the temple lamps from a number of cattle, which had been presented to the temple before the twenty-ninth regnal year by the king himself. To each lamp were allotted 96 ewes, or 48 cows or 16 buffaloes, which were assigned to various shepherds (*idaiyar*). They had to supply *ghee* to the treasury of the Lord at the daily rate of one *ulakku* measured by the standard measure known as "*Adavallan*".

The shepherds who resided either in the capital city of Tanjavur or in its vicinity understandably received a large share of these allocations of she-buffaloes, cows and ewes. They

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Rajaraja I (ARE 419 of 1929-30) which states that the *tiruvunnaligaiyar* (p.178) agreed to provide offerings to the deity with the income from the land endowed. An inscription of Vira Rajendra Chola Deva records a gift of money to the *aganaligaiyar* (p.179) for a lamp in the temple (ARE 400 of 1929-30). In Attur both these terms are used and they should refer to the Committee in charge of the temple-stores corresponding to the modern term *ugranam,* which receive gifts from the public and are engaged in the work of collecting and distributing various articles of the sacred bath, food offerings to the deities and other items used at the time of worship. They were in charge of the maintenance and proper administration of this department of the temple.

The Government Epigraphist has interpreted the term '*Tiruvunnaligai*' as the main *sanctum (mulasthanam* or *garbhagriha)* of the temple. This interpretation has been accepted by some scholars and used in this sense in their publications. In the light of the above clarification, this interpretation of the term does not seem to be valid.

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resided in ten streets described as being outside (*purambadi*) Tanjavur, namely, Gandharva-teru, Villigal-teru, Anaik-kaduvar-teru, Anaiyatkal-teru, Panmaiyar-teru, Madaippalli-teru, Vira-solap-perunteru, Rajavidyadharap-perunteru, Jayangondasolap-perunteru and Surasikhamanip-perunteru and in an eleventh street, called Saliyat-teru (weavers' street), described as being inside the town (*ullalai*). Other shepherds lived in specified bazars (*angadi*) outside the city limits, *viz.*, Tribhuvana-madevi-perangadi, Kongalar-angadi and Rajaraja-Brahma-maharajan-angadi; the rest of them lived in quarters outside the city limits in suburbs, which are listed as below: Abhimana-bhushana-terinda-velam, Uyyakkondan-terinda-tirumanjanattar-velam and Arumolideva-terinda-tiruppparigalattar-velam. In respect of the shepherds who did not belong to the city, the names of the villages where each of them lived and the districts in which the villages were located are given. Thus, we get excellent material from this record to reconstruct the geographical divisions and the political and administrative arrangements obtaining during the days of Rajaraja I.

In all 2,832 cows, 1,644 ewes and 30 she-buffaloes were entrusted to shepherds in, and in the neighbourhood of, Tanjavur and in the various parts of the empire.

Inscriptions nos. 64 and 95, which are again to be read together contain the details of the cattle given not only by the king himself but also by other donors and those which were represented by funds (in *kasus* and *akkam*) deposited in the temple treasury for the purchase of cattle.

Among the localities mentioned in these two groups of inscriptions, there are some which are common to both, but the following are found in this list (nos. 64 and 95) only: Uttama-siliyar-velam, Panchavan-Madeviyar-velam, Sivadasan-Solai *alias* Rajaraja-Brahma-maharajan-padaividu, Raudra-Mahakalat-tumadavilagam (named after the temple of Mahakala in the neighbourhood) and Brahmakuttam (also similarly named)—all these being inside the limits of the capital city—and Pandi-velam, which was outside the city limits. Similarly among the districts in the empire which find mention here besides those common

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to both the groups of inscriptions are Kshatriya Sikhamani valanadu, Keralantaka valanadu, Vada Konadu and Arumolideva valanadu.

Another interesting aspect of the inscriptions is the light they throw on the circumstances under which some of these donations came to be made, and on the range of people who made these grants, including the king's officers, nobles of the Court, institutions and groups of men for burning lamps in the temple.

INDIVIDUAL DONORS

There are names of 14 military officers of Rajaraja I who would appear to have dreaded the prospect of incurring the displeasure of the king in the event of defeat in the operations at Koli (i.e. Uraiyur, the ancient Chola capital) and to have vowed to put up lamps in the temple in case their fair names were not besmirched. This is indicative of the high standard of efficiency of Rajaraja I's army and the strict code of discipline and conduct enforced on the members of the armed forces. Among these 14 are eight persons with the designations *perundanam* prefixed to their names, *viz.*, Uttarangudaiyan Kon Vidividangan *alias* Villavan Muvendavelan, Marayan Rajarajan, Kandarachchan Pattalagan *alias* Nittavinoda Villuparaiyan, Alatturudaiyan Kalan Kannappan *alias* Rajakesari Muvendavelan, Logamarayan, Rajakesari Muvendavelan (same title as for no.4 above), Vayiri Sangaran and Kovan Tayilaiyan.

Among the others were some *brahmanas* who were presumably royal arbitrators (*naduvirukkai seyda*), two from Kamarasavalli chaturvedimangalam and one from Kadalangudi.

There were other donors whose gifts were spontaneous efforts at acquiring merit. Among them are:

Amudan Tevan *alias* Rajavidyadhara Vilupparaiyan Ulagalandan, Senapati Kuravan Ulagalandan *alias* Rajaraja Maharajan, Adittan Suryan *alias* Tennavan Muvendavelan, the headman of Poygai nadu, Irayiravan Pallavayan *alias* Mummadisola Posan of Araisur in Pambuni kurram, a sub-division of Nittavinoda valanadu and Karayil Eduttapadam, the headman

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of Rajakesarinallur and royal secretary.

The name of a royal lady also finds mention as a donor. As we have already seen, Ilada Madevi, a queen of Rajaraja I, set up an image of Pasupatamurti in the temple : her gifts of cows and she-buffaloes for lamps to the image are recorded here.

GROUP DONORS

Groups or bodies who made donations are:

Udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevar Mummadi-sola-terinda-parivarattar, Jananatha-terinda-parivarattar and Palavagai-palampadaigalilar.

There were, in addition, a number of individual *perundanams* and merchants who made donations, *viz.* a *vyaparin* (merchant) Achchan Konurkkadan *alias* Rajavidyadhara Mayilatti, the *Perundanam* Rajaraja Vanakovaraiyan; Savur Paranjodi (a *Sonakan*, i.e., *a Yonaka* or *Yavanaka*, one of Greek, Roman or Arab origin—see SII, II, p. 460), Pudi Sattan, the headman of Nidur, the *Perundanam* Namban Kuttadi *alias* Jayangonda-sola-Brahmamaharajan, the *Perundanam* Tirumalai Vengadan, the headman of Vayalur, the *Perundanam* Kon Surri *alias* Arumoli Pallavaraiyan and the *Perundanam* Nittavinoda Maharajan.

From the second group of records (i.e. nos. 64 and 95), we get a total of 1,296 cows and 5,280 ewes, donated for maintenance of lamps in the temple. According to these two groups of grants for supply of *ghee*, a total of 4,124 cows, 6,924 ewes and 30 she-buffaloes were made over to a host of shepherds for supply of one *ulakku* of *ghee* daily per lamp.

A calculation made of the lamps thus burnt daily brings the number to 158. The temple should have presented a fascinating sight with this huge array of lamps.

"The enormous endowments in lands and gold made to the temple show that the king had one sole object in his life, *viz.*, to leave no want of the temple unsupplied. Almost all the booty he acquired in wars he gave away to the temple. Utensils required for temple services; ornaments for the various images set up in the temple; villages for supplying the temple with the

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requisite amount of paddy; money for purchasing the various articles for temple use not omitting even camphor, cardamom seeds, *champaka buds* and *khas* roots required for scenting the bathing water of the gods; sheep, cows and buffaloes for supplying the *ghee* required for lamps; skilled musicians for singing the *Devaram* hymns; women for singing, dancing and decorating the temple; *brahmana* servants for doing the menial work in the temple; accountants for writing the temple accounts, and temple treasurers, goldsmiths, carpenters, washermen, barbers, astrologers and watchmen were provided on a most liberal scale. The systematic way in which the various endowments to the temple were made and the principles laid down for their proper administration bespeak a genius for organization which could not have been quite a characteristic feature of kings in general at the time" (SII, II, V, Preface pp. 11-12).

The long list of beneficiaries of the gifts made to the temple, "a solid fabric of human greatness", will dispel the erroneous belief that the temple benefited any one class or community. There was a sense of involvement of all members of society in the affairs of the temple. It was a co-operative effort of all, for the good of all, who believed in the temple as an institution for the promotion of the material, moral and spiritual welfare of the people.

The Rajarajesvaram is a veritable art gallery rich in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, *Natyam* and other allied fine arts. It is further auto-biographical in character. We can reconstruct the history of this temple and the momentous events in the varying fortunes of its life from inscriptions engraved on its walls.

The temple has another important feature of having four doorways leading to the sanctum; the main gateway is in the east, the other three on the three other cardinal points which were closed by the Nayak rulers in the seventeenth century. Such a temple is classified as the *Sarvatobhadra* type of temple. It is not correct to classify it as a *madakkoyil* as some scholars hold (See my *Early Chola Art I*, p. 22).

According to *Vastu Sastras*, *vimanas* with five or more *talas* are termed as *Mukhya vimana* and the Rajarajesvaram belongs to this

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superior class and this structural temple entirely built of stone marks the highest achievement of the Indian genius in the field of Architecture; Just like the Kailasa temple at Ellora (originally named Krishnesvaram) sxcavated by the Rashtrakuta King Rrishna I (A.D. 756-772) stands unrivalled among the monolithic temples of India.

In many ways, it is a grand and unique monument of an illustrious dynasty and is still a living institution.

A rapid survey of the later history of the temple is given in the Appendix.

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Appendix on Rajarajesvaram : Later History

CHOLA

1. **Rajendradeva II** (A.D. **1052-1064**)
SII, II, 67:: fourth year: gift of a daily allowance of paddy to a troupe of actors to perform a drama *Rajarajesvara-natakam* during the *Vaikasi* festival. Order engraved two years later.

2. **Kulottunga I** (A.D. **1070-1120**)
(*a*) SII, II, 58:: an incomplete inscription relating to a gift by Arumolinangaiyar...Mahadeviyar, the consort of Vira Rajendradeva.
(*b*) SII, II, 22:: 35th year, 64th day: inscription of Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan (Kulottunga I): the foundation of an *agaram* called Samantanarayana chaturvedimangalam and a Vishnu temple of Vinnagar Emperuman, both named after the donor, a Pallava feudatory of the Chola king, in the region of the Vadavar river, round about Karuntattankudi.

3. **Vikrama Chola** (A.D. **1118-35**)
SII, II, 68 :: fourth year: grant of an allowance to a person who measured paddy at the temple and in the villages belonging to it.

4. **Rajaraja III** (A.D. **1216-59**)
SII, II, 96 :: third year: registers a political compact by three chiefs of Chola-desa to be faithful to the overlord and to stand by one another in times of need.

PANDYA

5. **Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan**
SII, II, 61 :: second year, 334th day: the Pandya king built the Amman temple of Ulagamuludum Udaiya Nachchiyar (now called the Brihannayaki Amman shrine) and gifted a village of 11 *velis* of land to it.

6. **Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan**
SII, II, 21 :: sixth year, seventh day: certain *devadana iraiyili* lands in six villages, which had been wrongly sold in the third and fourth years of this king, were restored to this temple.

VIJAYANAGARA

7. **Devaraja II**
SII, II, 71 :: Saka 1368 (A.D. 1446-47) : gift of gold and silver ornaments to the main deity and Kshetrapala-devar by the emperor's military officer, towards the success of his *dig-vijayam*.

8. **Tirumalai-deva**
SII, II, 23 :: Saka 1377 (A.D. 1455-56) : royal order exempting a number of villages from taxes.

TANJAVUR NAYAKS

9. SII, II, 62: the residents of Puliyur built a *mandapa* of *Murti Amman*, evidently named after the queen of Sevappa Nayaka. Here the Rajarajesvaram is called *Periya Udaiya Nayanar temple* for the first time (whence the modern name of *Brihad-isvaram* and *Peruvudaiyar-Koyil*).

10. **Achyutappa Nayak** (A.D. 1572-1614)
Inscription of the Saka year 1490 (A.D. 1578-79): order exempting goldsmiths from taxes.

MARATHA

11. **Raja Serfoji II**
Inscription of the Saka year 1723 (A.D. 1801-02) : the king gave a gift of jewles to the main

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deity; he had a Marathi inscription engraved, giving the history of the Marathas from the days of the founder to his days; he made elaborate repairs to the shrines of Ganapati of the sub-shrine (*parivaralaya*), Subrahmanyar, Amman, Sabhapati, Dakshinamurti and Chandesvarar. He also built some new *mandapas* and repaired the flooring of the *prakara*, the *madils*, and the temple kitchen.

MODERN DAYS

12. The temple is being repaired by the Archaeological Survey of India. A statue of Rajaraja I was recently installed outside the temple precincts by the Tamil Nadu Government. A permanent Chola Art Exposition has been recently opened in the temple precincts by the Archaeological Survey of India.

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TIRUVAIYARU

VADA (OR UTTARA) KAILASAM 2

Apart from Rajaraja I's own contributions to temple-building activity in South India, those made by his elder sister Kundavai Alvar and his senior queen Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Loga Mahadevi to the growth of Dravidian art are of considerable significance.

The latter, i.e., the senior queen, apart from the numerous donations and grants that she made along with her royal consort, to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur, also built temples on her own.

Among them is the temple of Vada Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru on the banks of the Kaveri, about 16.09 kms (10 miles) from Tanjavur on the road to Kumbakonam. This temple is located on the northern side of the outer *prakara* of the Panchanadisvarar temple at Tiruvaiyaru and must have been built between the twenty-first and the twenty-fourth year of Rajaraja I. It is named Loga Mahadevi Isvaram, after the queen (ARE 219 and 222 of 1894 ; SII, V, 521).

The first reference to the existence of Vada Kailasam is found in an inscription of the twenty-first year of Rajaraja I (A. D. 1006) on the south wall of this temple (SII, V, 517 ; ARE 218 of 1894), according to which the shepherd Aiyaran Valavan of the *brahmadeya* of Perumpuliyur received from the Tribhuvana Chandesvara-kanmis 192 sheep for supplying to the temple 27 *uris* (measure) of *ghee* for burning two perpetual lamps at the temple of Loga Mahadevi Isvaram.

Another gift was made in the same year, as seen from an inscription, on the base of the south wall of this temple, dated in the twenty-first year of Kovirajakesarivarumar *alias* Sri Rajarajadevar (SII, V, 518 ; ARE 219 of 1894). It refers to the sale of land by the Tribhuvana Chandesvara-kanmis of Tiruvaiyaru in favour of the Mahadevar of Loga Mahadevi Isvaram which was built by Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Uloga Mahadeviyar. The land measured three *velis*, one *mahani*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kani* and odd, valued at 307 *kalanjus* and nine *manjadis* (the rate being 100 *kalanjus* to a *veli*).

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A year later, in the twenty-second year of Rajaraja I, there is yet another inscription relating to a similar gift of 96 sheep for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp for the Mahadevar of Ulogamahadevisvaram at the *devadana* village of Tiruvaiyaru by Vimayan Vambavai, daughter of Salukki Vimayan devi Vanjayan Perrappai, presumably a *talip-pen* (SII, V, 516; ARE 217 of 1894).

An inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rajaraja I, relating to extensive gifts of ornaments and vessels made by Loga Mahadeviyar *alias* Udaiyar Sri Rajaraja Devar Nambirattiyar Danti Sakti Vitanki to the Loga Mahadevi Isvara Devar (the deity of the central shrine), and to the Uloga Vidi Vitanka Devar (the processional deity), is of immense interest to students of South Indian art as it gives a complete and exhaustive description of jewellery of various types given to the deities mentioned above.

There is another interesting inscription, of the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja I, found on the east wall of the *mandapa* of this temple, mentioning the gifts made by Sri Vishnuvardhana Mahadevar *alias* Vimaladitya Devar of Vengi Nadu, the Eastern Chalukyan prince and viceroy under the Cholas who married Kundavai, the daughter of Rajaraja I. They comprise eight pots of silver (*velli-kalasam*), weighing 1,148 *kalanjus*, gifted to the Mahadevar of Ulogamahadevisvaram at the *devadana* village of Tiruvaiyaru (SII, V, 514 ; ARE 215 of 1894).

In the fourth year of Rajendra I there is a reference to a gift of land by way of *tattarakkani* to the architect, who built the Ulogamadevisvaram, by name Sakkadi Samudaiyan *alias* Sembiyan Madevipperuntattan, by Danti Sakti Vitanki, the *nampirattiyar* (queen) of Periya Devar (Rajaraja I). Tiruvaiyaru is described as a *devadana* village in Poygai nadu, in Rajendrasimha valanadu (SII, V, 515 ; ARE 216 of 1884).

While discussing this temple, it will be interesting to mention yet another inscription, belonging to the thirty-second year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1018—1054) (SII, V, 520 ; ARE 221 of 1884). This is important as it gives a complete narration of all the wars and victories won by this Chola ruler, thus enabling

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us to get considerable knowledge of the contemporary political picture as also an idea of the extent of the empire. There is, for instance, a reference to the Chola victory over the three Pandyas (in confirmation of the Sivakasi Plates), *viz.*, Manabharana, Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya. The main purpose of the inscription however is to list out the jewels and vessels granted as donations to Loga Mahadevi Isvaram Udaiyar of Tiruvaiyaru. Yet another interesting aspect of this inscription is that it engraves two earlier gifts, one belonging to the thirty-first year of Rajadhiraja I and the other an even earlier gift, relating to the twenty-seventh year of Rajendra I, as a combined fresh record.

The temple faces east. It consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* with an *antarala* linking the latter two constituents. The *garbhagriha* is a square of side 3.35 ms (11 ft.) inside and 5.97 ms (19 ft.) outside, the wall thickness being 1.45 ms ($4\frac{3}{4}$ ft.) at the cardinal points and less by 0.15 ms ($\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) at others. The outer surface of the *garbhagriha* is in two levels, the central portion having a width 2.59 ms ($8\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) on each face, projecting .15 m ($\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) outwards from the rest of the surface in the two *karna* elements extending 1.68 ms ($5\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) in length on either side. The two side walls of the *ardhamandapa* are in continuation of the side walls of the *garbhagriha* ; the inner width of the *ardhamandapa* is the same as that of the *garbhagriha, viz.*, 3.35 ms (11 ft.) while the inner length is twice the width, *viz.*, 6.70 ms (22 ft.).

The intervening wall is 0.84 m ($2\frac{3}{4}$ ft.) thick with an opening 0.91 m (3 ft.) wide connecting the two constituents. Externally the *ardhamandapa* projects 7.16 m ($23\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) towards the east and has a doorway of 1.06 ms ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) width. Further east is the *mukhamandapa*, a square structure 5.94 ms ($19\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) side inside and 7.72 ms ($25\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) externally, the wall having a thickness of 0.69 m ($2\frac{1}{4}$ ft.). The *antarala* between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* is 1.06 ms ($3\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) in length.

There are five *devakoshtas* adorned with crowning *toranas* over the niches. The images of Brahma and Dakshinamurti (mutilated) are the only ones among the original sculptures of this period still found in the *devakoshtas* of the main shrine and are of excellent

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workmanship. The other *devakoshta* sculptures have disappeared. (Pls 35 and 36)

The temple is an *eka-tala* structure with a spherical *stupi* ; there are two *dvarapalas* on either side of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

TIRUVALANJULI

3 KAPARDISVARAR TEMPLE

BHAIRAVAR (KSHETRAPALAR) SHRINE

Tiruvalanjuli, on the southern bank of the Arisil, is on the Tanjavur-Kumbakonam main road, 6.5 kms (4 miles) to the west of Kumbakonam in the Tanjavur district.

The central shrine of Kapardisvarar would appear to be an old temple dating back to the days of the Early Cholas, as we find in an inscription of Rajaraja I, dated in his seventeenth year, mention of a grant made to the temple in the thirty-eighth year of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman (ARE 620 of 1902). There is again another inscription of the same king (Rajaraja I) found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine dated in the twenty-first year of the ruler, which confirms a grant of land made in the twelfth year of Parakesarivarman. The *mandapa* itself would seem to be a contribution of Rajaraja I.

The Amman who is called in the inscription Vanduvalkulali Nachchiyar also has a shrine which should have come into existence before the eleventh year of Rajaraja III.

In the outermost *prakara* of this temple, in the south-eastern corner, there is a shrine dedicated to Kshetrapala devar. This shrine of Bhairavar (Kshetrapala devar) was built of stone by Loga Mahadevi (*nam edippitta karrali*).

An inscription of the twenty-fifth regnal year of Rajaraja I, engraved on the north wall of this shrine, mentions the gift of gold and costly jewels presented to this deity, both by Kundavai Nangaiyar, the youngest daughter of Rajaraja I and the queen (*Mahadeviyar*) of Vimaladitta Devar, and by Nangaiyar

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Madevadigal, the middle daughter (*naduvil penpillai*), out of the gold presented by her father at the time of his *abhishekam*—"*Rajaraja devarkku adi arula prasadam perra pon*" (ARE 633 of 1902 ; SII, VIII, 234). From another inscription recorded on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, we learn that a gift of land, made tax-free (*iraiyili-nikki*), as *devadanam*, was made by a royal order on the 258th day in the twenty-fourth regnal year of Rajaraja I, for various services to the two deities of Kshetrapalar and Ganapatiyar set up in the temple of Tiruvalanjuli Alvar by Danti Sakti Vitanki *alias* Loga Mahadeviyar.

On the north wall of this shrine is an inscription of the third year (221st day) of Rajendra Chola I, which states that he ceremonially passed through a hillock (mound) of gingily seeds (*tila parvatam pukkaruli*) and on that auspicious occasion, gifted twelve gold flowers to be placed at the feet of the Lord (*sri-pada-pushpam*) ; another gift of a gold flower is made to this Lord by his queen Valavan Madeviyar (ARE 633-B of 1902 ; SII, VIII, 236).

Similarly, we learn from another inscription on the same (north) wall of the Bhairavar shrine, of the third year of Rajendra Chola I (ARE 633-C of 1902 ; SII, VIII, 237), of a gift of two gold flowers to the Lord Kshetrapalar by Danti Sakti Vitanki out of the gold used by her for the *Hiranyagarbha* ceremony performed by her while her husband performed the *Tulabhara* ceremony at Tiruvisalur in the twenty-ninth regnal year of Rajaraja I (Pl 186).

The shrine faces west and, unlike the usual run of shrines for Bhairavar, which are generally located in the north-east corner of the *prakara*, the Kshetrapalar shrine occupies the south-eastern portion of the third *prakara* space. The shrine is now cordoned off from the main *prakara* by a brick wall ; but we may presume that, as it originally stood, it had no wall of enclosure of its own. The *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* constitute the shrine. The near-square *garbhagriha* measures 4.64 ms across the axis and 4.44 ms along it, while the cella inside measures 2.60 ms, by 2.56 ms also almost a square. The finely-chiselled image of Kshetrapalar, measuring 1.65 ms. in height and .85 m

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across the chest stands on a *pitham*. It is carved out of fine-grained light blue schist and, in spite of the dilapidated structure enshrining it, the icon itself is in a fine state of preservation.

The *srivimana* is *eka-tala*. In the outer wall surface of the *adi bhumi*, there are three *devakoshtas*, divided into a central *bhadra* and two flanking *karna* elements. The niches in the east and north are empty while the southern niche has the original, beautiful Ganapati. In the *griva* niches, we have Vishnu in the west and Bhairavar in the east, and the other two niches are empty. There are two loose sculptures of Bhairavar in the vicinity and they perhaps belong to the *griva koshtas* (Pls 37 and38). The *griva* and the *sikhara* are in brick and mortar and circular in shape. The *ardhamandapa* projects 4.25 ms forward, with the same width as the *garbhagriha*. The north wall which alone remains of this hall has two shallow decorative niches on its outer face without any icons. There was a bigger *mukhamandapa* ahead of the *ardhamandapa* ; but of it, only the plinth remains, measuring a rectangle of 6.95 ms across and 6.85 ms along the axis, being almost a square again. This seems to be an independent Bhairavar temple.

Of the other loose sculptures in the vicinity is one of Jyeshtha devi, which is noteworthy.

ALAGADRIPUTTUR

4 SVARNAPURISVARAR TEMPLE

Alagadriputtur, or Alagar-Tirupputtur, as it is referred to in inscriptions, lies on the southern bank of the river Arisil (Arasalaru), 7.25 kms (4½ miles) south-east of Kumbakonam. On account of its location, it was also known as Arisir-karai-puttur. Tradition has it that Pugal-tunai-nayanar, one of the 63 *Saiva* saints, attained salvation at Tirunaraiyur Siddhisvaram not far from here.

The Svarnapurisvarar temple has ancient associations and is mentioned with reference to Kochchenganan of the Sangam Age, who is said to have built 70 *madakkoyils*.

From a multilated record of the seventh year of Rajaraja I

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(A.D. 992) found on the north wall of the central shrine (ARE 283 of 1908), we come to know that one Pullai Sattan Karivelar Gandaradittan *alias* Mummadi-soliyavaraiyar built the central shrine of stone and made gifts of land for offerings to the temple. The Lord of this temple is referred to in this record as "*Tiru puttur Udaiya Paramasvamin.*" A record of his twenty-second year found on the east wall of the temple (ARE 287 of 1908) refers to a gift of land for a lamp to the temple of Tirupputtur Mahadevar in Paradayakudi, a *brahmadeya* in Tirunaraiyur nadu, a sub-division of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu. From a twenty-eighth year record of the same ruler (ARE 284 of 1908), we get to know of a gift of land for a lamp (Pls 39–41).

A shrine for Surya Devar was constructed in the campus of the temple by one Pattalakan Adittan, a native of Kallur in Mel-vemba nadu, a sub-division of Pandi Nadu *alias* Rajaraja mandalam and a gift of land was made for offerings to this shrine (ARE 289 of 1908), in the fourth year of Rajendra I. In this record there is mention of Kurugur *matham* also.

This temple was reconstructed in stone during the days of Rajaraja I. It was unfortunately dismantled and renovated during the early years of this century, to which fact a pathetic reference is made in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908, which I quote below :

> One of the trustees of the Svarnapurisvarar temple at Alagapputtur in the Kumbakonam taluk wrote to me that the temple was being repaired. The report was subsequently confirmed by a letter from the Collector of Tanjore. When I visited the village, the work of demolition had reached an advanced stage. But the lower portion of the temple remained intact and *all the inscriptions found on it were copied.*

It is a pity that such unchannelled religious enthusiasm has often been the cause of considerable loss of precious inscriptional and sculptural material and the destruction of old monuments. During my recent tour I noticed to my horror the great violence and harm done to the fine temple at Velvidai Isvaram at Tirukkuruhavur near Sirkali, whose inscribed walls, *devakoshtas* and

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koshta pancharas are now irretrievably lost. I am, however, very happy that the old features of the ancient temple with rich associations will be preserved for posterity at least in the illustrations of this temple in my book, *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. 907—985) on pp.186–7 (Pls 215–223).

TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI

5 SRI UTTARAPATISVARAR TEMPLE

i) Ganapatisvarar shrine
ii) Uttarapatisvarar shrine
iii) Vatapi-Ganapati shrine
iv) Chulikambal (Amman) shrine

Tiruchchengattangudi lies to the south of the Mudikondan river, a branch of the Kaveri, and about 8 kms (5 miles) south-east of the Nannilam railway station. Close to it are the Saivite centre of Tiruppugalur*, where Appar attained beatitude, and the Vaishnavite centre of Tirukkannapuram.

According to legends, this was the place where Ganapati destroyed the demon Gajamukhasuran ; as a result, the place became covered with the blood of the asura. Hence it came to be called *Sengadu*, the red-forest. As expiation for having killed the asura, Ganapati is said to have done penance. So the central shrine was named Ganapatisvaram.

Appar and Sambandar have glorified the presiding deity of this temple. In his hymn, Sambandar calls the temple Siruttondar-Ganapatisvaram, i.e., the abode of Isvara worshipped by Ganapati, who gave grace to Siruttondar. The story of Siruttondar is found in detail in Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*. His original name was Paranjoti.He served as a general of Narasimhavarman I, the Pallava king of Kanchi, and took part in the destruction of Vatapi (modern Badami now in the Karnataka state), the then

*Tiruppugalur lies six kms, east of Nannilam railway station on the Nannilam-Nagapattinam high way, where we cross the Mudikondan to reach Tirukkannapuram, 1.5. kms south of Tiruppugalur. Tiruchchengattangudi is nearly 2 kms east of Tirukkannapuram and is reached by a metal road.

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capital of the Western Chalukya king Pulakesin II. With the king's permission, he retired from military service and devoted himself to a spiritual life.

As an ardent and humble devotee — as the name implies — of the Lord of Ganapatisvaram, Siruttondar interested himself in feeding pilgrims. One day, Siva appeared before him in the guise of Bhairavar; and in order to test the steadfastness of his devotion to the Lord, he demanded human flesh for his meal. The cooked flesh of Siruttondar's son Siralar was offered to the guest. When the Lord witnessed this supreme sacrifice, He revealed Himself before Siruttondar, and gave him, his wife Tiruvenkattu nangai and their son Siralar divine grace. On the northern wall of Ganapatisvaram, there is a sculpture-panel of this scene, depicting their journey to Kailasa, preceded by Siva and Uma riding the Bull-mount, followed by Siruttondar, Tiruvenkattu nangai, Siralar and the maid servant Santana Nangai, constituting the group.

Siruttondar and Sambandar were contemporaries. During the course of his pilgrimage, Sambandar worshipped the Lord of Nagaik-karonam at Nagapattinam and then reached Kilvelur. Siruttondar met Sambandar there and invited him to Tiruchchengattangudi. Sambandar stayed for a few days as Siruttondar's guest. After worshipping the Lord of Ganapatisvaram, he sang two hymns on Him. It was at this time that Sambandar also visited Tirumarugal and performed the miracle of restoring to life a newly married merchant, bitten by a snake. After this visit, Sambandar has given us a hymn linking the two temples of Tirumarugal and Tiruchchengattangudi. Thereafter Sambandar went to Tiruppugalur.

The main deity of Ganapatisvarar is also called by various other names, such as Mandarapurisvarar, Saktipurisar, Brahmapurisar, Indrapurisar, Atti-vananathar (the Lord of the *Atti* tree, the *sthalavriksha*), Bhaskarapurisar and Samudrapurisar.

There are two places with historical associations outside the temple premises. In the south-west corner of the south street, there is a tank called Surya-pushkarani. To the west, there is the Siruttondar-*tiru-matham*, the place traditionally associated

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with the original home of Siruttondar. It is here that the annual *Sittirai-Bharani* festival is celebrated.

Next to it is the Siruttonda-Nayanar-*tirumaligai* now built into a shrine. In this, there are sculptures of Uttarapatiyar (Bhairavar) *who hailed from the north* with those of Siruttondar and his wife Tiruvengattu-nangai on one side and Ayyadigal Kadavarkon on the other. The existence of the latter sculpture indicates the association of this Tamil saint with the local Siva temple, and its existence even as early as the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Kadavarkon belongs to the pre-Sambandar period.

Ganapatisvaram

The main shrine—which is also the oldest in the temple complex at Tiruchchengattangudi—is Ganapatisvaram. It is sanctified by the hymns of Sambandar and Appar (seventh century A.D.) It should have been a structure of brick (in their days), rebuilt of stone in the days of Aditya I (ninth century A.D.). The sculptures of Brahma and especially of Ardhanarisvarar now lodged in the southern verandah of the *tiruch-churru-maligai* might have belonged to the structure of Aditya I's age.

The present structure of Ganapatisvaram seems assignable to the period of Rajaraja I. On the walls of this temple, there are seven inscriptions all of which belong to the Middle Chola period. Of these, three are of the reign of Rajaraja I. While Sambandar calls the deity Siruttondan Ganapatisvarattan of Tiruchchengattangudi, inscriptions of Rajaraja I call the Lord Siraladevar of Tiruchchengattangudi.

An inscription of Rajaraja I's third year (ARE 56 of 1913) mentions a gift of land for two lamps to Siraladevar by Vellalan Ulangan Sirriyan *alias* Tappilla Muvendavelan. There are two inscriptions of his nineteenth year (ARE 57 and 59 of 1913). One refers to a gift of land for feeding the devotees attending the festival of *Sittirai-Tiruvadirai* when Siraladevar was taken in procession to the *mandapa* of Siruttonda-nambi. (Does "*mandapa*" here refer to the Siruttondar-*tirumaligai* in the south street ?). The other inscription also mentions a gift of land by two residents of Marugal for the celebration of the festival of Siruttondar-

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nambi. Incidentally, mention is made of the revenue survey carried out in the seventeenth year of Rajaraja I.

There are three inscriptions of Parakesarivarman which do not contain sufficient details to enable us to assign them definitely to Rajendra I. Though the Government Epigraphist assigns the inscription of the third year of Parakesarivarman to Rajendra I (ARE 58 of 1913), the identification cannot be sustained, as the prefix *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* applies only to Later Chola kings. In this inscription, the presiding deity is called Ganapatisvaram-udaiyar ; while in the other two of the fifth and eleventh years (ARE 60 and 62 of 1913), the Lord is called Paramesvarar of Tiruchchengattangudi.

On the west wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the 32nd year of Rajadhiraja I (ARE 58 of 1913) which mentions a gift of land, made tax-free, to Ganapatisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar by the *sabha* of Tirukkannapuram, a *brahmadeya* in Marugal nadu ; and the *sabha* is said to have met in the temple of Piramisvaram-udaiya-Mahadevar in the village.

The *devakoshta* sculptures on the walls of this shrine are Ganapati, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhavar and Brahma.

Among the *parivara* shrines may be mentioned those of Vatapi-Ganapati in the south-west corner of the first *prakara,* of Subrahmanyar and Lakshmi (displacing Jyeshta) both of them in the western varandah, of Bhairavar in the eastern verandah and of Chandesvarar north of the main shrine.

The present Ganapatisvaram could be assigned to the age of Rajaraja I.

Uttarapatisvaram

This shrine is parallel to, and south of, Ganapatisvaram. It is dedicated to Uttarapati — the mendicant Siva in the form of Bhairavar who appeared before Siruttondar to put his devotion to test. The earliest epigraphical reference to this deity is found in an inscription of the forty-fifth year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulottunga Chola Deva (ARE 64 of 1913) found on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of these two shrines. The Government Epigraphist assigns this inscription wrongly, in my opinion, to

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Kulottunga III. The high regnal year and the absence of any of the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Kulottunga III lead us to assign this inscription to Kulottunga I (A.D. 1115). So, it seems to us that the Uttarapatisavaram shrine and the *mandapa* in front of both the shrines should be assigned to the period of Kulottunga I. It may be added that the walls of this *mandapa* contain inscriptions only of the Later Cholas.*

On the walls of the Uttarapatisvaram, there are only two Vijayanagara inscriptions, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (ARE 51 and 52 of 1913). The first belongs to the reign of Vira Viruppanna Udaiyar, son of Ariyaraya (Harihara II) and is dated Saka 1306 (A.D. 1384). It records a gift of land to both the shrines of Ganapatisvaram Udaiyar and Uttarapati Nayaka

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**Later Chola inscriptions*: All the inscriptions on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the two main shrines belong to the Later Chola period. We have already discussed the significance of the inscription of the forty-fifth year of Kulottunga I.

There are three inscriptions of Kulottunga III. One of his tenth year, 123rd day records a gift of land to the temple-architect, Rajendra Chola Achariyan.

Another of his eleventh year, 175th day registers that a document connected with the temple of Tiruvirama-nandisvaram [see the next section on Tiruviramesvaram or (as it is presently called) Ramanandisvaram] at Tirukkannapuram was engraved on the walls of the temple at Tiruchchengattangudi "as the former was evidently not constructed of stone..." The record refers to the fifth and tenth years of Periyadevar Kulottunga Chola devar in whose time the Tirukkannapuram temple came into existence (ARE 65 of 1913).

Two errors have crept in about this inscription. The record clearly states that the old stone walls of the Tirukkannapuram temple had become worn out (the text in the inscription is "ivai-palagai jirnittu irakshai arida irukkaiyil") and could not stand the engraving of the inscription. So it is wrong to hold that the temple had not been built of stone till then. Secondly, the name of the temple is recorded as "Tiruviramanandisvaram". The deity of this temple was formerly worshipped by Rama. So its name is Tiruviramesvaram (Tiru-Iramesvaram = Tiruviramesvaram). Sambandar's *Devaram* hymn calls the place "Tiruramanadichcharam". But the inscription calls the temple "Tiruviramanandisuaram". Anyhow, the later name has persisted and the temple has come to be called now "Tiruviramanandisvaram". This temple was rebuilt of stone in the days of Kulottunga III.

An inscription of his eighteenth year, 330th day mentions a gift of land by purchase for laying out a road to carry in procession Siralappillaiyar from the *mandapa* of Siruttonda devar (perhaps the one in the south street) at Tiruchchengattangudi to Tiru-Marugal (ARE 66 of 1913).

Another of the same year (ARE 67 of 1913) refers to the remission of certain taxes in favour of the temple for maintaining the worship of Siralapillaiyar.

An inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rajaraja III (A.D.1240) provides for offerings to Uttarapati Nayaka during the Sittirai-Bharani festival.

On the walls of the Vatapi Ganapati shrine there is an inscription of the 22nd year, 130th day of Kulottunga III which relates to the acquisition of lands for constructing the third *prakara* of the temple with a street around it.

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at Tiruchchengattangudi by one Somaya Dannayakar (Dandanayakar). The other belongs to the reign of Vira Bhupatiraya Udaiyar dated Saka 1332 (A.D. 1410). It records the gift of a lamp to the temple of Uttarapati Nayaka by a native of Palaiyanur in Tondaimandalam.

The earliest epigraphical evidence regarding the Uttarapatisvaram is found in an inscription of the forty-fifth year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1115) and we do not know how much earlier it existed. And the present shrine bears only inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as we have just seen.

The sthala-vriksha is the *Atti* tree and this is found within the *mandapa* in front of the Uttarapati shrine.

The shrine of Siruttondar is located in the south-east corner within this enclosure.

The two shrines with the *mandapa* in front are surrounded by a *prakara* with a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. At the eastern end of the southern wing of the *tiruch-churru-maligai* we have sculptures of the 63 Nayanmars. West of these are sculptures of Brahma and Ardhanarisvarar (probably of the earlier Ganapatisvaram), the four Tamil saints and Sankha and Padma Nidhis.

In a *mandapa* in the centre of the northern verandah, there are fine stone sculptures of what are locally called the *Nava-Tandava-murtis: Bhujanga-Lalita-murti, Gaja-samhara-murti, Urdhva-Tandava-murti, Kala-samhara-murti, Kankala-murti, Bhikshatanamurti, Tripura-Samhara-murti* and *Bhairava-murti* (Pls 51–53).

In the north-east corner of this verandah, we have a fine set of bronzes of Nataraja and Sivakami.

Stone sculptures of Bhairavar and Surya adorn the eastern verandah north of the main gateway *(gopuram)* of the first *prakara*. This *gopuram* is three-storeyed.

In the second *prakara,* we have the *Alankara mandapa* and the Chulikambal (Amman) shrine of the Later Chola age.

It has to be observed that the original gateway in the east in this *prakara* is closed and a new one built to the north of it (not on the same axis as the main shrine). The temple at Tiruchchengattangudi seems to have undergone alterations during every phase—Early, Middle and Later—of the Chola period.

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Siruttondar, Tiruvenkattu-Nangai and Sirala have exercised a profound influence and fascination over the minds and hearts of kings, nobles and the common people. Adittan Suryan installed metallic images of these three, in the third year of Rajendra I, in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur (SII, II, p. 172).

Tiruchchengattangudi is one of the most celebrated temples of Tamil Nadu (Pls 42–53).

TIRUVIRAMESVARAM

6 RAMANATHESVARAR TEMPLE (TIRU-RAMANADICHCHARAM)

Tiruviramesvaram* is a small village reached through Tiruppugalur, which is at a distance of six kilometres to the east of Nannilam. At Tiruppugalur, the river Mudikondan is crossed and this village is about one and a half kilometres to the west. Kannapuram, where there is a Vishnu temple and to which references have been made in dealing with Tiruchchengattangudi, is close by, only a kilometre and a half to the east. Thus Tiruviramesvaram, Tiruppugalur, Kannapuram and Tiruchchengattangudi lie close to one another, and, in the days of the Cholas, received considerable attention from royalty.

The *Devaram* refers to this as the temple of Tiru-Ramanadichcharam, and its presiding deity as Ramanathar. In the records found in the temple, the place receives the surname of Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam. When dealing with the Rajarajesvaram temple (SII, II, p. 320), we found that the village of Nedumanal, like Tiruviramesvaram, was situated in Nenmali nadu, district of Arumolideva valanadu, and was called Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam; from one of the inscriptions found in this

*See para 4 of the footnote on Later Chola Inscriptions, of Tiruchchengattangudi p 99. The village is locally called "Ramanandisvaram" another form of the name "Tiruviramesvaram": and in the *Devaram* it is referred to as "Ramanatich-charam." In the inscriptions of Rajaraja I, the village is known as "Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam", the alternate name being "Nedumanal". It is said to be in Nenmali nadu in Arumolideva valanadu. The temple of Ramanathesvarar located in this village was among the numerous temples which furnished their own share of *talippendir* to the temple of Rajarajesvaram.

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temple (ARE 152 of 1911), we get to know that the temple of Tiruviramesvaram Udaiyar was located in Nedumanal *alias* Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam. So it is evident that the modern Tiruviramesvaram is the same as Nedumanal mentioned in the Tanjavur Rajarajesvaram inscription. Amritavalli-chaturvedimangalam which is referred to in one of the inscriptions in this temple (ARE 141 of 1911) also figures in the Tanjavur inscription referred to above, as one of the places in Avur kurram which supplied *brahmacharins* as temple-servants to the Rajarajesvarar temple.

On the walls of the central shrine, there are a number of inscriptions of Rajaraja I, one of Rajendra I, one of Rajadhiraja I and also one of an un-identified Rajakesarivarman. The earliest of them all are two inscriptions dated in the twelfth year of Rajaraja I (ARE 119 and 120 of 1901) found on the north wall; one other relates to a gift of money for two lamps to the temple of Tiruviramesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam,* in Nenmali nadu which was a sub-division of Arumolideva valanadu (ARE 121 of 1911). The only inscription of the period of Rajendra I (ARE 122 of 1911) is dated in his third year and relates to a gift of money for four lamps. The inscription of his son Rajadhiraja I is dated in his twenty-ninth year and mentions a gift of a lamp to the temple by a *brahmana* of Tiruviramesvaram which is described as being in Madanamanjari-chaturvedimangalam (ARE 118 of 1911).

Besides these inscriptions on the walls of the central shrine, there are a large number of them on the walls of the *mandapa,* covering the periods of these three rulers; besides, there are also inscriptions relating to the reigns of some of the Later Chola rulers like Vikrama Chola, Rajaraja II (?) and Kulottunga III. An eighth year record of Rajaraja I mentions a gift of land for a lamp to the shrine of Brahmisvarar and for offerings to the shrine of Tribhuvana Sundarar, both of which were perhaps situated in the same temple, by the cavalier (*kudiraikarar*) Sobhanayyan (ARE 146 of 1911). There is another record of the same year referring to a gift of money for a lamp by the wife of one of

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the *ganattars* "who managed the affairs of the village" (ARE 148 of 1911). A tenth year record deals with a gift of money for a lamp by a *brahmana* lady of Amritavalli chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Avur kurram referred to earlier (ARE 141 of 1911). The same cavalry officer also makes a gift of land for a lamp to this temple in a record of the eleventh year. The inscriptions of the period of Rajaraja I range from his seventh to his thirteenth years only. There are a number of Rajendra I's inscriptions on the walls of the *mandapa* ranging from his third regnal year to the fourteenth, mostly relating to gifts of land for lamps; one record mentions the provision made for the feeding of *Sivayogins* in the temple (ARE 124 of 1911), another registers the distribution of stores for oblations in the temple as settled by a certain Tirumanjana Pittar (ARE 129 of 1911). There is a record, whose year is lost, mentioning a gift of money for a lamp by a merchant who was living in the street named Virasolapperunteru in the city of Tanjavur (ARE 128 of 1911). The only record on the walls of the *mandapa*, relating to Rajadhiraja I, is dated in his thirty-fifth year and contains only a portion of the historical introduction.

From a record in modern characters on a stone set up in a field in the village, we get to know of a gift of land at Tannirkunnamangalam to the God Ramanathasvamin and the Goddess Tirumangai Nayaki of the temple of Tiruviramesvaram by a certain Archchandira Sayebu (ARE 155 of 1911). The name Ramanathasvamin of the deity is met with in this record for the first time. Otherwise, in the Chola period the deity went under the name of Tiruviramesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar.

The central shrine seems to be assignable to the age of Rajaraja I, but its extensions should belong to the Later Chola age.

TIRUKKADAIYUR

7 AMRITAGHATESVARAR TEMPLE

Tirukkadavur or Kadaiyur is about 21 kilometres east of Mayuram in the Tanjavur district, on the road to Tarangambadi

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on the seacoast, and is one of the eight *virasthanams* (places where Siva is said to have performed feats of valour in Tamil Nadu (*Early Chola Temples*, pp. 85 and 86). Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar have sung the glory of this Lord. The main deity is called Amritaghatesvarar, and the Amman, Abhirami Ammai.

On the south wall of the central shrine of this temple, there is an inscription of the thirteenth year of Rajaraja I which mentions the purchase of land belonging to the temple of Tiruvirattanam udaiya Paramasvamin at the instance of the Assembly (*sabha*) of Kadavur in Ambar nadu in Uyyakkondan valanadu, by a certain Udaya Chandiran Amudakan *alias* Kalakala Mayilatti, a merchant residing in the village who got it made rent-free by the assembly with the stipulation that "he should pay a fixed quantity of paddy to the temple every year for the expenses of worship and for maintaining three lamps before certain images." (ARE 242 of 1925). On the same wall, we have an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rajendra Chola I which seems to record the promise of regular delivery of paddy for the daily offerings throughout the year and for the requirements of eight days of the festival, celebrated in the month of *Chittirai*, in the temple of Kalakala Devar out of the land donated by Rajaraja Muvendavelan to the temple in the eighteenth year of the king. A third record found on the north and east walls of the main shrine relates to the thirty-sixth year of Rajakesari *alias* Vijaya Rajendra, *viz.*, Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1054). It records a gift of some lands as *salabhoga* after bringing them under cultivation, by a certain Pichchan Adittan *alias* Vijaya Rajendra Muvendavelan of Komakkudi, to feed 17 persons in the "*Rajadhirajan salai*" and to meet the expenses of worship in the temple of Kalakala Devar (ARE 244 of 1925). The fourth inscription found on the main walls of the *garbhagriha* of this shrine relates to the twenty-seventh year of Kulottunga I and mentions that the *mahasabhai* of Tirukkadavur in Ambar nadu in Rajanarayana valanadu met in the *Tiruchchirrambala velaikkaran tiru mandapam* and sold $1\frac{3}{4}$ *velis* of land, which had been lying fallow for 50 years without any claimants, as a *mathappuram* to a certain Vanavarajar of Korramangalam for feeding daily, in the Markandeyan *matham*,

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ten *Sivayogins* well-versed in the *Vedas,* for the welfare of the king.

Of these four inscriptions found on the main walls of the temple, the earliest relates to the thirteenth year of Rajaraja I; this together with the fact that the deity is called Kalakala Devar, the donor figuring in that record also being of the same name, would seem to indicate that the temple was set up by the merchant Udaya Chandiran Amudakkan *alias* Kalakala, as also certain images in the shrine. This temple must therefore have been reconstructed before the thirteenth year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 998).

We have a number of records of the Later Cholas on the walls of the *prakara;* one of them, of Rajaraja deva (II) belonging to his 14th year, is interesting and mentions that the *mahasabha* of Tirukkadavur in Akkur nadu assembled in the *Kulottungasolan tiru venduttukkati* (hall) in the temple of Kalakala Devar to confiscate to the temple the property of those *mahesvaras* who, contrary to their tenets, as the custodians of the Siva temple and its observances, "intermingled freely with the Vaishnavas and wore or sold the lotuses (grown for the god)".

While dealing with the interest evinced by the Chola emperors in the performing arts of drama, dance and also music, we had mentioned under Rajarajesvaram the innumerable grants and facilities provided by them to musicians, dancers and dance-masters. We have a fine example here of the same in the period of Kulottunga III. In a record of his twenty-third year, royal sanction was accorded to the confirmation of the appointment of a certain Parasivan Ponnan *alias* Kalavinoda Nritta-Peraraiyan as *nattuva nilai* (dance master and musician) in the temple, together with the remuneration for him in kind (paddy) attached to the appointment, at the request of Viranattup-pallavaraiyan, a favourite poet of the king.

The temple faces west. There is a separate shrine for Kalasamhara-murti. It houses a bronze image with four arms, issuing out of the Linga to save His *bhakta* Markkandeya from Yama's clutches *("Markkandarkkaha anru kalanai udaippar polum kadavur virattanarey"*—Appar *Devaram)* (Pls 54 to 57).

There are in this temple a set of fine stone sculptures which should belong to the Early Chola period.

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TIRUPPUGALUR

KONAPIRAN (SRI PUGALUR MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE 8

We have briefly dealt with this temple under our Historical survey in *Early Chola Temples* (pp. 246 and 247). The earliest inscription found in this temple dates back to Uttama Chola (ARE 66 of 1927–28); but the temple received considerable attention at the hands of the Middle Chola rulers and their consorts and nobles.

One of the earliest records of Rajaraja I here dates to his sixteenth year and mentions that Nakkan Tillai-y-alagiyar *alias* Panchavan Mahadeviyar, queen of Rajaraja I, made a gift of some tax-free land for conducting a festival and for providing offerings to the God every month on the day of *Sadaiyam*, her husband's as well as her own natal star. She also made a gift of some ornaments to this temple (ARE 47 of 1927–28). In his twenty-first year, a remission of taxes by the assembly of Karoducheri, a *brahmadeyam* in Panaiyur nadu, was effected on the lands granted to the temple by the king and the queen Panchavan Madeviyar, for conducting special worship to the god every month on the day of their natal star (ARE 54 of 1927–28). Again, in his twenty-first year, a gift of paddy and money is made by one Angikumara Kramavittan *alias* Porkoyil Chandesvarayogi of Kundur for offerings to the image of Tirunavukkaraiya devar (ARE 68 of 1927-28). In his twenty-third year, one Selvan Achchan, a member of *Satturubhayankara-terinda-velam* of the queen Panchavan Madeviyar made a gift of nine gold flowers to the god Konapperumal (ARE 62 of 1927–28). In his twenty-seventh year, a *brahmana* lady by name Ganapati Ponnalvi *alias* Solai gave money to the *brahmanas* of Pugalur for burning a perpetual lamp before the deity (ARE 69 of 1927–28). The southern entrance into the shrine bears an inscription giving the name of the entrance as Irasarasan *tiruvasal* (ARE 71 of 1927–28), presumably referring to Rajaraja I.

In the fifth year of Rajendra I, certain lands belonging to the temple were exempted from taxes by the assembly of Bhuloka-

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manikka-chaturvedimangalam and provision was made for offerings and worship to God Sri Kamesvaram Udaiyar and for the recitation of the *Vedas* (ARE 52 of 1927–28).

From a tenth year record here of Rajendra I, we get to know that the assembly of Bhuloka-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Panaiyur nadu in Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu received 150 *kasus* from the temple and remitted the taxes on a piece of land belonging to the god Sri Pugalur Mahadevar (ARE 44 of 1927–28). In the twenty-seventh year of Rajadhiraja I, a *brahmana* lady by name Pichchan Sirudaikalal of Saliamangalam in Inga nadu made a gift of money for a festival with offerings to the image of the Consort of God Navalingesvarar in the temple, on the day of *Sadaiyam*. It provided for the services of eight men to participate in the *ashta-mangalam* ceremony during the bathing of the deity (mirror, water-pot, flag, fly-whisk, elephant goad, drum, lamp and a pair of fish (?) constituting the "eight signs of prosperity", ARE 49 of 1927–28). From a record of the 32nd year, we learn of the setting up of a deity called Sivapurattu devar for providing offerings for whom a gift of land free of taxes was made by a certain lady (ARE 48 of 1927–28).

There is a fourth year record of Rajendra II on two lion pillars at the north entrance in the first *prakara* of the temple, remitting certain taxes on some temple lands (ARE 79 of 1927–28). We could conclude that the first *prakara* had come into existence even during these days. In the fifth year, an agreement was made by the assembly of Pugalur to pay 10 *kasus* as interest on 40 *kasus* lent to them from the sum given by Parkkaran Arumoli of Velur, in Puliyur nadu, a division of Vijayarajendra valanadu for the expenses of the *nul erram* ceremony (*dhvajarohanam* ?) in the temple (ARE 57 of 1927–28). The same lady also set up the image of Ulaguyyakondasola Surriya devar (*vitankar*) and provided money for offerings to this deity (sixth year; ARE 64 of 1927–28). In the eleventh year, one Devanpattagal Pandaram and her daughter, belonging to the *Sivapadasekhara-tirumanjanattar-velam*, set up in the temple at Pugalur images of Surya devar and His two Consorts and presented them with ornaments (ARE 63 of 1927–28).

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Evidently, the first *prakara* wall came to be built along with the central shrine, or at least during the Middle Chola period, and the *mandapa* adjoining the north wall of enclosure was the contribution of one Chedirayan, the headman of Arkadu. No date is mentioned. The existence of lion-pillars in the Middle Chola period is confirmed. They are found even in the Later Chola period (see *Early Chola Temples,* pp. 246–7; ARE 78 and 79 of 1927-28).

Tiruppugalur is particularly significant, as the place where Appar attained his salvation (Pls 58 to 60 and Lalit Kala 17).

NAGAPATTINAM

KARONASVAMIN (KAYA-AROHANAR) TEMPLE 9

Ptolemy, the ancient Greek geographer, mentions Nikama as a great emporium in the east coast of South India, an important seaport, strategically situated, connecting the great cities of the west—and later the Arab cities—on the one side, with the Krishna (Amaravati) region and the Gangetic valley skirting the Bay of Bengal, the Nicobar group of islands (Manakkavaram), Burma, Kedah (Kadaram), Sri Vijaya (in Sumatra) and other Indonesian islands, the Philippines and China in the east, on the other.

One of the 127 temples in the Tanjavur district south of the Kaveri celebrated in the *Devaram* hymns is at Nagapattinam (hymn no. 82). The temple called "Tiru-Nagai-Karonam" is situated less than a kilometre north of the railway station, which lies on the Tanjavur-Nagore branch line of the Southern Railway.

Nagai is described as having lagoons and being washed by the waves of the sea. It was a city of the learned, with long streets, adorned with mansions; and the port was full of ships.

Various traditions have grown round this ancient coastal town. Adiseshan, the king of the Nagas who was issueless, worshipped the Lord of this temple and was blessed with a daughter. The Naga chief gave his daughter in marriage to Salisukan of the Surya dynasty and crowned him king. Hence the name of

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Nagai, which, being a coastal town, came to be called Nagaipattinam.

Legends mention that there lived in Vedapuram on the banks of the Yamunai a *rishi* called Karuttamar by name. He had a spiritual bent of mind. On the advice of sages, he went on a pilgrimage in the course of which he reached Nagai (Nagapattinam) and worshipped the Lord of the local temple. As a reward for his supreme devotion, the Lord absorbed the devotee into himself. Hence the name of the Lord "Kaya-arohanar", which became in popular parlance "Karonar". This is the legendary account of the origin of this name. A stone sculpture of this *rishi* is found on a pillar of the *mahamandapa* of this temple; there is a tradition that there was here a settlement of the Pasupata sect from Karohana in Gujarat. We have similar temples at Kanchi and Kumbakonam.

The Tamil epic, *Manimekhalai,* mentions that the Chola king Killi-Valavan married a Naga princess and their offspring was Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan of the Pallava race.

Agastya was another devotee of this Lord. King Dasaratha of Ayodhya is said to have consecrated here an icon of Sani (Saturn) to rid him of his sins.

The temple of Nagaikaronam should be one of the earliest temples of Tamil land. Its Lord is sung by the Tamil hymnists Appar and Sambandar (seventh century A.D.) and Sundarar (early ninth century). Kayarohanesvarar (now called Karonasvamin) is extolled by the hymnists in the various aspects of Siva, such as Ardhanarisvarar, Lingodbhavar, Tripurantakar, Gajasura-Samharar (who wore the elephant's hide), Kalari, Kamadahanamurti, the subduer of the proud Ravana of ten heads and twenty arms, one who cut off the fifth head of Brahma, the swallower of *halahala* poison, one who dances in the cremation ground, the wearer of the garland of skulls, and polemically as the chastiser of the heretical Buddhists and Jains. The place is one of the *Saptavitankar* shrines; the local *vitankar* is called Sundara Vitankar; it is famous for the *Taranga* form of dance. Sundarar prays before the Lord here, as usual for gold, precious stones, ornaments, pearls, silk, scents, unguents and even a horse for his wives Paravai and Sangili.

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Nagapattinam was also the home of one of the 63 Tamil saints, Aripatta Nayanar. He was a fisherman and the head of their clan. He used to fish in the sea and give away the first catch to the Lord of Karonam. The Lord tested the depth of his devotion one day, when he caught only one fish; even that was offered to the Lord and he submitted himself to a life of self-denial. Another day his only catch was a gold fish, and even this was thrown into the sea as an offering to Siva. At once he attained salvation.

Nagapattinam grew in importance as a sea-port and commercial centre in the days of the Cholas. There was close contact between the Sri Vijaya kingdom in the Indonesian archipelago and the Chola empire. A *vihara* was built at Nagapattinam for the Buddhists, named after the king of Kataha (Kadaram) and supported by extensive grants in the shape of land revenue from the village of Anaimangalam close by. There would appear to have been stationed high-level emissaries of the king of Kataha at Nagapattinam. We have seen, while dealing with Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur, that among the more important temples which contributed temple-women (*talip-pendir*) to the metropolitan temple was that of Tirukkaronam or Karonam at Nagai (SII, II, p. 260).

In this temple there are a number of inscriptions of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Rajaraja II and Kulottunga III. The earliest of them, found on the west wall of the central shrine below the Lingodbhavar image, is dated in the twenty-fifth year of Rajaraja I and records a gift of 20 *kasus* for supplying paddy for food offerings to the deity (ARE 165 of 1956–57). A twenty-ninth year record of Rajaraja I mentions a gift of land in Palaiyur for worship and offerings to the Mahadevar of Tirukkaronam by the *urar* (the residents) of Nagapattinam in the Pattinakkurram (ARE 167 of 1956–57).

Two inscriptions belong to the third year of Rajendra I; one records a gift of a jewel set with precious stones such as *pachchai, maragadam, manikkam* and others in various parts like *Virappattam, makaram, vattappu, paruttikural* and others, weighing altogether 14¾ *kalanjus* and one *manjadi*, to the silver image of Nagaiyalagar

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set up in the temple called Tirukkaronam in Nagapattinam in Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu by the agent (*kanmi*) of the king of Sri Vijaya (*srivijayattaraiyar*) whose name is lost, belonging to Menronri-pattinam in Kil-sembi nadu in Rajaraja mandalam. The record mentions the name of the engraver, who was one Eran Sadaiyan (ARE 164 of 1956–57). The other record mentions a gift of land by Mahilatti Sendan *alias* Keralantaka... a merchant of Nagapattinam, and the gift is mentioned as having been made tax-free by the *urar* (ARE 162 of 1956–57).

Evidently it is the same Eran Sadaiyan *alias* Devarakanda Acharyan who fashioned several types of lamps like *pavai-vilakku, kurakku-vilakku* and *matta-vilakku,* which were given as gifts to the temple by Nimalan Agastisvaran, the "agent of the king of Sri-Vishayam" (ARE 161 of 1956–57). It is likely that the agent in both these cases was the same person. In the second year (presumably of Rajendra I), several silver utensils for use in the temple were gifted by several persons including some merchants and *Sivabrahmanas* (ARE 163 of 1956–57). In the seventh year of Rajendra I, it is mentioned that two gifts were made each of 87¾ *kalanjus* of *chinakkanakam,* and one of 60¾ *kalanjus* of *undigaip-pon,* for (*a*) jewels to god Tirukkaronamudaiyar, (*b*) worship and food offerings (*avi-bali*) to Ardhanarigal, and (*c*) feeding two *brahmanas* at the temple, by Kurttan Kesuvan *alias* Agralekai, the agent of Kidarattaraiyan. The donor is stated to have set up and consecrated the image of Ardhanari(gal) (ARE 166 of 1956–57).

These precious gifts were made possibly at the behest of the king of Sri Vijaya and Kadaram, Chulamanivarman, or his successor Maravijayottungan, and in token of appreciation of the extensive grants made by Rajaraja I in his twenty-first year to the Chulamani Vihara *alias* Rajarajap-perumballi erected by him at Nagapattinam. An interesting fact is the mention of *chinak-kanakam* (gold from China), indicative of close political and maritime contact among the three kingdoms of China, the Cholas and Sri Vijaya and Kadaram.

During the days of Rajadhiraja I, an image of Adavallan was consecrated by Cholap-Pallavadaraiyan in the temple of

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Tirukkaronam udaiyar (ARE 159 of 1956–57). There is only one record of Rajendra II's period, which registers some grant made for food offerings on every Sunday. The donor of the Adavallan image during the days of Rajadhiraja I is mentioned in this connection and we gather that he bore the alternate name of Madhurakaran; another chief mentioned is Rajendrasolap-Pallavaraiyan (ARE 160 of 1956–57). There are no records of the other Middle and Later Cholas till we come to the reign of Rajaraja II. Found on the tiers of the *mahamandapa* is an inscription dated in his tenth year which records a gift of 83 *kasus* for a perpetual lamp to god Tirukkaronamudaiyar at Nagapattinam (*alias* Solakulavalli-pattinam in Pattinak-kurram in Geyamanikka valandau) by members of *agambadi niyayangal* such as *vettikkarar, agambadi, anukkavil* and others (ARE 154 of 1956–57). His successor has two inscriptions dated in his fifth and tenth years respectively; the fifth year record registers an agreement between the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple and Ponnambalakkuttan Nadudaiyan, headman of Vallam in Palaiya Vallam in Tiruvarur kurram, in respect of a perpetual lamp for which the latter deposited 85 *kasus* with the former (ARE 153 of 1956–57). The next record, of Rajadhiraja II, is about the gift of 30 *kasus* for burning a lamp before god Dakshinamurti Devar "who was pleased to be seated in the stone temple" of Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyan, by a merchant at Kollapuram (modern Kolhapur?) (ARE 155 of 1956–57).

Evidently, the shrine for Thyagaraja came into existence in the years following the accession of Kulottuna III to the Chola throne; we find a fourth year record of Tribhuvanachakravartigal Virarajendra (Kulottunga III) which makes interesting reading in this context. The transaction is recorded of a sale of land at Nelvayal *alais* Kulottungasolanallur in Ala nadu belonging to Mankondan Devandan of Alattur in lieu of 510 *kalanjus* of gold which he owed to the *tannattar.* Mankondan Devandan was a resident of the *tirumadaivilagam* of Kapalavani-Nayanar of Nagapattinam and originally owed 255 *kalanjus* to the *tannattar* of the place. The debt was not repaid for a long time and when they pressed him for the re-payment, Devandan delayed it further

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as evidently he was not in a position to return the money. He would appear to have come by a sizeable property on the death of his elder brother, Mankondan Nayanar, out of which he paid back the dues as settled by the *tannattar* at twice the original sum (510 *kalanjus)*, which he did by parting with a big chunk of the inherited land, valued at 4,79,400 *kasus*. The deed of this transaction was called *"iranakraya-pramana-isaivu-tittu"*. We get an idea of the ratio of *kasu* to *kalanjus, viz.*, 4,79,400 *kasus* being equivalent to 510 *kalanjus* (i.e. 910 *kasu* to a *kalanju*) in this period. Another inscription records the sale deed relating to another piece of land belonging to Mankondan Devandan, who, on the death of his elder brother, inherited this and the piece of land mentioned above (ARE 168 and 169 of 1956–57). In the fourteenth regnal year of Kulottunga III, jewels made of gold and silver were given as gift to the deities of Tirukkaronam Udaiyar and Alaga-vitanka-Perumal by Malai-mel-amarndinar *alias* Vanavan Vilupparaiyan of Marudamangalam (ARE 150 of 1956–57).

We have every reason to conclude that this temple at Nagapattinam was re-built in the early years of Rajaraja I and that it received considerable attention from the representatives of the king of Sri Vijaya and Kadaram in the years following the issue of the Larger Leyden Grant, which placed the village of Anaimangalam at the disposal of the Buddhist *vihara* named after that king. Evidently Nagapattinam was an important port of call for the tradesmen from that kingdom and the *vihara* would have catered to their religious needs. In view of its commercial and military importance we get such names as *Senamukham* (cantonment) and *Madigai Ariyachchalai,* and terms like *agambadi niyayangal,* comprising several constituents such as *vettaikkaravar, terinda-vil, agambadi-anukka-vil, Rajarajan-velaikkarar, Senapatigal* and *Danda-nayakam,* all military terms describing various units, regiments and commanders.

The temple faces east. The inner *gopuram* has three storeys and the outer, five. Behind the Linga of Karohanar, there is a sculpture of Somaskandar surrounded by *rishis* as we find at Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Vikkanampundi and Tiruvilimilalai. The sculptures of the *devakoshtas* are Dakshinamurti in the south,

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Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma, Ardhanarisvarar, Durgai and Bhikshatanar in the north. There should have been an icon of Ganapati in a southern niche. The Chandesvarar shrine is situated in the north *prakara* close to the main shrine.

The Vitankar shrine lies to the south of the main shrine. The Amman shrine should belong to the Later Chola period. The present structure of the main shrine indicates renovation in the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi. Among the bronzes, we may mention the five-faced Herambha Ganapati riding a lion, a Subrahmanyar figure with bow and arrow and a Nataraja a dated bronze of the period of Rajadhiraja I (Pls 61 to 70).

NAGAPATTINAM

CHULAMANI VIHARA (BUDDHIST TEMPLE) 10

At the beginning of the eleventh century, when the Cholas reached the apogee of their power and authority, there was intimate cultural, religious and trade intercourse between the Cholas and the Sailendras who ruled over the Malay peninsula and parts of Indonesia. The Sailendra king Chulamanivarman embarked on the construction of a "surpassingly beautiful shrine for the Buddha" named after himself at the seaport of Nagapattinam. This *vihara,* known as the "Chulamanivarman vihara" is described in the Larger Leyden Grant as of a loftiness that "belittled Kanakagiri (Mount Meru)". The copper plate grant mentions that in the twenty-first year, ninety-second day of his reign (A.D. 1005), Rajaraja I gave to this *vihara,* which was completed by Chulamanivarman's son "Maravijayottungavarman, born in the Sailendra family, Lord of Sri Vishaya (Sri Vijaya) and Kataha (Kadaram) who had the *makara* crest, at Nagapattinam in Pattinak-kurram included in the Kshatriya-sikhamani valanadu", the village of Anaimangalam, comprising in extent 97 and odd *velis* of land yielding an annual income of 8,943 and odd *kalams* of paddy. All the rights and privileges, and also various types of taxes due to the king were granted in perpetuity to the authorities of the *palli* as tax-free *pallichchandam.*

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This deed was finally drawn up and presented to the *Sangha* on the 163rd day of his twenty-third year.

"When Rajaraja I attained divinity," so says the record, "his son Madhurantaka (Rajendra I) ordered that the *vihara* with its endowment last as long as the earth endures."

It was a four-sided tower of three storeys which remained for a long time as an important landmark on the coast of Nagapattinam. The Jesuits got it demolished in A.D. 1867 after obtaining permission from the Madras Government (see the picture of the *vihara* in ruins as it appeared in A.D. 1846—page 243 of article no. 34, *Epigraphia Indica,* XXII, the *Larger Leyden* plates of Rajaraja I; Also *Indian Antiquary,* VII).

In the Smaller Leyden Grant issued in the twentieth regnal year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1090), the Chulamani vihara gets the alternate name of *Rajarajap-perumpalli,* now said to be located at Solakulavalli-pattinam.

This grant mentions another *palli* here called *Rajendrasolap-perumpalli.* For the benefit of these two *pallis,* Kulottunga I gave the income of not only Anaimangalam but also eight other villages round about it.

TIRUKKALAR

11. PARIJATAVANESVARAR TEMPLE

Tirukkalar is a village about 16 kms south-east of the taluk headquarters of Mannargudi in the Tanjavur district and has one of the oldest temples of Tamil nadu. The village has the alternate name of Parijata-vanam and hence the name of Parijatavanesvarar for the deity of the temple here. Sambandar has sung the praise of the Lord who is also called Adaindaarkku Arul Seyda Nayanar—He who blesses those who seek him. The deity is also called Kalar-mulai-nathesvarar and the Amman is called Alagesari Ammai. Parasara and Kalava *munis* are said to have worshipped the Lord of the place. The Nataraja here is said to have given *darsana* in His dancing stance to Durvasa *muni.* So the sacred tank of the temple is called Durvasa *tirtham.*

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In the inscriptions, the place is called Vengurkala Tirukkalar in Purangarambai nadu of Arumolideva valanadu, which in the days of Kulottunga I gets renamed Rajendrasola valanadu. The temple as it stands today is a sorry spectacle of uninformed renovation where all the original inscriptions, fortunately copied by the Madras Government in 1902, have been lost and some stray slabs containing those inscriptions in fragments are now seen fitted haphazardly into the northern wall of the Amman shrine. The temple of Siva has now lost all its original characteristics. The inscriptions copied in 1902, include those of Rajadhiraja I, Rajaraja II, Virarajendra and Kulottunga III, the Pandyan kings Jatavarman Srivallabha and Maravarman Kulasekhara, and the Vijayanagara rulers Viruppanna and Vira Bhupati. What however is noteworthy about the temple today are the fine sets of copper plates relating to certain grants made by Rajendra I (eighteenth year), Rajadhiraja I (thirty-first year), Kulottunga I (twenty-eighth year), Rajaraja II (eighteenth year), and Kulottunga III (twenty-sixth year) dealing with grants of land and vessels and the last about the list of gold and silver jewels of the temple. There is also the fine set of metals found in the temple relating to the Middle Chola period.* The Rajarajadeva copper plate makes an interesting point. It records that some of the families of the donees ceased to have male members and that in consequence a question arose as to how the feeding pertaining to those families should be conducted in future; the *mahesvaras* settled that the feeding, stipulated in the grant to be done by the donees, devolved on the female descendants as well. Arrangements were made by the families concerned in accordance with the ruling of the *mahesvaras* (SII, III, Pt IV, 210).

Among the exquisite bronzes housed here are the Adip-pura Amman (70 cm), Subrahmanyar (57 cm), Chandrasekharar (73 cm), Tani Amman (54 cm), Sukhasana Amman (55 cm), Chandesvarar (60 cm), Sundarar (50 cm), Manikkavachagar (54 cm), Sambandar (50 cm), Appar (50 cm) and Nataraja and

*See Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol., I, p. 280; inscriptions 642 to 655 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902; also SII, III, Pt IV.

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Amman (87 cm and 52 cm respectively). Most of them should be attributed to the age of Rajaraja I (Pls 71–75).

TIRUKKARAVASAL

12 KANNAYIRA-NATHA-SVAMIN TEMPLE

Tirukkaravasal, which in the ancient days was known as Tirukkarayil, is about 13 kms south of Tiruvarur on the road to Tirutturaippundi and is about five kms south-east of the railway station of Tirunattiyattankudi.

It is one of the seven *Vitanka* centres (*Saptavitanka-kshetra*).* Indra and Muchukunda Chakravarti are said to have worshipped the Lord here. Hence the sacred tank to the north of the temple is called "Indra-tirtham".

The temple at Tirukkarayil is among the many from which *talip-pendir* were deputed to the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur and we are aware that it was in existence even as early as the third regnal year of Rajaraja I. The temple was completely renovated by the Nagarattars of Chettinad in the recent past and the old features have been totally lost: the pillars of the earlier structure have found their way to a grove close by and a mutilated record of the third year of Rajakesarivarman Mummudi Choladeva (Rajaraja I), found in one of them, records a gift of land 35 *ma* in extent by the *sabha* for a lamp to the temple called here that of the Mahadevar of Tirukkarayil, a *brahmadeya* in Puliyur nadu (ARE 453 of 1908). A twenty-seventh year record of the same ruler found in another pillar in the same place records the construction of the *olakka mandapam* (ARE 453 of 1908). A third record found on another similar pillar is dated in the third regnal year of Rajendra I and it refers to a gift of land for a lamp and for offerings to the temple of Tirukkarayil Udaiyar (ARE 451 of 1908). On some of the detached stones lying in the same grove is an incomplete

*The others are Tiruvarur, Tirukkuvalai, Tiruvoymur, Vedaranyam, Nagappattinam and Nallur—also see *Early Chola Temples*, Tiruvarur, p.194.

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record of the twenty-eighth year of Rajaraja III, relating to a gift of land for feeding the persons who recited the *Tirumurai* in the *Tirukkaikkotti* of the temple. This gift is made by the residents of Muvur, a village in Puliyur nadu, a sub-division of Arumolideva valanadu.

The practice of reciting the Tirumurai in the *tirukkaikkotti* is corroborated by an inscription on the west wall of the first *prakara* of the Villinathasvamin temple at Tiruvilimilalai where from we learn that the *Tirukkaikkotti* there was constructed during the Pandyan days for the purpose of the recitation of the *Tirumurai* hymns (ARE 414 of 1908).

We are primarily concerned here with the exquisite bronzes in the temple ascribable to the time of Rajaraja I. Among them may be mentioned those of Somaskanda (100 and 80 cms) Bhikshatanar (93 cms) and the Katchikodutta Nayanar (Rishabhantikadevar) (100 cms) with Amman (80 cms) as also Nataraja and His Consort. They are all in the grand style of the ateliers of Rajaraja I's days and deserve their place among the class metals of the period (Pls 76 to 80).

As regards the central shrine, which faces east, it is noteworthy that the icon in the western niche of the *srivimana* is Vishnu, the others being Dakshinamurti and Brahma. In the *ardhamandapa*, Durga occupies the northern niche.

NARTTAMALAI

TIRUMALAIK-KADAMBUR TEMPLE 13

Narttamalai is a small village in the former princely state of Pudukkottai till recently a division in the Tiruchirappalli district and now reconstituted into a separate district called Pudukkottai. It lies about 4 kms (2½ miles) from the railway station of the same name on the Tiruchi-Manamadurai chord line of the Southern Railway.

The place is of great antiquity. Its modern name, Narttamalai, is a corruption of Nagarattar-malai, the hillside abode of a merchant-guild which was a branch of a larger commercial

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corporation called the "*Nanadesis*", which carried on extensive trade not only in different parts of India but also with lands beyond the seas, especially in South-East Asia.

In inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D., the place was called Telunga-kula-kala-puram; and, in the thirteenth century, by the name of Kulottunga Cholap-pattinam (after Kulottunga III).

A chain of eight hillocks encircles the village, and the valley below presents an enchanting view. Today, the place is famous for its Mariyamman temple, which receives the homage of the people over a wide area beyond the limits of the village. But in the past, it was known for a number of other splendid monuments, on one of the eight hillocks, called Melamalai, two of them being rock-cut cave temples. From local inscriptions, we learn that there were also structural stone temples. The earliest of these is the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, the oldest of the Chola temples in Tamil Nadu (See *Early Chola Art, Part I*).

Among other structural temples the most important is the Melaik-Kadambur temple (also known as the Tirumalaik-Kadambur Isvaram) of the days of Rajaraja I.

The temple has a portion of the rock itself for its northern wall. The earliest inscription relating to it dates to the twenty-second year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1007) and is inscribed on the rock forming the northern wall. In it, the presiding deity is called Malaik-kadambur Devar. Considering the style of the architecture, we can affirm that the date of erection of the temple could not have been far removed from that of this inscription. The inscriptions in this temple range over the entire Chola period. In an inscription of the twenty-eighth year of Rajaraja I found on the rock surface east of the temple, there is mention of a gift of land for five drummers (*uvachchar kottu*) by the "*nagaram* of Telungakulakalapuram in Annalvaiyil kurram (i.e., Konadu) in Keralantaka valanadu" [Inscriptions (Text), Pudukkottai State, no. 91]. There are a few inscriptions of the period of Rajendra II; one of his fifth year found on a rock north of the Mangala-tirtha tank in front of the temple, beginning with the introduction *tiru-madu puvi-enum* refers to

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an agreement to which the *nagaram* is a party (no. 112, *ibid*). Another of the same year, beginning with the introduction *tirumaruviya sengol*, mentions a gift for the supply of five pots of water each, for the three services for the sacred bath of the Lord (no. 113, *ibid.*). After a big gap of a century and more, we get records of Kulottunga III relating to his 27th, 31st, 37th and 38th years (nos. 158, 170, 173, *ibid.*). The first of them gives the deity the name of Sri Kailasam Udaiya Nayanar and from the next, we come to know of the existence of the Palliyarai Nachchiyar, mentioned already, for whom a gift of five *kalanjus* of gold for food offerings was made; the third record of his thirty-seventh year relates to a gift of land as *devadana*, which was bought for 8,000 *kalanjus*. It also refers to a gift to the Kuttadum Devar (Nataraja) in the temple of Tirumalaik-Kadambur Nayanar; the names of Sri Kailasamudaiya Nayanar and Tiru-Anaikka-Udaiya Nayanar occur. The setting up of the image of Dakshinamurti for whom a provision for food offerings is made, is noticed from his 38th year record (A.D. 1216).

From a record of Rajendra III, the last of the Chola rulers, relating to his seventh year, we get to know of a temple artisan (*tachcha-acharyan*) and his father whose services (*tiruppanigal*) to the following shrines are referred to: (*i*) Nayanar koyil (Tirumalaikkadambur), (*ii*) Tiru-Anaikka-Udaiya Nayanar temple and (*iii*) Nachchiyar tirukkoyil.

The central shrine built of stone is simple and imposing. The *garbhagriha* is a plain structure of well-dressed stones, showing great artistic skill; on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are niches for subsidiary deities. The pillars and pilasters have the usual features of temples of the days of Rajaraja I. Above the cornice and below the *griva*, there is a continuous frieze of *yalis*. At the four corners of the *griva*, there are four niches for deities, surmounted by *simha-lalatams*. The *sikhara* of the *srivimana* is bell-shaped; further up, over a base of lotus petals, stands the stone *stupi* (See my *Four Chola Temples*).

The temple has an air of simple grandeur, with its back-

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ground of hills and beautiful natural scenery. It belongs to the age of Rajaraja I.*

TIRUNEDUNGALAM

14 NITYASUNDARESVARA-SVAMIN (TIRU-NEDUNGALANATHASVAMIN) TEMPLE

Tirunedungalam is now a village $3\frac{1}{4}$ kms west of the Solagampatti railway station, 11.3 kms east of the railway station of Tiruverumbur, a few kilometres off the industrial establishment of Bharat Heavy Electricals, close to the village of Tuvakkudi from which there runs a branch road in the north-east direction to connect it to the temple.

This temple, of great antiquity, is included in the *Kshetra-Venba* of the Tamil Saint, the Pallava Ayyadigal Kadavarkon, who should be ascribed to the days before Appar and Sambandar. This temple was visited by Sambandar, who has a hymn of eleven stanzas on the Lord of Nedungalam. He sings of the Lord as the one who destroyed Yama to save his devotee, who held Himavan's daughter on his left and exhibited himself as Ardhanarisvarar, who destroyed the Tripura Asuras, who humbled

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*South of the main shrine, a separate shrine for the Goddess called Tiruk-kamak-kottam-udaiya Nachchiyar was set up and consecrated, along with a wall of enclosure (*tirumaligai*), in A.D. 1228. By this time the region had passed from the control of the Cholas to that of the Pandyan ruler Maravarman Sundara Pandya I.

About the same time, two other Siva temples, called those of Tiruvanaikka-udaiya-nayanar and Nagarisvaram-udaiya-nayanar came to be built and consecrated.

†Tirunedungalam is wrongly described as below in the List (Index) of inscriptions copied up to 31.3.1938 and published by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1941, p.90 :

> Trichinopoly district,
> Lalgudy taluk;
> Tirunedungulam—hamlet of *Mannachchanallur*, Nos.664-697 of 1909.
> Tirunedungalam (sometimes called Tirunedungulam) is in Tiruchy taluk and *not* in Lalgudy taluk.

Mannachchanallur is west of Tiruchy town while Tirunedungalam lies east of Tiruchy and so it cannot be a hamlet of Mannachchanallur. After a long search and fruitless enquiry, I found the information incorrect. Then I got the facts confirmed by the Office of the Government Epigraphist, Mysore.

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Ravana, who stood as a pillar of fire to establish his supremacy over Vishnu and Brahma and who worked for the overthrow of the heretical Buddhists and Jains. In his days, this temple should have been built of brick.

There is evidence of the existence of this temple during the Early Chola period, in fact even during the period of Vijayalaya, the founder of the Chola dynasty of Tanjavur. There is however no Chola inscription on the walls of this temple. But a later stone inscription—an unspecified king with the title of Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan (thirteenth century A.D. ?)— on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine records a gift of land to this temple, in accordance with "an earlier charter of Parakesarivarman Vijayalaya" (ARE 675 of 1909). This clearly establishes the existence of this temple during the period of Vijayalaya and the grant of land for services to this Lord. Neither the original grant nor its full particulars are now forthcoming. If available, this would have been the earliest of Chola charters, earlier than the Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola.

The temple faces east and consists of a central shrine, an *antarala* with *dvarapalas* at its entrance. Further up, there is the *snapana-mandapa*; it has a window in the south and is adorned at its entrance with another set of *dvarapalas*. The bronzes belonging to this temple are on a platform in the north side of this *mandapa*.

In this *mandapa*, near the *snapana-pitha*, there are two *Nandis*, one of stone and another of brass. Further up, there is the *ranga-mandapa* on whose southern side there is the Somaskanda shrine guarded by Ganapati and Subrahmanyar serving as *dvarapalas*.

The central shrine has a covered verandah running all round its three sides (*tiru-nadai-maligai*). On the walls of the central shrine, there are three Vijayanagara inscriptions—one of Immadi Tammayadeva Maharaja, dated Saka 1422 (A.D. 1500) and the others of Viruppanna Udaiyar and Mallikaraya. All these Vijayanagara inscriptions (ARE 664, 665 and 666 of 1909) must have been engraved after the rebuilding of the central shrine of the Early Chola temple, sometime in the 15th century

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A.D. It may be added that on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine, there is an inscription of one Vijaya Narayana Udaiyar, son of Bhupati Udaiyar (son of Bukka II ?) which records that in Saka 1334 (A.D. 1412) a gift of land, a house, and the permanent right of repairing the temple premises was made to an architect-cum-engineer who repaired the temple at his own expense (serving in an honorary capacity). Perhaps it was he and his associates who renovated the Early Chola temple in the fifteenth century (ARE 676 of 1909).

In this connection, reference may be made to a fragmentary inscription, on slabs of stone built into the wall of the *mandapa* in front of the main shrine, of a certain Rajakesarivarman (Chola king) in association with his Pandya contemporary Varaguna (acc. A.D. 862). This Rajakesarivarman should be identified with Aditya I. Another fragment contains the name of Madurai-konda Parakesari (Parantaka I). This fragment should have belonged to the old temple of the Early Chola period. Moreover, there are no *devakoshtas* on the walls of the renovated temple. The *devakoshta* sculpture of Dakshinamurti of the earlier temple is now placed in a newly built shrine in front of the original position for this deity on the southern side, and the icon of Ardhanarisvarar of the original shrine (of Aditya I's age) is placed on the western side on the floor of the *tiru-nadai-maligai*. There is a sculpture of Durga on the northern outer wall of the *snapana-mandapa*, close to a *Navagraha* panel housed in a *mandapa* supported by lion pillars.

Thus there is the likelihood of the old brick temple having been rebuilt of stone in the days of Aditya I. This again was radically altered and rebuilt in the fifteenth century A.D.

There are two inscriptions on the walls of the Somaskanda shrine. The one of the south wall (ARE 692 of 1909) dated Saka 1386 (A.D. 1464) mentions that one Arasan Vallala Devan of Mulukkudi built the *ranga mandapa* (in which the Somaskanda icon was housed) and made a gift of lands and a house for offerings to the shrine of Kulandai Nayakar (Somaskanda ?).

The other on the west wall dated Saka 1425 (A.D. 1503) refers to a gift of land by a *samanta* for repairs, offerings and

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festivals to the temple of Tirunedumangalam-udaiya Tambiran (also called Nilasolaivanam-udaiya Nayanar). The central shrine might have been renovated about this time.

There are a number of Chola and Pandya inscriptions on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine. One of them is a damaged inscription of the sixth regnal year of Karikala Chola (ARE 672 of 1909). It records a gift of land to the temple of Nedungalattur Mahadevar by a native of Kallikudi (near Golden Rock, Tiruchy). This *mandapa* seems to be *original*, unlike the central shrine.

There are two old shrines of the *ashta-parivara-alayam*, those of Ganesa and Chandesvarar.

Ganesa shrine

There are three inscriptions of a certain Parakesarivarman, on the walls of the Ganesa shrine housing a Valampuri Ganesa sculpture, which may be assigned to the period of Madhurantaka Uttama Chola. One, of his thirteenth year (ARE 690 of 1909) records a gift of land by a private individual for the supply of paddy for offerings to the temple of Kayilayattu Mahadevar (the deity of the central shrine ?). Another record of the forteenth year (south wall, ARE 684 of 1909) mentions the gift of *ghee* for the purification ceremony (*Agnikaryam*) in the temple for the merit of Sembiyan Muvendavelan of Vada-Puraiyur nadu who had the title of Uttama Sola-Brahmadhirajakanmi.

On the walls of this shrine, there are eight inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman, which have to be assigned to Rajaraja I.

On the south wall of the shrine, there is an inscription whose date is expressed as "*three* in *figures* and six in words" (ARE 682 of 1909). We are not sure about its exact date. It records that an image called Lokasundarar was set up in the temple of Tirunedungalattu-alvar in Kavira nadu by a native of Orriyur. It mentions also a gift of land for offerings. This deity may be either Chandrasekharar or Tripurantakar. There is an inscription of the eighth year of a Rajakesarivarman on the south wall (ARE 683 of 1909) which relates to a gift of land to a native of Suralur by the *mahesvaras*, the temple servants and the residents

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of Tirunedungalam. The object of the grant is not clear. Another record of the same year on the west wall (ARE 688 of 1909) refers to a gift of land by the assembly of Tirunedungalam to a person who agreed to provide 220 *kalams* of paddy to the temple for offerings from the tenth year (described as the year, opposite to the year, opposite to the eighth year, 8+1+1=10) onwards. An inscription of the ninth regnal year found on the east wall (ARE 681 of 1909) mentions a gift of 61 cows for the supply of *panchagavyam* (five products of the cow used for religious ceremonies) and for burning lamps and incense before the Mahadevar of Tirunedungalam, a *devadana* in Kavira nadu. In the same year, there is an inscription (ARE 687 of 1909) which records a gift of land made by a native of Orriyur for feeding 550 *Sivayogins* during the festival of seven days in *Masi* and *Chittirai* (by supplying 30 *kalams* of paddy by the local standard measure). A tenth year inscription found on the south wall (ARE 685 of 1909) records a gift of gold for a lamp to the Pillaiyar-Ganapati installed in this shrine, by a certain Kolambanachchan of Idaikkudi. Another inscription of the same year (ARE 686 of 1909) records a gift of 20 *kalams* of paddy for offerings. One Kamban Maniyan *alias* Vikramasinga Muvendavelan made, in the fourteenth regnal year, a gift of a gold ornament and a copper-tipped *mattali* (drum) for the *sribali* service in the temple (ARE 691 of 1909). Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the same Chief got an emerald image (*marakata devar*) from the king Rajaraja I out of the booty taken in the Malai Nadu campaign and consecrated it in the Apatsahayesvarar temple at Tiruppalanam in Tanjavur district (ARE 135 of 1927-28). Evidently he was an important local Chief and possibly assisted Rajaraja I in the campaign in Malai Nadu (Kerala region). After an interval of nearly two centuries (some inscriptions of this intervening period might have suffered destruction at the time of the reconstruction of this temple in the fifteenth century A.D.), there are two inscriptions of the thirty-second regnal year of Tribhuvana-Chakravartin Tribhuvana Vira Deva (i.e., Kulottunga III). One records a gift of land (ARE 674 of 1909) and the other (ARE 670 of 1909) records

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also a gift of land to this temple by one Tillai-Tiru-Nattap-perumal *alias* Vijayalaya Muttaraiyan of Valambakkudi - note the persistent association of the name of Vijayalaya with this place and temple. The same donor figures also in an inscription of the fourth regnal year of Rajaraja III (Chandesvarar shrine; ARE 679 of 1909). It records that a Linga was set up in the first *prakara* of the temple of Tirunedungalam Udaiyar in the name of *Ulaganadisvaram Udaiyar* for the merit of Tillai-Tiru-Nattap-perumal *alias* Vijayalaya Muttaraiyan of Valambakkudi by one of his sons, Anapaya Muttaraiyan. West of the temple well and the Chandesvarar shrine in the first *prakara* of this temple, there is a later Linga shrine now called the Agastyesvaram. It seems very probable that the Ulaganadisvaram shrine might have been named Agastyesvaram in recent times. This surmise seems to get support from the fact that the Agastyesvaram shrine is close to the Chandesvarar shrine on whose wall is found the inscription of the days of Rajaraja III, which mentions the consecration of the new Linga shrine (ARE 679 of 1909).

On the east wall of the Chandesvarar shrine, there is another inscription of the fourth year of Rajaraja III (ARE 678 of 1909). It records the sale of land by some members of the assembly of Tirunedungalam which got the alternate name of Thyagavallichaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Vada Kavira nadu, a subdivision of Pandyakulasani valanadu, evidently for some service to the local deity. This is the last Chola inscription in this temple.

The interior of the *garbhagriha* is octagonal. The temple is *eka-tala*; its *sikhara* too is octagonal.

Sculptures of Jyeshtha devi and two sets of *Saptamatrikas* are placed in the south-west portion of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*. Stone images of Kshetrapalar and Surya are found in the eastern verandah of the first *prakara*. A Bhairavar shrine is located close to the main entrance to the first *prakara*. The temple has a stone mortar and there is also a brass horse. The gateway of the first *prakara* has a three-storeyed *gopuram*.

The bronzes housed in the temple are of Ganesa, big and small, Subrahmanyar and His Consorts, Chandesvarar, Pradoshamurti, Manikkavasagar, Nataraja and Sivakami, two sets of

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Pidari, Chandrasekharar, Tani-Amman and Somaskanda, which was perhaps housed in the Somaskanda shrine.

The later Amman shrine of Mangalambika (or Oppilla Nayaki) is on the north side of the second *prakara*. It faces south. The second *prakara* is entered by a gateway which has no superstructure.

Further east is the sacred tank of the temple. This is a very ancient and celebrated temple sung by Ayyadigal Kadavarkon and Sambandar. The temple should have been a brick structure in the Early Chola age. Vijayalaya had made a grant of land to the deity. In the days of Aditya I, it should have been rebuilt of stone. The western *devakoshta* sculpture of Ardhanarisvarar reinforces this supposition as to its age. The central shrine was rebuilt in the fifteenth century A.D. A lot of Chola inscriptions must have been destroyed during this renovation (Pls 81-90).

The temple has enjoyed the homage of the devotees from the latter half of the sixth century down to the eighteenth century A.D., as evidenced by its lithic records covering Chola, Hoysala, Pandya, Vijayanagara and Madurai Nayaka periods. It is still in active worship.

TIRUMANGALAM

15 SAMAVEDISVARAR (PARASURAMISVARAR) TEMPLE

The village of Tirumangalam is in Lalgudy taluk of Tiruchy district and is reached by turning left at the 15th km stone from Tiruchy on the Tiruchy-Chidambaram road. From the main road, the village is about 4 kms and is reached by a tortuous country road.

The main temple of the village is dedicated to Samavedisvarar and the Amman is Loganayaki. The temple is a very old one dating back to the days of Rajaraja I or even Aditya I.

It is associated with Parasurama who according to local tradition worshipped the Lord of this place and obtained his axe (*parasu*); hence the deity is known in inscriptions as Para-

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suramisvarar. One of the 63 saints, Aanaaya Nayanar of the *Aayar kulam* lived here and he was a great devotee of the Lord of of this place; he played devotional songs on the flute enchanting man and beast and even the Lord himself. Tradition has it that he attained beatitude even as he was playing on the flute. There is in the temple a rather late representation in stone of this Nayanar playing on the flute under a tree, reminiscent of the story of Krishna playing on the flute. A modern metal on this theme is now under worship in a small cella to the south of the entrance to the *mandapa* of the temple.

The earliest inscriptions found on the walls of this temple relate to the fifth year of the reign of Rajaraja I. On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a record of Rajarajakesarivarman which mentions a gift of gold by a certain Karuvur Kandali, the headman (*pattinam kilan*) of Nagapattinam in Pattina kurram for a twilight lamp in the temple which is called that of *Parasuramisvara Mahadevar* (ARE 250 of 1929–30). The other one which is also of the same year but is fragmentary, mentions the temple of Parasuramisvarattu-Mahadevar at Tirumangalam. Below this record there is another in similar characters dated in the fifteenth year (the name of the king is lost referring to a certain Kalavan Nandisvaran Sankaranarayanan of the village (ARE 248 of 1929–30). In an inscription of the fifteenth year of Rajaraja I found on the same wall, a gift is made of land by purchase, made tax-free, to the temple of Parasuramesvarar at Tirumangalam which is described as a *brahmadeya* in Meegooru of Kilaar kurram, a sub-division of Vadagarai Mala nadu, by Parantakan Mahadevadigal *alias* Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola for a perpetual lamp in the temple and for special sacred bath of the deity on certain specified days of the year (ARE 251 of 1929–30). There is an unfinished record of the thirtieth regnal year of Rajendra I found on the west wall of the central shrine, which registers an assignment of tax-free land by the assembly of Damodara-mangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Kalaar kurram, a sub-division of Rajasraya valanadu, to the temple of Parasuramisvaram Udaiya Paramesvarar of Tirumangalam, for offerings to the god Chandrasekhara devar and for a twilight

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lamp in the temple in return for 20 *kasus* received by them. It also made provision for offerings to the God and Adavallar in the temple on certain specified days and for feeding devotees in the Paranjyoti *matha* on festival days by the *uravar* of Nagar in Kalaar kurram (there is a village by the name of Nagar even today about a kilometre from the village of Tirumangalam) (ARE 246 of 1929–30). An incomplete inscription of the days of Rajendra I records a gift of land to the temple by the assembly of Tirumangalam and it provided for the sacred bath of the deity for seven days from *Revati* in the month of *Margali* (ARE 249 of 1929–30). On the west and south walls of the central shrine there is a third year record of Rajakesarivarman Vira Rajendra mentioning that the servants of the temple of Parasuramisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Tirumangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Kalaar kurram, a sub-division of Rajasraya valanadu, agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple, in return for the cows received by them from a certain Sembiyan Mulaiyurnattu Muvendavelan of Karukkangudi (ARE 247 of 1929–30) There are a number of later inscriptions.*

**Later Inscriptions* : The rest of the records belong to the Later Chola period. In an inscription on the north wall of the central shrine, relating to the 17th regnal year of Kulottunga I, mention is made of the assembly of Tirumangalam meeting in the temple of Tiruvaiyottiyalvar in the village and transacting a sale of land to the temple (ARE 244 of 1929-30). In a 46th year inscription of the same ruler, there is a record referring to a sale of land made tax free to the temple of Parasuramesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar by the assembly of Tirumangalam which met in the temple of Tiruvaiyottiyalvar (Rama). Here Kalaar kurram becomes a part of Ulagamulududai valanadu (ARE 252 of 1929-30). Later in Vikrama Chola's days the valanadu is renamed Tribhuvanamulududai valanadu and a gift of land by purchase is made to the temple as *archanabhoga* in the 14th year of this ruler (ARE 254 of 1929-30). In the days of Rajaraja II, certain residents of Tirumangalam in Kalaar kurram, said to be then in Ulagudai Mukkokkilanadi valanadu, sold a piece of land to the temple and also gifted another piece close by (ARE 243 of 1929-30). From an inscription dated in the sixth year of Rajadhiraja deva II, we get another name of the deity of the temple here; the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple of *Tiru-maluvudaiya Mahadevar* received gold from a certain Atreyan Narayanan Yajna Bhattan and agreed to conduct some special worship on the new moon days (ARE 253 of 1929-30).

From the only record of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva who should be identified with Rajaraja III, we get to know that one Ambalattaduvan Siramadevan *alias* Kalingarayan of Chandralekhai in Eyil nadu, a subdivision of Tenkarai Pandikulasani valanadu made a gift of land for offerings to the image of the Goddess Ulagudaiya Nayaki set up by him in the temple of Tirumaluvudaiya Nayanar at Tirumangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Kalaar kurram in Vadagarai Rajaraja valanadu. Thus the Amman shrine in the temple came into being by about the year 1238 A.D. In fact, even today, the Amman retains Her original name with only a

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The temple is in a good state of preservation and the inscriptions and sculptures have not been ruined by the unholy hand of the modern renovator. It faces east. The *garbhagriha* measures a square of 5.85 ms to a side while the *ardhamandapa* projects 4.20 ms forward measuring 5.10 ms across. There is a *mukhamandapa* in front which also serves as the *snapana mandapa*, measuring 8.45 ms along the axis of the temple and 8.40 ms across. There are four finely carved pillars in the *ardhamandapa* while the *mukhamandapa* has the support of four pillars of a different design.

The *devakoshta* figures require special attention. On the walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are the usual images of Brahma in the north and Dakshinamurti in the south ; but in the rear (west) *devakoshta*, the image of Hariharar (Sankaranarayanar) is found, reminiscent of the temples of the days of Aditya I like Tiruverumbur, Pachil Amalisvaram (Gopurapatti) and others ; even in the *koshtas* of the *ardhamandapa*, the striking feature is the presence of a Bhikshatanar figure in the south *koshta* where usually the image of Ganapati is found. We have noticed elsewhere that this feature is peculiar to the temples of the period of Aditya I. Both at Tiruvamattur (*Early Chola Temples*, p. 222) and at Viralur (*Early Chola Art Part* I, p. 56), Bhikshatanar occupies positions which it does not occupy in later periods (Pls 91–99).

On these grounds it seems reasonable to infer that the temple was built in the days of Aditya I himself though epigraphs are found only from the fifth regnal year of Rajaraja I onwards.

Another interesting feature of this temple is the presence of a series of three groups of sculpture panels in miniature corresponding to each pilaster ; one series is below the *adhishthanam*, in the *upapitham* ; the second group is found between the *varimanam* and the *vari* and the third is over the *vari*, all the miniatures placed along the alignment of the pilasters on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* ; there are as many as 84 of them

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minor variation, Loga Nayaki. The last record to be found in the temple relates to the Madhurai Nayaka days and is dated in *Saka* 1488 during the rule of Visvanatha Krishnappa Nayaka. The temple is now said to be located at *Tiruvirundamangalam* in Kalaar kurram, a division of Kilapalaru in Rajaraja valanadu and a remission of water cess (*niraanikkam*) on the lands belonging to the temple is made for the merit of the king (ARE 255 of 1929-30).

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though some of them in the south have been built into the floor. They depict scenes from the Puranas.

There are no separate shrines for the *ashta-parivara devatas*, but Subrahmanyar, Ganapati and Gajalakshmi (the latter is modern) are found in cellas in the rear portion of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*.

The temple is *dvi-tala*, the *griva* and the *sikhara* are octagonal.

There are some fine metallic images, particularly of Soma-skandar, Tani-Amman and Chandrasekharar. Nataraja, found in a separate shrine in the north-eastern part of the temple, is datable to Rajendra I's days (the Adavallar referred to in ARE, 246 of 1929–30). Similarly the Chandrasekhara devar image (the Pradoshamurti) could be attributed to the same period.

MADAGADIPATTU

16 KUNDANKULI MAHADEVAR KOYIL

The village of Madagadipattu lies about 24 kms from Pondicherry on the road to Villupuram. A few metres to the south of the main road, there is a tank and on its western bund is a venerable temple called Kundankuli Mahadevar koyil. It was in a very dilapidated condition and P. Z. Pattabhiramin got the temple renovated on scientific lines.*

It is an *eka-tala* stone temple (*karrali*). The *garbhagriha* rests on a high *adhishthanam* with many mouldings consisting of *upanam*, *padmam*, *jagati* and *kumudam*. The *kapotam* is decorated with *kudus*.

There are only three *devakoshtas* in the *garbhagriha* and perhaps they had Dakshinamurti (?), Vishnu and Brahma. The French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry have preserved some of the images of this temple in their Museum. Among them are the fine figures of Ganapati and Durga (Pls 100–105).

There is an *ardhamandapa* in front; the *garbhagriha* is surmounted by the *kodungai* (*kapota*). The circular *griva* has *devakoshtas*,

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*A detailed account of this temple will be found in the "Quatre Vicux Temples" by P.Z Pattabhiramin.
Revue Historique De L' Inde Francaise, Pondicherry, 1948.

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and *vimana-devatas* are installed in each of them; each *devakoshta* has a finely wrought *kudu*; the bell-shaped *sikhara* and the circular *stupi* are finely turned out.

There are a few weather-beaten and fragmentary inscriptions ; from one of these we learn that this temple was raised by Rajaraja I. It reads as follows : "*Sri Rajaraja devar eduppit-tarulina tiru-karrali*"—"the stone temple raised by Sri Rajaraja devar" ; and Puri Bhattan is mentioned as the builder of this temple. The reading of the rest of the inscription is doubtful ; however, the name of the Lord of the temple could be gathered from it, which runs as follows : "*Tiruk - Kundan - Kulach - Cheri Olukarai Mahadevan*". The shape of the *sikhara* bears resemblance to those of Narttamalai, Arinjigai Isvaram of Melpadi and others all of which are of the days of Rajaraja I.

MARAKKANAM

BHUMISVARAR TEMPLE 17

Marakkanam is now a small village on the eastern sea-coast about 37 kms (23 miles) east of Tindivanam, the taluk headquarters and a railway station in South Arcot district. Some other important centres close by are Alattur, Olagapuram and Perumukkal.

Around the beginning of the Christian era, it was one of the important sea-ports of the Indian peninsula. The *Siru-panarruppadai*, one of the ten *Sangam* anthologies, together called the *Pattuppattu*, mentions Eyirppattinam as one of the three important fortified cities in Oyma nadu, the region between modern Tindivanam and Marakkanam, ruled by the hero of the idyll, Nalliyakodan, whose honour and glory was sung by the poet Nallur Nattattanar. In his *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, a guide-book by an anonymous Alexandrian (Greek) merchant written about the first century A.D., the author mentions that on the east coast of South India, there were three market towns and harbours — Camara, Produca and Sopatna. It has been accepted that Camara can be identified with Kaberis of Ptolemy, i.e., Kaverippattinam

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(or Pumpuhar) the ancient Chola capital of the Tamil Sangam period and that Produca or Poduka of Ptolemy may be identified with Puducherry. Next we have Sopatma or Sopatna, which may be equated with Eyirp-patnam (pattinam), the modern Marakkanam (see my article in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XXI, 4, 1931).

There is a fine temple in this village, dedicated to Bhumisvarar; it is in a state of good repair and is of considerable interest to the student of art. We do not have any foundation inscription in this temple nor is it among those sung by the Nayanmars. There are, however, inscriptions of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I which throw considerable light on the temple. A record of the sixteenth year of Rajaraja I refers to a gift of a lamp to Bhumisvara-nathar at Rajaraja-Peralam in Manakkanam, in Pattina nadu, a subdivision of Oyma nadu (ARE 23 of 1919). A seventeenth year inscription mentions that an officer of Arasur, while stationed at Pattinam, regulated the expenditure of the temple of Bhumisvaradevar (ARE 28 of 1919).

In the fourth year of Parakesarivarman Rajendra I (A. D. 1016) a gift was made of taxes due on a salt pan, for two lamps to be burnt in the Bhumisvaram Udaiyar temple at Manakkanam *alias* Rajaraja-Peralam (ARE 24 of 1919). In a record of the eighth year of this ruler (A.D. 1020), a gift was made of sheep and money for a lamp and offerings to Bhumisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Pattinam (ARE 29 of 1919).

There is one record of Rajakesari Sri Vijaya Rajendra (Rajadhiraja I) dated in his thirty-fifth year (A.D. 1053) referring to a sale of land for a flower garden to this temple by the *sabha* of Eyirppattinam in Pattina nadu, in Tambittunai-Chola valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 30 of 1919). A gift of land to this temple at Eyirppattinam *alias* Vikramasola chaturvedimangalam is mentioned in a fourth year inscription of Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga II (A.D. 1137). Evidently the village was renamed after the king in the days of his father Vikrama Chola (ARE 26 of 1919). A record of the sixteenth year of Kulottunga III is also found in this temple (ARE 33 of 1919).

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There are inscriptions of the days of the Vijayanagara rulers also. In Saka 1421 (A.D. 1499), Marakkanam bore the alternate name of Gandaraditta-nallur in Pattina nadu, a sub-division of Oyma nadu *alias* Vijaya-Rajendrasola valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam.

From these inscriptions, we get a variety of names for this sea-port in ancient days.

(*i*) Rajaraja-Peralam *alias* Manakkanam, in Pattina nadu, a subdivision of Oyma nadu.

(*ii*) Pattinam in Pattina nadu, a part of Oyma nadu,

(*iii*) Eyirppattinam in Pattina nadu, in Tambittunai-chola valanadu, a sub-division of Jayangondasola mandalam.

(*iv*) Eyirppattinam *alias* Vikramasola-chaturvedimangalam, and

(*v*) Marakkanam *alias* Gandaraditta-nallur in Pattina nadu in Oyma nadu *alias* Vijaya-Rajendrasola valanadu, a sub-division of Jayangondasola mandalam.

Therefore, it is clear that the modern town of Marakkanam was originally known as Manakkanam, Pattinam and Eyirppattinam, that it was on the sea-coast, that it was a flourishing salt-producing centre and that the affairs of the town were managed by a *sabha*. As it is called Eyirppattinam, it should have been a fortified sea-port (*Eyil* = wall of fortification).

The temple, facing east, consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala*, an *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is square 5.66 ms (18′ 7″) to the side with rather plain walls on the sides with a single niche in the centre and relieved by six pilasters including the corner ones. The niche figures are Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north.

The outer walls of the *ardhamandapa* contain niches in which Bhikshatanar is found in the south and Durga in the north. Among the *devakoshta* figures, Bhikshatanar, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Durga are original sculptures and are of excellent workmanship. Brahma seems to be of a later period. Over each *devakoshta* in the *garbhagriha* are found miniature figures of *nandi* in the south, *simha* in the west and *hamsa* in the north — being the mounts of Siva, Vishnu and Brahma respectively.

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The *srivimana* is in two tiers. The cornice in the first tier has a *bhutagana* frieze below and a *yali* frieze above it : the entablature in the first tier is decorated with four *karna-kutas* in the four corners and *salas* in the centre of each side. We have *dik-palas* on the *kutas* : Yama is in the *nidha* on the south. The second *tala* is, however, plain, with a cornice framing its top, above which runs a *hamsa* frieze ; the four corners are adorned with *nandis*. The *griva* is eight-sided with four niches in the four cardinal directions, the intervening space between the niches being covered with stucco sculptures. In the *sala* niches in the first tier as well as in the *griva* niches, the figures on the *garbhagriha* side-walls are repeated. While in the south wall the three figures are of Dakshinamurti, the figures in the north are : *garbhagriha* niche : Brahma ; *sala* niche : a Devi (probably Nisumbhasudani) ; *griva* niche : seated Brahma. In the west, there is Vishnu in the wall niche, Lakshmi-Narasimha in the *sala* niche, and Lakshmi in the *griva* niche. In the eastern *griva*, the image is that of Subrahmanyar. The *sikhara* which also has eight sides is of brick.

There is a low-plinth pillared verandah (*tiruch-churru-maligai*) running all along the four sides of the central shrine.

On the south-west corner of the verandah, there are beautiful bronzes of Somaskandar and Tani Amman. The former with the *padma-pitham* measures .70 m ($27\frac{1}{2}''$) in height and .45 m ($18''$) breadthwise. The sculpture of Siva is majestic, broad-chested and benign in expression. The Amman with the *pitham* measures .56 m ($22''$) in height while Skandar in the middle is .25 m ($10''$) tall. The *bhadrasana* on which the three icons are seated measures .14 m ($5\frac{1}{2}''$) in height and .85 m ($33\frac{1}{2}''$) in width. There is an aureola covering the three icons with 19 tongues of flame on each side with a bigger central flame. The Tani Amman is equally exquisite in workmanship, measuring a graceful .81 m ($32''$) (with the *pitham*), the Amman icon alone having a height of .67 m ($26\frac{1}{2}''$). With the *tiruvasi*, the total height is 1.02 ms ($40\frac{1}{2}''$). There are 12 tongues of flames to each side of the aureola. Both these metals are attributable to the period of Rajaraja I (Pls 106 to 113).

There is a *mukhamandapa* which is closed on all sides except

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the south, from which the main shrine is to be approached. Close to this entrance, inside the *mukhamandapa*, are some more bronzes of which the noteworthy ones are Nataraja, Kali, Chandrasekharar and Amman. The Nataraja icon whose aureola has 19 tongues of flame measures .79 m (31″) in height and .69 m (27″) in width, with a .38 m (15″) *padma* and *bhadra pithams*. The Amman image measures .61 m (24″) in height without the *pitham* which measures .15 m (6″). The aureola of the Amman is missing. The Kali figure standing in the *abhanga* pose has *urdhvakesa* (upturned hair), and holds the *damaru*, *pasa*, *kapala* and *sula* in the four hands. The Chandrasekharar figure is again a beautiful one. The Amman is a neat figure with the flower in the right hand, the other being held in the *lola hasta* style.

We learn from the inscriptions of his days that salt pans were given as grants to the temple in the time of Rajaraja I. What is noteworthy is that even today, the temple continues to be in enjoyment of the lease of salt pans, deriving an annual income of about Rs. 20,000 from them.

This temple in its present structure would be assignable to the period of Rajaraja I and contains some inscriptions in excellent calligraphy and some bronzes of his period of exquisite workmanship.

OLAGAPURAM

SIVA TEMPLE (SRI KAILAYATTU PARAMASVAMIN) 18
VISHNU TEMPLE (ARINJIGAI VINNAGAR) 19

Olagapuram village lies about 3 kms south-east of the Tindivanam-Marakkanam road and is connected by a village track taking off in a southerly direction at the 16 km stone from Villupuram. Alattur and Perumukkal are not far from here. The village derives its name from that of one of the queens of Rajaraja I, Loga Mahadevi who bore the alternate name of Danti Sakti Vitanki. During the Chola days it bore the name of Ologamadevipuram.*

*Ologamadevi and Ulogamadevi are the Tamil equivalents of Loka-mahadevi.

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There are two ancient temples in this village one dedicated to Vishnu, now called Devaraya Perumal and the other to Siva, now called Kailasa temple. According to the inscriptions, the Siva temple was called the Kailasamudaiyar *alias* Arikulakesari-Isvaram Udaiyar temple and the Vishnu temple which is in the western outskirts of the present site of the village was called Arinjigai vinnagar.

Siva temple

This temple, which is now in the eastern part of the village is unfortunately in ruins. The earliest inscription here is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine and is dated in the third regnal year of Rajakesarivarman, who has to be identified with Rajaraja I. This inscription deals with an endowment of 96 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Sri Kailayattu Paramasvamin of Ulogamadevipuram, a *taniyur* in Oyma nadu made by one Ambalavan Gandaradittanar, a nobleman of the days of Rajaraja I; we also learn that the same nobleman built this temple in stone. The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

> *Svasti sri: Kovirajakesarivarmarkku yandu* 3 *avadu Oyma nattu taniyur Ulogamadevipurattu sri Kailayattu Paramasvamigalukku tirukkarrali yeduppitta udaiyar Perundarattu Ambalavan Gandaradittanar... nundavilakku onru...* (ARE 129 of 1919).

Thus this temple in its present structural form in stone can be attributed to the early years of this ruler. In another inscription from the same temple found on the south wall of the central shrine and dated in the seventh year of the king Rajaraja I, this chief again donates a flower garden to the temple (ARE 127 of 1919). It records a sale of land by the *Nagarattar* (merchant guild) of Ulogamadevipuram to Gangan Ambalavanana Gandaradittasola Villuparaiyan of Kuvalalam (Kolar town in Karnataka State) in Gangarusayira (the Ganga Six Thousand) province, who in turn endowed it for the flower garden. From an inscription in the Anantisvarar temple at Udayargudi, we find a reference to the same nobleman from Kuvalalam who is said to have endowed over 19 *velis* of land for feeding 56 *brahmanas* in the

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said temple. The same officer or chief is said to have hailed from Kuvalalam and to have belonged to the *perundaram* of Mummadi Chola (Rajaraja I) named Ambalavan Paluvur Nakkan *alias* Vikramasola Maharajan. He built of stone the *srivimana* of the temple at Govindaputtur and endowed land for worship therein in the third year of the king (ARE 168 of 1928–29; also SII, XIII, 76). This chief figures largely in the reign of Uttama Chola under this title. In another record from the same place dated in the second year of Rajaraja I, he is mentioned with the title of Rajaraja Pallavaraiyan (ARE 175 of 1928–29; SII, XIII, 124).

Thus this temple is a foundation of the early years of Rajaraja I and was already in existence by the third year of his reign (A.D. 988).

From a late record of the Middle Chola period found in this temple we get to know that the deity of this temple was called Arikulakesari Isvaram Udaiyar; the temple was said to be situated in Ulogamadevipuram in Peraayur nadu, a subdivision of Oyma nadu; found on the south wall and belonging to the third year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Rajamahendra deva, beginning with the introduction '*manu neeti murai valara*', it records the sale of land by the *nagarattar* of this village for being presented to the temple in order to meet the expenses connected with the shrine of Rajendrasola Vitankar built in it (ARE 130 of 1919).

The temple is *eka-tala* and faces east; the *garbhagriha* is built of stone and the superstructure is of brick; the *garbhagriha* is a square of 5.60 ms side externally. The southern wall is intact but the western and northern walls have collapsed bringing down with them a part of the superstructure. The vertical face of the southern wall is divided into three vertical segments, by pilasters; while in the middle is the main *devakoshta*, housing a fine specimen of Dakshinamurti, there is asymmetry in the distribution of the niches, there being a niche to its east and none to its west. In the eastern niche is a beautifully carved figure of Bhikshatanar. Dakshinamurti is in the original *devakoshta*, while the image of Bhikshatanar appears to be a later insertion in an improvised niche. On the *antarala* wall, the southern niche where Ganapati

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should have been, is now empty and on the northern side, the niche houses an icon of Durga. This also appears to be a later insertion. In front of the *garbhagriha* is a *mukhamandapa* with an entrance from the southern side.

The entire group of buildings was surrounded by a wall of enclosure 50 ms by 27.7 ms, of which only the plinth remains. Within the temple campus, there are the structural remains of three shrines, one in the north-west corner perhaps of Jyeshtha, another close to the *mukhamandapa* on its northern side housing Chandesar and a third shrine in the north-eastern side but adjoining the eastern enclosure wall with the entrance facing west, where now a loose image of Surya is kept. The full complement of the *ashtaparivara-devatas* might have existed in the past.

Vishnu Temple

This temple renovated by local effort is situated in the western approaches to the village. The earliest inscription is found on the north-west and south walls of the central shrine and belongs to the third year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajendra Choladeva I; it mentions that grants made in previous years but not registered were now inscribed on the temple wall; they related to grants of lands for offerings and *sribali* to the temple of Arinjaya-Vinnagar-alvar in Loga Mahadevipuram in Peraayur nadu and in this connection we get references to local lakes called the Kalikantakap-*pereri* and the Gandaradittan-*pereri* (ARE 140 of 1919). The other record of the same king refers to a palace woman belonging to *Rajendrasoladevar Mummudisolat-terinda tirumanjanattar velam* (south wall of the central shrine, record dated in the twenty-fourth regnal of Rajendra I; ARE 142 of 1919). An inscription dated in the third regnal year of Rajamahendra gives information about the existence in this village of a Jaina temple called Sundarasolap-Perumpalli, named evidently after Sundara Chola and set up by Rajaraja I in memory of his father. One Samantabahu Acharya, a worshipper of the deity of this temple buys some land from the *nagarattars* of Ulogamadevipuram to present the same to the temple of Arinjigai-Vinnagar-Virrirunda-Alvar in order to meet its expenses (ARE 141 of 1919).

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From some other records we gather that in this township, there were other temples and shrines some of which were the temple of Komani-undaar, Gokarnisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar temple, and an Ayyanar temple called that of the Terkil-vasal-Mahasattanar; for the last mentioned temple the *nagarattars* of this township made a gift of land for offerings, *vide* a record of Rajaraja I dated in his eleventh regnal year, found on a slab set up in front of the Ayyanar temple (ARE 144 of 1919).

Under the inspiration of Logamahadevi, the chief queen of Rajaraja I were built at Ulogamadevipuram, a Siva temple called Arikulakesari-Isvaram and a Vishnu temple named Arinjigai Vinnagar, both named after the names of Rajaraja I's grand-father and a Jaina temple called after his father; this would demonstrate the catholic spirit of Logamahadevi, an echo of what we find at Dadapuram under the inspiration of Kundavai (Pls 114 to 118).

AGARAM (SOUTH ARCOT)

ABHIRAMESVARAR (EARLIER MAHA SASTA) TEMPLE 20

Kayirur (now called Ayyur) Agaram is a village about 4 kms north-west of Villupuram town (South Arcot district), reached by a village track branching off from the Villupuram–Madras trunk road at the third km from Villupuram town. At the tenth km from this town on the same highway is the village of Chintamani Agaram, where there is a Later Chola temple, called Kulottunga-solisvaram. On the north wall of the Abhiramesvarar temple at Ayyur Agaram here, there is an inscription of the fifteenth year of Rajaraja I; this is the earliest of the inscriptions found on the walls of this temple and it registers a sale of land to the god Kayirur Ayyan *alias* Maha Sasta by Narayana Kali Kramavittan, son of Krishna Kramavittan of Verpuram, one of the managing members of the assembly of Nripatongachchayantangi-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the north bank of the river Pennai (Kaveri, mentioned in ARE 369 of

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1922, is obviously a mistake). Another record of the same year found on the east, north and west walls of the temple registers a sale of land by the same person to a certain Kaliyiragan for burning a perpetual lamp. Again in the same year, a sale of 39½ *kulis* of land is made to Maha Sasta Kayirur Ayyan by a certain Naduvil Madhava Kramavittan, a managing member of the above assembly (ARE 374 of 1922). There are two records in the twentieth year of the king, one registering a gift of 96 sheep to the temple of Maha Sasta for a perpetual lamp by a shepherd of Sembaru in Emapperur nadu of Tirumunaippadi, a subdivision of Vadakarai Rajendrasimha valanadu, and the other registering a gift of land, by purchase, for offerings to the god by Somani Nagai Sani, wife of Yagna Kramavittan of Ettukkur (ARE 380 of 1922). A record of the twenty-first year mentions the sale of land to god Maha Sasta by the assembly of Tirunarayanach-cheri, under orders of the great assembly (ARE 377 of 1922). On the west wall of the temple is a twenty-second year record of Rajaraja I registering a resolution passed by the great assembly that met in the courtyard of Achchyutappiriya devar, setting apart a portion of the land belonging to Maha Sasta for burning a perpetual lamp (ARE 387 of 1922). In a sale of land registered in the twenty-fourth year, the deity is referred to as Maha Sasta *alias* Paramasvamigal and the names of two brothers Nimbai Narayana Bhattan and Damodara Kramavittan one of whom was a managing member of the assembly are mentioned (ARE 371 of 1922). In the twenty-eighth year, provision is made for feeding in the temple five *brahmanas* versed in the Vedas (ARE 378 of 1922).

There are three important inscriptions of Rajendra I dated in his fifth, ninth and eleventh years. The first concerns a gift of half a lamp by a certain person on the death of his wife; the next one registers the deliberations of the members of the great assembly regarding the occupancy of the land belonging to the temple by artisans and others, assigning in return several kinds of services to be rendered by them, like conducting worship in the temple, supplying oil for lamps and keeping watch over the temple. The third one is found on a beam in the temple,

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registering a grant of land for offerings and a perpetual lamp to Maha Sasta Kayirur Ayyanar by the great assembly of Nripatonga-Sentangi-chaturvedimangalam *alias* Jananatha-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* of Jayangondasola mandalam who met in the Ayyanar temple (ARE 368 of 1922).

The village was earlier known as Nripatonga-Jayantangi-chaturvedimangalam, and in the days of Rajaraja I came to be known as Jananatha-chaturvedimangalam, after one of the surnames of Rajaraja I, and was located in Vadakarai Rajendrasimha valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam.

This temple is evidently a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I and was in existence by the fourteenth year of his reign. It has no special architectual features. It has a sanctum, with an enclosed *mandapa* in front, both standing on a high *adhishthanam*. The central deity is still Sasta, though a replacement of the original Sasta sculpture (stone), which is now placed on a platform in the front *mandapa*. We do not know when and how the temple came to be called Abhiramesvarar temple. Even as late as the time of Bhupati Udaiyar of the Vijayanagara days (ARE 388 of 1922) the temple continued to be called the Ayyanar temple. A Linga installed in the *prakara* perhaps justifies the Saiva name of Abhiramesvaram, now given to the temple.

MAMBAKKAM

MURUGESVARASVAMIN TEMPLE 21

Mambakkam in Chingleput taluk of Chingleput district is about seven kms south of Kalattur (15 kms south of Chingleput town), which in turn is close to the railway station of Ottivakkam. In this village, there is a temple called Murugesvarasvamin temple.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription in which the name of the king is lost; from the introduction beginning with *tirumagal pola,* we can assign it to Rajaraja I. Dated in his twenty-sixth regnal year (A.D. 1011), it furnishes the information that the Siva temple at Mambakkam was

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constructed in the twenty-sixth year of the king by Murugan Kaliyan of Mambakkam in Kalvay nadu, a sub-division of Puliyurkottam (ARE 19 of 1934–35; also ARE 1934–35, p.49). The same benefactor seems to have donated sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity of this temple, called here Muruga-Isvarattu Alvar, evidently named after the builder Murugan Kaliyan.

EMAPPERUR

22 VEDAPURISVARAR (TIRU-ALANDURAI-UDAIYA-PARAMASVAMIN) TEMPLE

Emapperur is a village on the river Malattaru, a tributary that joins the Pennai river and is 24 kms south-west of Villupuram (reached *via* Arasur—see pp. 252–253 of my *Early Chola Temples*).

The main deity of the temple here is known by the name of Vedapurisvarar, while the name referred to in the inscriptions is Tiru-Alanturai-Udaiya-Paramasvamin. Appar has referred to this temple, but has sung no exclusive hymn on it.

This temple consists of the central shrine of Vedapurisvarar, a *mandapa* in front of it, a Ganesa shrine and a shrine for Amman. In addition there is the plinth of a subsidiary shrine, the walls and roof of which have collapsed.

The *mandapa* walls contain certain records relating to Madirai konda Parakesari and Kannaradeva; a portion of one of these records has been built into the *ardhamandapa* walls, with the inscribed surface inside the *mandapa*. But the central shrine contains a large number of records of the Middle Chola period, mostly of Rajaraja I.

The earliest record is one of Parantaka I in his thirty-fifth year (A.D. 942) and relates to a gift of land by a private citizen of Kudupanjirrur, made for raising a flower garden and supplying daily a garland of six spans in length to the deity (ARE 527 of 1921). Another record of his thirty-sixth year found on the south wall of the *mandapa* refers to a gift of gold by Korrulan Kamadi of Emapperur for a perpetual lamp. In this temple, there are two records dated in the twenty-third and twenty-seventh

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years of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (Kannaradeva), both relating to gifts; they are found on the south wall of the *ardhamandapa;* the latter mentions an officer of Emapperur by name Vanadarayan and relates to A.D. 967. There is a record of *Pandiyan talai konda kopparakesaripanmar, viz.,* Aditya II found on the *jagatippadai* of the *adhishthanam* (of the *ardhamandapa*), which now serves the purpose of a step leading to the *mandapa* from the courtyard.

The rest of the records are to be found on the main walls of the *garbhagriha;* the earliest record relates to the tenth year of Rajaraja I and refers to a gift of 192 sheep by Uttiramandiri Tangi Aruran of Manarrur in Vesalippadi for two perpetual lamps (ARE 522 of 1921). From a record of his fourteenth year, we get to know that Nandiputtan *alias* Sembiyan Muvendavelan, a chief of Panaippakkam made a gift of land for offerings and a lamp to the metallic images of Tribhuvana-sundarar (Tripurantakar) and His Consort set up by the donor in the temple of Tiruvalandurai Alvar (ARE 523 of 1921). We do not know the fate of these metal images. In the same year, Paravai Nangai, the daughter of a servant of Rajaraja I, made a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp (ARE 520 of 1921). In his twenty-first year, a private individual of Paridipakkam made a gift of 96 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Paridipakkam is stated to be a suburb of Emapperur in Emapperur nadu, which was a sub-division of Tirumunaippadi *alias* Rajendrasimha valanadu (ARE 517 of 1921). In his twenty-fifth year, a private individual of Emapperur provided for the supply of four areca nuts, three times a day, to the god; and in the same year, the daughter of the servant of Rajaraja I referred to earlier made another gift for burning a lamp in the month of *Karttigai* every year. There are two records of Rajaraja I relating to his twenty-seventh year, which deal with (*i*) the sale by the residents of Nalur, a village in Emapperur nadu, of some lands free of tax to the temple trustees of Tiruvalandurai-Udaiya Paramasvamin of Emapperur, for certain offerings to the God thrice a day; (*ii*) a gift for the supply of paddy at the rate of one *kuruni* a day to the priest, for the expenses connected with two festivals in the months of

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Chittirai and *Margali* and for offerings of lamps, oil, and flower-garlands on these occasions (ARE 513, 514 of 1921).

There is a record of the third regnal year of Rajendra Chola I (ARE 516 of 1921) referring to a gift of 96 sheep to the temple for a perpetual lamp. Round the base of the Ganesa shrine, there is a record of the thirteenth year, 207th day of a Konerinmai-kondan who is to be identified with Rajendra I, containing an order of Udaiyar Rajendra Chola devar "who was pleased to take Purvadesam and Gangai", confiscating the lands of persons who had migrated without settling down in Tirumunaippadi nadu and granting them to those who settled down and cultivated them on payment of taxes and to those who reared areca palms on them.

The temple faces east; it is small and compact with an open court within a wall of enclosure; there is a *gopuram,* without a superstructure in the southern wall. The temple itself consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa.* From the open courtyard, the *ardhamandapa* is reached by a couple of steps flanked by sinuous low balustrades. The *garbhagriha* is a square of side 4.88 ms (15′ 8½″) externally; its wall is divided into three constituents, *viz.*, the central *bhadra* and the flanking *karnas;* the former is 2.10 ms (6′ 10½″) while the latter measure 1.09 ms (3′ 7″) in width each. There is a small recess between these elements measuring .25 ms (10″) by .28 ms (11″); the *antarala* projects 3.23 ms (10′ 7″) forward and measures 2.56 ms (8′ 5″) by 2.27 ms (7′ 5½″) internally. The *adhishthanam* measures 1.92 ms (6′ 3½″) while the wall and the *prastara* measure 2.13 ms (7′), making a total of 4.05 ms (13′ 3″) from the base to the top of the *prastara:* The temple is an *eka-tala* structure. It has an octogonal *sikhara* and a *stupi,* both later renovations. The *ardha-mandapa* measures externally 8.98 ms (27′ 2½″) by 6.40 ms (21′) and 5.18 ms (17′) by 4.34 ms (14′ 3″) internally. There are four supporting pillars of a later date inside the *ardhamandapa.*

There are five niche figures: Bhikshatanar ison the *antarala* wall in the south; over the niche is a *makara-torana* with a *kudu* inset, the figure therein being a fine one of Ganesa; in the south, the niche figure on the *garbhagriha* wall is Dakshinamurti, with

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Yoga Dakshinamurti in the *makara-torana kudu* on top; in the rear (western) niche is a fine figure of Siva-Alingina-murti (with the bull-mount shown behind), the *torana* figure being Lingodbhavar; in the north *koshta* of the *garbhagriha* is Brahma with Gajasamharamurti in the *torana,* and finally, in the north *antarala koshta* is Durga.

At the back of the main shrine are three structures; one of them in the south-west, is a subshrine for Ganapati, another, of which only the plinth is left, should have been the subshrine of Subrahmanyar (being directly west of the *garbhagriha*). The third one, in the north-west, presently houses the Amman, but should have originally housed Jyeshtha. The remaining members of the *parivara alaya* group must once have been there, but of the deities of these *alayas,* we have only Ganapati in his place; Subrahmanyar is kept in the Amman shrine, while Bhairavar is kept in the *ardhamandapa;* there is no trace of the other deities. Chandesvarar is in the original position, though the shrine has been renovated. The sculpture itself is old. The incomplete *gopuram* would appear to belong to the thirteenth century; it has a high *adhishthanam* with four pilasters similar to the ones we have on the *garbhagriha* walls, with *kumbha-pancharas* flanking a deep high niche with a *sala* type of design over the niche.

The existence of the figure of Siva-Uma Alinginamurti in the rear *devakoshta* would seem to indicate that the temple came into existence even in the days of Aditya I. A parallel is to be found in the Vishamangalesvarar temple of Tudaiyur, where we have an identical arrangement of Siva and Parvati in the *alingana* (embracing) pose in the rear *devakoshta* (see my *Early Chola Temples,* pp. 218–219, 290 and 308, and pl 12 in the Supplement).

BRAHMADESAM (SOUTH ARCOT)

BRAHMAPURISVARAR TEMPLE 23

Brahmadesam is in the Villupuram taluk of the South Arcot district, close to Ennayiram, Esalam and Dadapuram, all centres

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of antiquity; it is not to be confused with Brahmadesam in Cheyyar taluk of the North Arcot district. In fact there is yet another Brahmadesam near Tiruvalisvaram, not far from Ambasamudram in the Tirunelveli district.

In ancient days, this place was a *taniyur* called Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam. There are two temples in this place situated close to each other, *viz.*, the Brahmesvarar and the Patalisvarar temples; they might have come into existence even in the days of Rajaraja I, along with the Ravikula-manikkesvaram and the Kundavai Vinnagar at Dadapuram and the earliest inscriptions found on the walls of the Brahmesvarar (Piramesvarar) temple are from the thirty-first regnal year of Kulottunga I onwards (A.D. 1121) and the earliest in the case of the Patalisvarar temple is dated in the fourth year of Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1067).

Here we are concerned with the former temple. It is about three kms from Nemur, which is on the nineteenth km-stone from Villupuram on the road to Ginjee. It is a venerable structure. The earliest inscription in this temple is that of Kulottunga I and related to a gift of 128 cows for burning four perpetual lamps. On the south wall, there is another inscription of the forty-first year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1111—ARE 158 of 1918).

It is stated that the king was residing in the temple of Rajaraja Vinnagar Alvar who was his tutelary deity, along with his subordinate (*maganar*) Adavallan *alias* Kulottungasola Muvendavelan, who was the Governor of this region, extending over portions of North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts. The record mentions that the assembly of the great men of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* and *taniyur* in.... (Panai)yur nadu, a subdivision of Gangaikondasola valanadu purchased, in the name of Brahmapurisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, some land in Panaiyur, a southern hamlet of the village. The reference to the Rajaraja Vinnagar Alvar as the tutelary deity of the king would dispel the doubts raised by some scholars that Kulottunga I was a persecutor of Vaishnavism.* In fact, the

*See Tribhuvani, Ch.6, Note

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Cholas have been very catholic in their attitude to other religions. The inscription further says that the king performed *devapratishthai* (building of temples and consecration of deities) and *jalapratishthai* (digging of tanks and channels for water supply) "to protect the good and punish the wicked".

There are two inscriptions of Vikrama Chola; one which is incomplete attests the king's religious tolerance as in the case of Kulottunga I, and the other, found on the wall of the kitchen, mentions that the kitchen was built during his days and was named Vikrama Cholan (ARE 160 and 182 of 1928).†

†*A few later inscriptions*: An inscription of Kulottunga II (Anapaya) refers to the exemption from taxes in respect of *devadana* lands belonging to the Brahmesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar temple and the lands gifted to the Rajanarayana matham situated within that temple and these lands were clubbed together to form a new village called Kulottunga-Cholanallur (ARE 179, 180 and 181 of 1918).

There are seven inscriptions which can be ascribed to Kulottunga II. One of them refers to a gift of land in Nerkuppai, the northern hamlet of the city, for worship and the celebration of the processional festival of the deity. Mention is made of the construction of the second *tirumaligai* (wall of enclosure with *gopuram*) by a chief called Ammaiyappan Gandarasuriyan *alias* Sambuvarayan in the eighteenth year of the king (ARE 183 of 1918). The same Chief is referred to in a second year inscription of Kulottunga III at Tiruvakkarai as the builder of the hundred pillared hall there (ARE 190 and 195 of 1904). In another inscription of the fourth year, there figures a royal officer who was a Sambuvarayan chief, called Ammaiyappan Pandinadukondan *alias* Rajaraja Sambuvarayan. He is said to have utilised the gold of two *todus* (ear-drops) for various services to the deity (ARE 167 of 1918).

Another gift of a lamp to this temple was made in the thirteenth year of Rajaraja (II). Another inscription of the same reign mentions a gift of 40 lamps to the two temples of Brahmesvaram and Patalisvaram.

That these two names apply to the same chief, of the Sengeni family, who participated in the Pandyan wars and won the title of Pandinadu kondan is confirmed by an inscription in Ennayiram (ARE 345 of 1917) relating to the 6th year of Virarajendra deva (Kulottunga III) which mentions that Ammaiyappan Pandinadu kondan Gandan Suriyan *alias* Rajaraja Sambuvarayan, also constructed a *mandapa* in front of the Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple at Ennayiram.

There are two inscriptions of the later Pallava king Kopperunjinga (ARE 164 of 1918; ARE 170 of 1918).

The Pandya conquest of this region is evident from two inscriptions, one of Vikrama Pandya deva, which mentions a gift of land for worship and offerings at the *sandhi* called Kulasekharan *sandhi* (ARE 174 of 1918) and another called Kodandaraman *sandhi* (fourteenth century A.D.?). In the latter half of the fifteenth century, a gift of land for worship and offerings is recorded in the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Saluva Narasinga Maharaja (Saka 1392=A.D. 1470) to both the local temples of Brahmesvaram and Patalisvaram. At the end of the fifteenth century or early sixteenth century, during the time of the son of Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaja, one Aram-valartta Nayanar, a member of the *Kaikolar* community, petitioned to Kangarayar and got the right to use the high pillow (*dandu*) and the couch as in vogue in Kanchi, Virinchipuram and Tiruvadi(gai)? thus eliminating some of the social disabilities they suffered from (ARE 162 of 1918).

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The temple lies in the north-western corner of the village and there is an enormous lake to the north of it. The temple has two *prakaras*. The central shrine consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala* with an *ardhamandapa* in front. The central bays of the three walls of the *garbhagriha* project forward and contain niches in which are housed Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west and Brahma in the north; on the flanks of the *antarala* walls, we have Ganapati in the south and Durga in the north. There is a circumambulatory passage with a pillared peristyle *(tiruch-churru-maligai)* running all along the wall of enclosure. On the eastern face of the *ardhamandapa* wall, there are two fine stone sculptures of Subrahmanyar and standing Ganapati, one on either side of the doorway leading from the *prakara* to the *ardhamandapa,* which is supported by four pillars in the middle. In front of the *ardhamandapa,* and, in alignment with it, is a *mani-mandapa*. Ahead of it is the *bali-pitham*. Further to the east is a multi-pillared *mandapa* covering the entire distance from the northern wall to the southern with the eastern wall forming the third side. The southern portion of this hall has been converted into the kitchen, named Vikrama Cholan. The outer wall and the *gopuram* in the east were built by Ammaiyappan Gandara Suriyan *alias* Sambuvarayan.

ENNAYIRAM

24 ALAGIYA NARASIMHA PERUMAL (RAJARAJA VINNAGAR) TEMPLE

The area formed by the triangle joining Villupuram, Tindivanam and Ginjee would appear to have constituted roughly the *taniyur* of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam with a large number of hamlets known as '*pidagais*'. This *taniyur* has played a very important part in the days of the Middle Cholas, for we find a concentration of some of the finest temples of this period in this region. Such for example are Brahmadesam, Esalam, Ennayiram and Dadapuram among others. All these centres are close together; in fact, the first three centres mentioned are

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within a distance of three kms from one another and the last mentioned is about 15 kms from this group of villages.

Ennayiram is about five kms from Nemur, a village at the nineteenth km stone from Villupuram on the Villupuram-Ginjee road. Brahmadesam and Esalam are within three kilometres of Ennayiram. The famous Pallava cave temple at Mandagappattu is also not far from here, being on the main Villupuram-Ginjee road at the twentieth km stone, set in picturesque surroundings.

An insignificant village today, Ennayiram was the hub of considerable activity during the Middle Chola period and received the royal attention of Rajaraja I, his son and grandsons. The temple at Ennayiram known as Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple has some valuable inscriptions that throw light on the administrative arrangements that existed then; and there is one record in particular that gives us valuable details about a Vedic College and a hostel run in the campus of the temple.

Ennayiram was a *taniyur* as well as a *brahmadeyam* and was perhaps the focal point of the area. An inscription dated in the twenty-fifth year, 112th day of Rajendra I (A.D. 1036), found on the west and south walls of the central shrine of Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple (ARE 335 of 1917), mentions that on the order of the king Rajendra I, the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam in Rajaraja valanadu, met in the hall called Mummudi-sola *mandapam* under the chairmanship of Nambi-udattur Udaiyar, who administered the village, and made arrangements (*vyavastha*) regarding the allocation of the income derived from lands belonging to a number of temples, and set apart the quantities for various services in these temples.

Among the temples mentioned in this record are those of (*i*) Sri Mulasthanam Udaiyar, (*ii*) Rajaraja vinnagar alvar, (*iii*) Kundavai vinnagar alvar and (*iv*) Sundara Chola vinnagar alvar. Among the deities mentioned in this regard are (*i*) Devendra, (*ii*) Sarasvati, (*iii*) Sri Bhattaraki, (*iv*) Mahamodi, (*v*) Surya devar, (*vi*) Durga, (*vii*) Subrahmanyar, (*viii*) Jyeshtha, (*ix*) the *Devas* of the *cheris* (the *grama-devatas*), *Sapamatris*, *Mahasasta* and (*x*) Singavelkunralvar.

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Among the four temples mentioned, the Rajaraja vinnagar should refer to the modern Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple at Ennayiram and the Kundavai vinnagar to the Kari Varada Perumal temple at Dadapuram; the deities mentioned are *devakoshta devatas, ashta-parivara-devatas* and the *grama-devatas* in the *taniyur* which included Ennayiram, Brahmadesam and Dadapuram. It has to be mentioned in this connection that a sixteenth century Vijayanagara inscription of Sadasiva Maharaja (Saka 1467 = A.D. 1545) says that this Alagiya Narasinga Perumal temple was situated in the centre of 24 sacred shrines (*tiru murram*) of Ennayiram (ARE 338 of 1918).

An inscription of the thirtieth year of Rajendra I refers to a gift of land by the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam for the festival of *Chittirai-Sadaiyam* (which was the natal star of Rajaraja I), and *Masi Punarpusam*, for *Raghava-Chakravartin* (Sri Rama) in the temple of Rajaraja vinnagar alvar. The assembly is said to have met in the temple of Rajaraja-Isvaram-Udaiyar. Could this possibly refer to the Brahmapurisvarar temple at Brahmadesam which was rebuilt by Kulottunga I and his successors ?. If so, the temple of Mulasthanam Udaiyar referred to in the ARE 335 of 1917 in the list of temples could also refer to this temple at Brahmadesam.

A very important and interesting inscription found in the Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple (ARE 333 of 1917), belongs to Rajendra I; the date of the inscription is unfortunately so completely effaced that it is difficult to make it out, but, based on the conquests mentioned therein, it cannot be earlier than A.D.1023. By the king's order, 45 *velis* of land in Anangur *alias* Rajarajanallur was given to Rajaraja Vinnagar (Alagiyasinga Perumal temple) by the *mahasabha* of the *taniyur* of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam (Ennayiram) for offerings, festivals, the recitation of *Tiruvaymoli*, the maintenance of an institution of higher learning for teaching the *Vedas*, *Vyakarana*, *Mimamsa* and *Vedanta*.

On the walls of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the thirtieth year of Rajadhiraja I (ARE 330 of 1917). According to it, the *Perunguri* (the great assembly) of

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the *taniyur* of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Panaiyur nadu included in Rajendra Chola valanadu, met in the *mandapa* called Mummadi-solan with Alagan Virriran dan *alias* Mummadi-solan with Ala Nripendra-sola Muvendavelar, the governor of the region as its President, and ordered the lands of the temple of Tiruvayppadi devar to be taxed at the lowest scale (*kadai-taram*), as were those of Rajaraja vinnagar devar (Alagiya Narasinga Perumal temple) and, Kundavai vinnagar devar (Kari Varada Perumal temple) at Dadapuram. The order of the king is said to have been passed on to the Assembly three years later (a case of bureaucratic delay?).

The importance of the temple did not diminish even in the Later Chola period.†

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†There are seven inscriptions which are assignable to the reign of Kulottunga I (ARE 340, 344, 348, 349, 347, 350 and 351 of 1917). The first, of his seventh regnal year, mentions a gift of 10 cows for a lamp to the temple of Rajaraja Vinnagar Alvar at Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam by Ulagalandan Tiruvarangadevan of Kulattur, evidently the officer entrusted with the work of land survey. One relating to his thirty-eighth year, fiftieth day records a settlement (*vyavastha*) regarding a gift of land to the temple of Sri Vaikuntattalvar at Araisur in Tirumunaippadi nadu. The assembly is said to have met in the temple of Rajaraja Vinnagar Alvar at Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam.

His inscription of the thirty-ninth year, fiftieth day deserves special attention as it refers to an act of piety by the royalty for the general weal of the people. At the instance of the king, the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, in Panaiyur nadu, in company with (presided over by ?) prince Kulottunga-Sola Muvendavelar, the headman of Sembiyan Puliyur Verkadu in Puliyur kottam, performed the consecration ceremony of the god (*deyvapratishthai*) and made available water sources (*jala-pratishthai*–tanks) for the spiritual merit of the king and for the destruction of the wicked and the promotion of the prosperity of the good and made certain gifts of land in Anangur.

This was not the first time that such a provision was made. As early as the reign of Rajendra I (ARE 333 of 1917), we have a similar act of devotion and piety, and a grant is said to have been made to the "Paramasvamin (Lord) who was pleased to stand with a fierce aspect" (Ugra-Narasimha?) in the temple of Rajaraja Vinnagar. This is again repeated in an inscription at Brahmadesam which relates to the forty-first year of Kulottunga I (ARE 158 of 1918). It is stated that the king was residing at that time in the temple of Rajaraja Vinnagar Alvar, the king's tutelary deity and he is said to have performed *deyvapratishthai* and *jala-paratishthai*.

It has to be remembered that this region round about Ennayiram was a frontier area, formerly the home of the Banas and the Gangas. About this time in the reign of Kulottunga I, the Hoysalas in Karnataka rose to prominence and wrested Talakkad and Gangavadi (Eastern Mysore region) from the Cholas; happenings in Kalinga were also ominous and about to lead to the second Kalinga war. It may be that the king wanted to propitiate God by promoting works of social well-being and invoking the blessings of Narasimha of the fierce aspect to ensure success for his arms and to suppress the unruly elements in the region.

The next important inscription is one of the eleventh year of Rajarajadeva (II). At the order of the king, the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam gave to a private person, as *janmakkani*,

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Though in a state of considerable disrepair, the temple stands out as a grand edifice in the sky line as one approaches this village *via* a tortuous country track. It faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala*, an *ardhamandapa*, a *mukhamandapa* and an *agramandapa*. The first three elements constitute one structural unit, being the original foundation. The other *mandapas* are later additions. What distinguishes this temple from the others in the neighbourhood is the dignified height that is imparted to the entire structure by the three foot high platform over which the temple stands. Besides, the *tiruch-churru-maligai* is similarly on a platform of the same height. The platform is not a mere rectangle but has central projections into the circumambulatory passage on the two sides and the rear of the *garbhagriha*. These projections, three in number, are of the same height as the rest of the platform and function as the landing for a pair of flights of steps leading up to them from the *prakara* floor; to add compactness to the entire structure, these flights of steps cling to the sides of the main platform without intruding into the *prakara* space. In alignment with these projecting platform elements are three chambers on the three walls of the *garbhagriha*, making use of the space between the *antara-bhitti* and the *bahya-bhitti*. Unlike in the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur where this space has been utilised as a vestibule round the *sanctum*, here each of the three portions is sealed off from the adjoining portion, thus giving rise to separate chambers. They might have once housed

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the village of Nannaderpakkam *alias* Vikrama-Chola-nallur, which was a *devadana* of Tiruviramesvaram Udaiyar at Eydar, now called Esalam, a hamlet of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam (ARE 326 of 1917).

An inscription of the sixth year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira Rajendradeva (i.e., Kulottunga III) mentions the construction of a *mandapa* in front of the Alagiya-Narasimha-Perumal temple by Ammaiyappan Pandi nadu Kondan Gandan Suriyan *alias* Rajaraja Sambuvarayan, whose extensive building activities in this region we see at Tiruvakkarai and Brahmadesam (ARE 345 of 1917).

Under the orders, dated in Saka 1467 (A.D. 1545), of Surappa Nayakka Ayya, the local Chief of Sadasiva Maharaja of Vijayanagara, provision was made for betel leaf offerings to the Lord of this temple (ARE 332 of 1917). Another Vijayanagara inscription (ARE 338 of 1917) also dated in Saka 1467 (A.D. 1545) mentions that one Sri Rangarajar Pillai was the Treasurer and Manager of this temple, which was situated "in the centre of the twenty four shrines (*tiru-murram*) of Ennayiram, which was a *taniyur* in Panaiyur nadu in Rajaraja valanadu in the district of Palakunrak-kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam.

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three massive images akin to the *devakoshta* figures of a Vishnu temple, but today they are empty. The temple is of stone only upto the top of the *adhishthanam* which is 1.22 ms (4′) in height; above it, it is all brick work.

Like the Ramasvamin temple at Seramadevi, in Tirunelveli district, the superstructure over the *mulasthana* of this temple is divided into two floors, one meant to house the sitting and the other the reclining Vishnu; the chambers are, however, empty.

The *mahamandapa* is a vast hall supported by fifty pillars arranged in five rows of ten pillars each; and ahead of it, further east, is the *agramandapa*. There are a *garuda mandapa*, a *bali-pitha* and a *dhvajastambha* in that order in front of the temple.

There is a very fine figure of Narasimhamurti in the *mukhamandapa* (north-west corner). Could it have been the main deity in the past? Today, the deity of the *mulasthana* is a standing figure of Narasimha.

It is sad to contemplate that this temple of such rich associations and such architectural beauty is now a dilapidated structure, almost in a state of collapse. Before it is too late, this temple requires to be taken up for preservation (Pls 119 to 120).++

++*Vedic College*: According to the inscription of Rajendra I, relating to the setting up of a Vedic College in the temple premises (ARE 333 of 1917), the assembly made the following provisions among others:

(i) Four persons were appointed for the recitation of *Tiruvaymoli* hymns in the temple and they were allowed three *kurunis* of paddy each per day. To meet this charge, land at Anangur *alias* Rajarajanallur measuring half a *veli* and two *ma* in extent was given.

(*ii*) For feeding twenty-five Sri-Vaishnavas in the *matha* attached to the same temple, one *veli* and four *ma* of land in the same place were allotted.

(*iii*) Sixty *kalams* of paddy and three *kalanjus* of gold were also provided for the seven-day festival of *Ani-Anulam* in order to feed one thousand Vaishnavas and *dasas* (devotees) who came to witness it.

(*iv*) Half a *veli* and two *ma* of land and some gold were given to meet the cost of taking the god in procession round the village, in a car; for the grant of clothes to the mendicants on the occasion; for purchasing cloth to be put on the deity; for offerings, bath and garlands; for performing certain ceremonies etc.

The following students were fed in the Gangaikondasolan-*mandapa*:

(*a*) 75 studying the *Rig-Veda*

(*b*) 75 studying the *Yajur-Veda*

(*c*) 20 studying the *Chandoga-Sama*

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(*d*) 20 studying the *Talavakara-Sama*
(*e*) 20 studying the *Vajasaneya*
(*f*) 10 studying the *Atharva*
(*g*) 10 studying the *Baudhayaniya Grihya-kalpa* and *Gana*,
thus making a total of 230 *brahmacharins* for studying the above-mentioned (*apurvam*) Vedas which, with the 40 persons learning the *Rupavatara*, came to 270. Six *nalis* of paddy were allotted for each of these per day.

Further there were:
(*h*) 25 learning the *Vyakarana*
(*i*) 35 learning the *Prabhakara*, and
(*j*) 10 persons learning the *Vedanta*.
For these 70 pupils (*sattirar*) who learnt the *ottu* (*Vedas*), provision was made at the rate of one *kuruni* and two *nalis* of paddy each per day.

One *kalam* of paddy was given to the *nambi* who expounded the *Vyakarana*, one *kalam* to another who expounded the *Prabhakara* and one *kalam* and one *tuni* to the third who expounded the *Vedanta*.

Ten professors were appointed to teach the Vedas as detailed below:
Three to teach the *Rig-Veda*
Three to teach the *Yajur-Veda*
One to teach the *Chandoga*
One to teach the *Talavakara Sama*
One to teach the *Vajasaneya (i) (Yajnavalkya's recension of the Yajur Veda)*
One to teach the *Baudhayaniya grihya* and *kalpa* and *Kathaka*

The teacher who expounded the *Rupavatara* got three *kurunis* of paddy a day. Thus, for a day, 30 *kalams* of paddy measured by the *Rajaraja-marakkal* were required. The annual requirements came to 10,506 *kalams* of paddy. The gold required for expenses was as follows:-

8 *kalanjus* of gold to the professor of *Vyakarana* for expounding 8 *adhyayas* at one *kalanju* per *adhyaya*,

12 *kalanjus* to... for expounding 12 *adhyayas* at one *kalanju* per *adhyaya*,

6½ *kalanjus* to the 13 professors who taught *Vedas* and to the one who expounded the *Rupavatara* at half a *kalanju* each, and

35 *kalanjus* at half a *kalanju* each, to the 70 pupils (*sattirar*) who learnt the *Vyakarana* and the *Mimamsa*.

Thus, in all, for the 61½ *kalanjus* of gold and the paddy that were required, the temple was put in possession of 45 *velis* of land situated in Mambakkachcheri *alias* Pavittira-manikka-nallur forming part of Anangur *alias* Rajarajanallur and Melakkudalur *alias* Purusha-narayana-nallur.

King Rajendra Choladeva I, having thus directed the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedi-mangalam, ordered, in the presence of Kali Ekamranar, the head of the village, that they should not show in the account books, any more taxes than 1/16 *ma* and one *padakku* against the persons residing in the said two villages and cultivating the 45 *velis* of land, and this they promised to do under solemn oaths.

This inscription is of great importance to us as it shows clearly that in ancient temples not only was the regular conduct of worship maintained but also the study of the *Vedas*, philosophy, grammar and other sciences was encouraged by munificent royal grants. Gifts made for such purposes as these were known as *Vedavritti* and *Adhyayananga*. In some cases, provision was made for feeding a few persons versed in the *Vedas*, and *Apurvins*.

The hostel attached to the temple at Ennayiram seems to have fed not only teachers and students of the Vedic College but other men as well. One of the records (ARE 343 of 1917) refers to the maintenance of a hostel, presumably attached to the college. Here provision was made for feeding 506 learned men among whom were Vedic scholars and Sri Vaishnavas. This number might have included the 350 attached to the college. The rest must have included those who sang the *Tiruppadiyam*, who formed the *goshti*,

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ESALAM

VALISVARAR TEMPLE (TIRUVIRAMESVARAM) 25

While dealing with Ennayiram, we have mentioned how Dadapuram, Brahmadesam, Esalam and Ennayiram constituted something of a regional unit, all coming within the jurisdiction of the *taniyur* of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam. Esalam, Ennayiram and Brahmadesam are within a distance of three kms from one another and are about seven kms from the nineteenth km-stone on the Villupuram-Ginjee road (Nemur). The Esalam temple is in a state of good repair.

There are two inscriptions found on the walls of the temples in the neighbourhood, which refer to this temple. (*i*) One of them is an inscription of the eleventh year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva (II?) found in the Alagiya Narasimha Perumal temple at Ennayiram. It mentions that at the order of the king, the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam in Rajaraja valanadu made over the village of Nannaderpakkam *alias* Vikramasolanallur, which is said to have been a *devadanam* of *Tiruviramesvaram Udaiyar* at Eydar, a hamlet of this city, to a person of Vanchiyur and his descend-

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who recited the *Tiruppugal* and who uttered *Sadyajnam*. As *jatakadakshina* on the day of *Jayantyashtami* (the birthday) of Vennai kuttar (Krishna), it is stated, those *brahmanas* who completed the study of the *Rig*, *Yajur* and *Sama Vedas* should receive a gold flower and a gold ring. On the merchant class which received money from the markets devolved the duty of supplying well-husked rice which they were enjoined to bring to the hostel and measure out at the rate of two to five of paddy for (feeding?) the inmates. The great men in charge of the *urvariyam* (the village Supervision Committee) had to look after the daily supply of firewood required for the hostel. The *brahmana* and *Valanjiya* merchants who traded in the south bazaar were given a certain amount of money and they agreed to supply sugar and other articles in lieu of the interest on the sum lent. And it is further added that the excess of *ghee*, milk and curds that remained after meeting the requirements of the temple should be made over to the hostel.

There is a reference to a similar feeding house, but in a much smaller scale in ARE 323 of 1917 which comes from Panaiyavaram. Here provision is made for conducting a hostel (*salai*) which fed daily 50 *brahmanas* and 10 *Sivayogins* who were also given oil for bathing. The same inscription further provides for a teacher of a free school (*dharma-palli*) and for maintaining three water-sheds, one in front of the temple of Paravai Isvaramudaiyar, another in front of the *mandapa* of Rajendrasolan and the third in front of the temple of Rajendrasola Vinnagar Alvar. For rendering service in the hostel and the water sheds, *brahmacharins* were appointed.

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ants as a *janmakani* (ARE 336 of 1917). (*ii*) The other inscription, in the Patalisvaram temple at Brahmadesam close by, relating to the seventh year of Kulottunga deva I, mentions Eydari as a southern hamlet of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam in Panaiyur nadu (ARE 190 of 1918). We should have no difficulty in identifying this Eydari with Eydar (i.e. Esalam) of the inscription mentioned above.

According to an inscription found close to the Dakshinamurti figure on the base of the south wall of the Valisvarar temple here, the deity is called Tiruviramadevar (i.e., Tiru-Iramesvarar). The following is the extract:

"*nam brahmasthanam gangaikonda-solaniley koodi irundu . . . Udaiyar Rajendrasola devar Kurukkal Soma Siva Panditar nammoor Eydar tiruvirama-devarkku . . . tiru amirdukku . . .*"

This record gives us the name of the deity as Tiru-Irama devar.

This temple is not the only instance of its kind where the original name of the deity of Tiru-Iramesvarar got distorted into Tiru-valisvarar, in course of time. Such an example could be found at Arppakkam, where the deity is referred to in inscriptions as Tiruviramesvarar, but the present day name is Valisvarar; so too at Tiruvalisvaram near Ambasamudram in Tirunelveli district. These temples are dedicated to Siva who was worshipped by Rama. Hence the name Tiru-Irama-Isvaram. There is a similar temple in Nannilam taluk called Tiru-Ramanathisvaram.

The temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. It is an *eka-tala* structure. There are three *devakoshtas* on the three outer walls of the *garbhagriha*; there is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice (*kodungai*) and a *yali* frieze above it. The *yalis* of the latter frieze are interspersed with frolicking *ganas*. In the entablature there are neither *salas* nor *kutas*. There is a bell-shaped *sikhara* and a round *stupi* over the *griva*, which has *griva-koshtas* taking off from the *yali* frieze. The entire structure is in stone, and the *sikhara* closely resembles those of Kadambavanesvarar temple at Narttamalai, the Madagadippattu temple and the Arinjigai-Isvaram at Melpadi.

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The *adhishthanam* measures 0.92 m (3′) in height from the ground while the wall of the *garbhagriha* measures 3.12 ms (10′ 3″). The *garbhagriha* walls are divided into three vertical components. The *garbhagriha* measures 4.88 ms (16′) square. The *ardhamandapa* projects 5.61 ms (18′ 5″) forward.

There are five *devakoshta* figures, *viz.*, Ganapati and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north. (Pls 121 to 125).

This temple should have come into existence in the days of Rajaraja I along with the various other temples in the neighbourhood.

DADAPURAM

MANIKANTESVARAR (IRAVIKULA-MANIKKESVARAM) TEMPLE 26

Next to Sembiyan Mahadevi, whose magnificent philanthropy in the field of temple building activities is well known, Kundavai, the elder sister of Rajaraja I, holds an honoured place among the Chola queens. She should be distinguished from Kundavai, the daughter of Rajaraja I, and another of the same name, the younger sister (*tirut-tangaiyar*) of the Later Chola king, Kulottunga I. She is described as the daughter of Ponmaligai tunjiya devar (i. e., Parantaka II *alias* Sundara Chola), the elder sister of Rajaraja I (*akkan,* as she is called in his inscriptions) and the wife of Vallavaraya Vandya Devar, the chief of the *Samantas* of Rajaraja I. Her great filial devotion is seen from the fact that she is credited with the making of metallic images of her parents and presenting them to the temple built by her brother at Tanjavur. Her philanthropy was many sided. In addition to raising many temples and making gifts to maintain and glorify them, she is credited with the construction of irrigation tanks named "Kundavaip-pereri" and "Sundara-Cholap-pereri" which must have been excavated by her and named after her and her father respectively near Brahmadesam, close to Cheyyar, in the North Arcot district (ARE 264 of 1915).

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She seems to have survived her brother, and two inscriptions of the reign of her brother's son Rajendra I (third and seventh year, ARE 248 and 249 of 1923) mention her establishing at the Chola capital at Tanjavur, a hospital named after her father, called the Sundara-chola-vinnagara-atular-salai, for which gifts of house-site and lands for its maintenance in perpetuity were made at Pandaravadai near Tanjavur.

We have already seen that an inscription of the Alagiyasinga Perumal temple at Ennayiram, of the time of the Vijayanagara ruler Sadasiva Maharaja (Saka 1467=A.D. 1545) states that this temple was "the centre of 24 sacred shrines" (ARE 338 of 1917). An inscription in the same temple (ARE 335 of 1917) dated in the twenty-fifth year, 112th day of Rajendra I (A.D. 1036) states that at the king's order the assembly of Rajaraja-chaturvedi-mangalam (Ennayiram) in Jayangondasola mandalam met in the hall of this temple called Mummudisola *mandapa* and made a settlement regarding the income derived from the lands belonging to a number of shrines, and apportioned them for various services (see Section on Ennayiram).

An inscription of the 21st year of Rajaraja I on the wall of the Sri Kari-varada Perumal temple (ARE 8 of 1929) here gives a list of vessels and ornaments made of gold, silver and pearls and presented to the temples of (1) Kundavai Vinnagar, (2) Iravikula Manikka Isvaram and (3) Kundavai Jinalaya built by Parantakan Kundavaip-pirattiyar, daughter of Ponmaligaitunjina devar (Sundara Chola) in the city of Rajarajapuram (modern Dadapuram).

Another inscription of the twenty-first year of Rajaraja I in this temple (ARE 17 of 1919) also refers to the construction of the three temples built by Princess Kundavai Pirattiyar in the city of Rajarajapuram referred to above (ARE 8 of 1919) and it records that, on receipt of a royal writ, the administrative officer in charge of Panaiyur ordered the temple treasury to be examined and a list of the various gifts consisting of vessels and ornaments of various descriptions made of gold, silver and pearls, to be engraved on stone in the respective temples.

Yet another inscription found in the Kari-varada Perumal

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temple (ARE 14 of 1919) registers an order of the twenty-third year of Rajaraja I which directs that the dancing girls attached to the temples of Iravikula Manikka Isvarar and Kundavai Vinnagar Alvar should accompany the god in procession and sing and dance during the hunting festival of the Vishnu temple.

Dadapuram is now an obscure village in the Tindivanam taluk of South Arcot district about 3.2 kms (two miles) from Vallimedupettai. Dadapuram is the corruption of Rajarajapuram. The Siva temple now called Sri Manikantesvaram is named in the inscription on the temple walls that of Iravikula Manikka Isvarar, evidently after one of the titles of Rajaraja I. The neighbouring village of Ennayiram is called the *taniyur* of Rajarajachaturvedimangalam. If not identical with it Rajarajapuram might at least have been part of the city-complex of Rajarajachaturvedimangalam. There are three inscriptions, of the 19th 21st and 25th years of Rajaraja I (ARE 20, 17 and 18 of 1919), and one of the fourth year of Rajendra I (ARE 19 of 1919), on the walls of this Siva temple. The earliest (of the nineteenth year of Rajaraja I) mentions a gift of sheep for a lamp to this temple by a maid-servant of Kundavai Pirattiyar.

The next, of the twenty-first year of Rajaraja I, refers to the construction of the three temples of Iravikula Manikka Isvaram, Kundavai Vinnagar and Kundavai Jinalaya. The Iravikula Manikka Isvaram is no doubt the modern Sri Manikantesvarar temple. This inscription states that on receipt of a royal writ, the royal officer ordered the temple treasury to be examined and the particulars of the gifts of vessels and ornaments of gold, silver and pearls made to the temples of the locality to be engraved on stone in the respective temples. The inscription of the twenty-fifth regnal year of Rajaraja I (ARE 18 of 1919) mentions a gift of ten lamps made by Parantaka Kundavai Pirattiyar. The inscription of the fourth year of Rajendra I also refers to gifts made to the above temple. Thus it is clear that this Siva temple must have been built of stone sometime before the nineteenth year of Rajaraja I (A. D. 1004) and we may add

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that the temple of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur should also have been built about the same time.

The main shrine consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. The *mukhamandapa* seems to be a later addition, not elegantly dovetailed to the original structures ; and even its base mouldings are different.

The main temple rests on a high and plain *upapitham* adorned with pilasters. In the cardinal points there are lions and elephants, one on each of the three free sides. The mouldings of the *adhishthanam* consist of the *upanam*, *jagati*, semi-circular (curved) *kumudam*, *kapotam* with *kudus* and a *yali* frieze.

There are *devakoshtas* crowned with *makara-toranas* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the figures found therein clockwise are the following :

1. *Ganesa* : A double lotus petal *pitham*, short stout legs, big belly, the *yajnopavita*, the necklace, the *udarabandha*, the drapery, the broad sash with loops and tassels falling over the right leg and the semi-circular umbrella above deserve notice.

2. *Jnana Dakshinamurti* : The *jatabhara* is elaborately worked out ; a smile on the lips instead of the usual deep contemplative look is note-worthy.

3. *Vishnu* : The four-armed god stands with his proper right and left hands in *abhaya* and *katyavalambita* poses respectively, and holds *sankha* and *chakra* in the other two. He wears *kirita-makuta*, necklace, *keyuras*, bracelets and anklets. The *uttariya* has a central loop with a knot on the right side.

4. *Durga* : The eight-handed goddess stands in the *tribhanga* pose with her proper right and left hands in *abhaya* and *katyavalambita* poses respectively. In the remaining hands she holds a *khadga*, a *chakra*, a *sankha*, a long bow and a *ketaka*. She wears a *karanda-makuta*, *channavira* and *kesabandha*. The central loop and the side knots and tassels of the drapery are in evidence. There is a semi-circular *chhatra* over her head.

Subrahmanyar, Jyeshtha and Bhairavar : These should have been the deities of the *ashta-parivara alayas*—a feature of the Early Chola temples, found even in the temples of Rajaraja I (See Pl 126 and Lalit Kala, 15).

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SRI KARI - VARADA PERUMAL TEMPLE 27

About a kilometre and a half to the south-west of the Siva temple of Sri Manikantesvaram lies the temple of Sri Kari-Varada Perumal, dedicated to Vishnu, the bestower of grace on Gajendra. On the evidence of the inscriptions on the walls of this temple and those of the Manikantesvaram, this temple can be identified as that of Kundavai Vinnagar Alvar.

The earliest of these — of the twenty-first regnal year of Rajaraja I — gives a list of vessels and ornaments made of gold, silver and pearls presented to the temples of Kundavai Vinnagar, Ravikula Manikkesvaram and Kundavai Jinalaya, "built by the princess Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, the daughter of Ponmaligai-tunjina devar, in the city of Rajarajapuram in Nallur nadu, a sub-division of Venkunrak-kottam. It mentions an official called Parakrama sola Muvendavelan. The year of this inscription (A.D.1006) may be taken as the probable date of completion of this stone temple. Of the two inscriptions of the twenty-third regnal year of Rajaraja I, one mentions a gift of ninety sheep for a lamp by a maid-servant of the king, and the other records that the dancing girls attached to both the temples should accompany the Gods in procession and sing and dance during the hunting festival of the Vishnu temple.

An inscription of the twenty-fifth regnal year of Rajaraja I mentions a gift of sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai Vinnagar Alvar by Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar. Incidentally, the inscription states that Senapati Mummudi-sola Brahmamarayan was in charge of the management of this temple. This royal officer is the same person as Sri Krishnan Raman *alias* Mummudi-sola Brahmamarayan, the *Senapati* and the *perundaram* of Rajaraja I.

There are two inscriptions of Rajendra I. The first, of the fourth regnal year, relates to a gift of sheep for ten lamps to the temple of Kundavai Vinnagar Alvar by Kundavai Pirattiyar herself. The other, of the eleventh regnal year, stops with the mention of the name of the king.

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The temple consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa* as in the local Siva temple. It is a *dvi-tala* structure surmounted by a semi-circular *sikhara* (renovated) and a *stupi*. There are *devakoshtas* surmounted by *makara-toranas* on all the free sides of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. All the niches are now empty. There is a fine *kodungai (kapotam)* adorned with *kudus* on the top of the first *tala* and a *yali* frieze above it. *Salas* and *kutas* are found on the second *tala*. Among the *vimana devatas* may be mentioned Vishnu on Garuda, and Rajamannar. Sculptures of Hanuman perhaps adorned the edges; one such could be seen over the *kodungai* of the second *tala* (left side). (See Pl 127 and Lalit Kala 14)

TIRUVAKKARAI

28 SIVALOKAMUDAIYA PARAMASVAMIN TEMPLE

Tiruvakkarai lies on the banks of the Varaha (Ginjee) river about 19.31 kms (12 miles) from Villupuram on the Mailam-Ginjee road. There is an ancient temple here dedicated to Chandramoulisvarar; we have dealt with this temple which could be attributed to Aditya I's age (*Early Chola Art, I,* pp. 193–5; *Early Chola Temples,* pp. 201–2).

It consists of the main central shrine of Chandramoulisvarar, a *mandapa* in front of the shrine, an inner *prakara,* a second *prakara* with a *gopuram,* a 100-pillared *mandapa* in the second *prakara* (ARE 190 of 1904), a Siva shrine within the main temple complex called the Sivalokamudaiya Paramasvamin shrine and a shrine dedicated to Varadaraja Perumal, with a *mandapa* in front.

Here we are concerned only with the Siva shrine called that of Sivalokamudaiya Paramasvamin. On the south face of its base, there is an inscription of the 16th year of Rajaraja-Rajakesarivarman (A.D. 1001) recording a gift to the stone temple of *Sivalokamudaiya Paramasvamin,* which was built by Udaiyapirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, queen of Gandaradittadevar who gave birth to Sri Uttama Chola devar. This further records many allotments for the various requirements of the temple.

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Unfortunately, this record is not complete (ARE 200 of 1904).

Thus this shrine is a foundation of Sembiyan Mahadevi in the days of Rajaraja I. She lived well into the reign of Rajaraja I the last record relating to her being dated as late as A.D. 1006.

TIRUMUKKUDAL

VENKATESA PERUMAL (VISHNU BHATTARAR) TEMPLE 29

Tirumukkudal in the Uttaramerur taluk of Chingleput district is picturesquely situated at the confluence of three rivers, *viz.*, the Palar, the Veghavati and the Cheyyar. The name of the place means the sacred meeting point of three rivers. It is about three kms from Palaiya-Sivaram railway station (next to Walajabad) on the Kanchipuram-Chingleput section of the Southern Railway.

The temple of Venkatesa Perumal dates back to the times of the Pallavas, as seen from an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Vijaya Nripatunga Vikramavarman, found on a slab in the inner enclosure of this temple. We also learn that the deity was called Vishnu Bhattarar and that one Ariganda Perumanar, son of Kadupatti Kuttaraiyar, gave a gift of gold for a lamp, which was left in the charge of the assembly of Singapuram in Urrukkattuk-kottam. The original temple should have thus belonged to the Late Pallava and Early Chola period.

But the earliest inscriptions found on the walls of the *srivimana* relate to Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I. There are two records of Rajaraja both dated in his twenty-eighth year, 141st day (ARE 171 and 178 of 1915). From the first of these records, we gather that the great assembly of Madhurantaka-chaturvedimangalam (named after Parantaka I) met together in the great hall called *Sembiyan-Mahadevi-peru-mandapam* named after the mother of Uttama Chola and built by the king, and agreed to pay the taxes on certain temple lands from the interest on a specified quantity of gold which they had received from the

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temple treasury. Kudalur, a northern hamlet of the Chaturvedimangalam, finds mention in the inscription. One of the signatories to the agreement was the accountant of the *Samvatsara variyam* (Annual Committee). The second record also refers to a gift of gold and land for offerings to the temple by the great assembly.

There are a number of records of the period of Rajendra I. The earliest (ARE 175 of 1915) relates to the third regnal year and mentions a gift of gold on the occasion of the *Masi maham* festival. The next one (ARE 176 of 1915) dated in his fourth year, 352nd day is in respect of a gift of paddy for offerings and festivals on new moon days, and mentions Rajaraja Vadyamarayan and the officer Sembangudaiyar. We noticed the title of Vadyamarayan in connection with the gifts of land made by Rajaraja I to the *talip-pendir* and other temple servants, among whom were a number of musicians and instrumentalists inducted into the service of the temple of Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. One of the fifth year records a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the temple of Tirumukkudal-alvar in Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam, which was a *taniyur* in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 169 of 1915). Next comes a seventh year, 229th day record of Rajendra I which deals with a gift of land for the maintenance of a flower garden called 'Rajendra-solan' (ARE 172 of 1915). This record says that the assembly received seven *padagams* of garden land on behalf of the temple of Maha Vishnu at this place and arranged for its cultivation. The *Vaikhanasas* of the temple received the paddy from the wet lands accruing to the temple and arranged for the cultivation of the garden themselves. In order to do this, they employed persons to lift water, dig the earth, fence the fields and do all the other connected duties ; also, they agreed to have 7,000 baskets of manure spread on the field. Two curious conditions connected with this lease of the garden land to the *Vaikhanasas* were (1) that the *devakanmis*, i.e., the priests of the temple, were always to enjoy the *kil-bhogam* right and the *Vaikhanasas* the lease (*adaivu*) for cultivating (*ulavu*), and (2) that a specified number of bundles of hay was to be collected from every tenant of the village by the *Vaikhanasas* and used for the benefit

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of the garden only, neither being sent out to Kachchippedu nor sold for private puposes ; and it was laid down that the irrigation of wet lands from the channel was to be in the usual order, permitting the temple garden the first claim. A ninth year record refers to a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp from the headman of Mamavur Kilinjalur, a hamlet of Vanavan-Mahadevi-chaturvedimangalam, a *taniyur* in Jayangondasola-mandalam (ARE 170 of 1915). The next inscription dated in the 38th day of the ninth year also deals with a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp, made by one Mandai Nangai, the senior wife of *Perundanam* Rajarajan *alias* Vanavan Brahmadhirajan (ARE 174 of 1915). An agreement entered into by certain *Vaikhanasas* of the temple to use the surplus paddy due by them, which had been brought to light by an enquiry conducted into the accounts of the temple, for recitation of the *Tiruppadiyam* (the term used here for Vaishnavite hymns) in the temple is the subject matter of the next record which is dated in the sixteenth year, 32nd day (ARE 183 of 1915). This also refers to the Sembiyan Mahadevi *perumandapam* in the middle of the village of Madhurantaka chaturvedi-mangalam. There are two records of the eleventh year, one referring to a gift of 113 sheep to the Vennai-kuttar (Lord Krishna) in Tirumukkudal and the other, also relating to a gift of sheep, to the temple of Maha Vishnu (ARE 167 and 168 of 1915).

The ancient temple of Maha Vishnu at Tirumukkudal received much attention during the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I; but the contribution of Vira Rajendra to this temple deserves special mention. We shall deal with it later under Vira Rajendra (Pls 128 and 129).

SIVAPURAM

SIVA TEMPLE
(SRI RAJARAJESVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) 30

Sivapuram lies on the Madras-Bangalore road, branching off at the thirty-fourth km to the right in a westerly direction towards Perumbakkam and Kuvam (23 km). It is about seven kms from

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Kuvam in a northerly direction. The ancient name of this village was *Urogadam**.

On the east wall of the Siva temple here, is an inscription dated in the eighth year of Rajendra I, which refers to a gift by the king of 180 sheep, for maintaining two perpetual lamps, in "the temple of Sri Rajarajesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, in the village of Urogadam, in Purisai nadu, in Manayir kottam in Jayangondasola mandalam". This inscription reads as follows :

> *"Svasti sri : tiru manni valara ... mapperu dandarkkonda kopparakesaripanmarana Sri Rajendra Sola devarkku yandu* 8 - *avadu jayangonda sola mandalattu manayir kottattu purisai nattu Urogadattu Sri Rajaraja Isvaramudaiya Mahadevarkku Udaiyar Sri Rajendra sola devar vaitta tiru-nanda-vilakku irandinal adu nurrenpadu."*

Thus this temple was evidently built in the days of Rajaraja I or begun in his time and completed well before the 8th year of his son Rajendra I.

There is a seventh year record of Rajendra I's days found on the east wall of the central shrine, regarding the digging of a channel leading from a lake in Siraiyarpudur *alias* Parantakachcheri, to the temple by the *Urar* of Kuvam *alias* Madhurantakanallur (ARE 233 of 1961–62). This is the earliest record found in this temple.

The *mahasabha* of Solavichchadira-saruppedi-mangalam in Kanrur nadu sold a piece of land for 10 *Rajarajan kasus* to Adidasa Chandesvarar of Sri Rajarajesvaram in Urogadam, the proceeds from which were to be used by the *tiruvunnaligai udaiyar* to feed one *Sivayogi* at the time of making offerings to the god (twenty-sixth year of Rajendra I — ARE 226 of 1961–62).

There are a number of inscriptions of Rajendra I, all relating to his twenty-sixth regnal year (ARE 227 to 232 of 1961–62). Some interesting details are gleaned from these records relating to the arrangement made for providing for the services in the temple.

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*This place should not be confused with another Sivapuram, five kms south-east of Kumbakonam in the Tanjavur district associated with the Nataraja bronze whisked away to U.S.A. and sold for about Rs 70 lakhs (Pl 407). The latter has been sung by the Tamil Saints.

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The gold deposited with them at different times for services and offerings to the deity were invested by the temple authorities with various *mahasabhas* and the *urar* of Nirvelur in Nirvelur nadu in Urrukkattuk-kottam. All these local bodies which received the gold agreed to supply to the granary of the temple annually a specified quantity of paddy in terms of the measure called *Rajakesari,* as interest on the gold.

From a record of Rajadhiraja I dated in his twenty-seventh regnal year (A.D. 1044–45), we get to know of the various categories of temple servants. According to this inscription, a large quantity of paddy received as *kanikadan* from Tiruppuniyettam, a *devadana* village attached to Sri Rajarajesvaram in Sivapuram, was ear-marked for food offerings and for distribution among the various servants of the temple, who were as follows : (1) the persons engaged in the worship ; (2) the *tiruvunnaligai-udaiyar* ; (3) six *manigal ;* (4) 24 *Patiyilar ;* (5) the *panchacharyar ;* (6) twenty *uvachchar* including the *Patayyan ;* (7) the musicians playing on the *vina* and the *udukkai ;* (8) the reciter of *Tiruppadiyam ;* (9) the *tiruvaykkelvi-udaiyan ;* (10) twenty-two *chauri* bearers (*kavari-pinakkal*) ; (11) four persons who prepared the *pallit-tongal* (umbrellas) ; (12) the accountant ; (13) the treasurer ; (14) four body-guards ; (15) four garland-makers ; (16) four lamp-bearers and (17) four standard-bearers. One cannot help noticing the similarity of this set-up to the elaborate arrangements made by the ruler's grand-father Rajaraja I in the Tanjavur temple.

The temple is a compact all-stone structure which consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *antarala,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukha-mandapa.* The *garbhagriha* measures 3.60 ms square externally and 2.05 ms square internally. The *srivimana* rises on a low *adhish-thanam* consisting of an *upanam,* a *tri-patta kumudam,* a *varimanam* and a *vari,* while the wall surface is divided into three segments by four pilasters. The *devakoshta* images are Ganapati, Dakshina-murti, Lingodbhavar, Brahma (a later replacement) and Durga.

The superstructure starts with an entablature containing the *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The temple is an *eka-tala* structure with a circular *griva,* and a *sikhara* all in stone, with stucco overlaid, which is mostly gone.

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The *griva-koshtas* have figures which are covered over with lichen and cannot be identified. Around the *griva*, there are four very lively *nandis* in the four corners (Pls 130 to 136).

In the *mukhamandapa,* there are two *dvarapalas* adjoining the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*, both stately figures of Rajaraja I style. In addition, there are some fine loose sculptures, kept inside the *mandapa*, of Chandesvarar, Surya and Bhairavar. They must once have occupied their respective positions in subshrines. The temple is in a bad state of repair and requires to be conserved.

The temple belongs to the days of Rajaraja I.

ARPAKKAM

ADIKESAVA PERUMAL (TIRUVIRA - VINNAGAR ALVAR) TEMPLE

31

On the Kanchipuram-Uttaramerur road, after crossing the Veghavati at Kanchi and the Palar four kilometres further south, one proceeds another four kilometres to reach Arpakkam ; it lies between the Palar and the Cheyyar.

In this village, there are two important temples, with rich historical associations, one belonging to the Middle Chola period and the other to the Later Chola period. The former is that of Adikesava Perumal which bore in the ancient days the name of Tiruvira-vinnagar Alvar temple, and the latter the temple of Tiruvalisvaram, or Tiruviramesvaram. We are here concerned with the Adikesava Perumal temple.

On the north wall of the temple is an incomplete record (ARE 139 of 1923) of Rajaraja I dated in his eighteenth year, registering a gift by purchase of a tank and land, made tax-free, for offerings to the god Tiruvira-vinnagar Alvar in the name of the queen Sembiyan Mukkokilanadigal *alias* Kannara-Nachchi Pidara Nangai, by a certain Kodandaraman of Panivagamangalam of Chola mandalam. From this inscription we come to know the name of a queen of Rajaraja I not generally known, and the name would indicate that she was a *Kannara* princess. Another inscription

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of Rajendra I relating to his twenty-seventh year, registers a gift of land by the residents of Arpakkam for the maintenance of seven musicians for service in the temple of Tiruvira-vinnagar Alvar (ARE 145 of 1923). On the south wall of the temple is a record of Udaiyar Sri Rajendra Choladeva (II), relating to his second year registering a gift of land for two perpetual lamps to the god Tiruvira-vinnagar Alvar by queen Trailokya Mahadevi, one on behalf of her mother Umai Nangai and the other on behalf of Vikramakesari Pallavaraiyar (ARE 138 of 1923). There are two records of Sakalaloka-chakravartin Rajanarayana Sambuvarayan both dated in his sixteenth year registering a gift of land in Mungilappattu as *tirunamattukkani* by certain individuals of Magaral and its later conversion into a *sarvamanya* gift by the residents (*nattavar*) of Vayalaikkavur, to the god Kesava Perumal of Arpakkam in Eyil nadu, a subdivision of Eyir-kottam (ARE 140 and 141 of 1923). In the fourth year of Vijaya Gandagopala, one *kalanju* of gold is given as a gift for burning a twilight lamp in the temple by the headman of Anangur in Paniyur nadu, a subdivision of Naduvil nadu *alias* Rajaraja valanadu (ARE 142 of 1923).

This temple would appear to have come into existence some time before the eighteenth year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1003) and was possibly renovated after the days of Rajendra II which explains the misplacement of some of the stones containing the inscriptions of the first two rulers of the Middle Chola period.

SOLAPURAM

SIVA TEMPLE (RAJARAJISVARAM) 32

Solapuram is now a small place adjoining Vellore, the headquarters of North Arcot district. There are some ruined temples here.

On the base of the local ruined Siva temple, there are a number of inscriptions relating to the Middle and Later Chola periods. The earliest inscription relates to the twenty-seventh year of Rajaraja I, but it is unfortunately incomplete. However it

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mentions the name of the village where the temple is situated as Uyyakkondan-Solapuram in Vadakkil Vangamugai nadu in the district of Pangala nadu in Jayangondasola mandalam, and refers to some merchants presumably making donations to the temple (ARE 421 of 1902; SII, VIII, 7). There is also an inscription dated in the sixth year of Rajendra I. In an inscription dated in the twenty-fourth regnal year of Koluttunga I, the deity is called the Mahadevar of Uyyakkondan-Solapuram (ARE 425 of 1902). In another inscription dated in his thirty-second year, we get the name of the temple as Rajarajisvaram said to be located in Uyyakkondan-Solapuram in Vadakkil Vangamugai nadu, a subdivision of Pangala nadu; it relates to a gift for a lamp (ARE 423 of 1902; SII, VIII, 8).

The ancient name of this village was Kattuttumbur, and after the conquest of this region by the Cholas, it was rechristened Uyyakkondan-Solapuram after a surname of Rajaraja I; the ruined Siva temple at Solapuram was a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I and named Rajarajisvaram after him (see *Early Chola Art I*, p. 18, and also *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 89–91).

KALAKATTUR

33 AGNISVARAR TEMPLE

Kalakkattur is a hamlet in the Kanchipuram taluk of Chingleput district. It lies about two kms to the right of the road from Kanchipuram to Uttaramerur at the seventh km stone and is situated at the base of the *bund* of a lake called Putteri. In this village, there is an Early Chola temple standing amidst paddy fields.

The temple is a *karrali* (stone temple) facing east. It consists of the *garbhagriha*, 4 ms square, with recesses in the *antarala* part, with a later closed *mandapa* having an entrance to the south, which is a square of side 5.50 ms. The *garbhagriha* has no superstructure now. There is a ruined *madil*.

There are a shrine for Ganapati to the east of the *mandapa* and a Nandi in front of the temple in the same axis as the Linga of the *garbhagriha*.

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The *devakoshta* sculptures are of interest. Ganapati and Durga are in the south and north wall niches of the *antarala;* Dakshinamurti, Ardhanari and Brahma are respectively in the south, west and north niches of the *garbhagriha.* All the sculptures are of high quality and could be assigned to the ninth century A.D. The presence of Ardhanari in the rear *devakoshta* indicates that the *garbhagriha* and these sculptures should be assigned to the period of Aditya I (Pls 137 to 140).

Seven inscriptions have been copied from this village. The earliest of them is one on a slab set up near the Pidari temple. It belongs to the seventh regnal year of Parthivendradhipativarman, the Chola prince and viceroy in this region during the period prior to the accession of Rajaraja I, who was in a large measure responsible for the reconquest of the region of Tondaimandalam over-run and ruled by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (see my *Early Chola Temples,* pp. 204–205). This record (ARE 117 of 1923) refers to a gift of land, after purchase, for mid-day offerings to the temple of Subrahmanyar at Kalakattur by one Chakrapani Venkadan of the same village which is given the alternate name of Attinamach-chaturvedimangalam and is said to be located east of the Chandramegha-tatakam—presumably the lake now called the Putteri on whose *bund* the village and the temple are situated.

What is now called the Agnisvarar temple is mentioned in the inscriptions on its walls as the temple of Uruni Alvar. There are six inscriptions in the temple, but none of them is a foundation inscription. Of these, three belong to the reign of Rajaraja I. The earliest of them is one of his fourteenth regnal year (ARE 121 of 1923). We learn that Kalakattur was a *sala bhoga* (a feeding house) of Tiruvegambapuram*, that the king himself desired the gift of only one lamp in this temple "for the prosperity of all the kings and of the world at large"—echoing the traditional age-long prayer of every pious Hindu, "*sarve janaha sukhino bhavantu*",

*Brahmadesam, in Cheyyar taluk of North Arcot district, bore in the ancient days the name of Rajamalla-chaturvedimangalam, which was a part of Tiruvegambapuram, in Damar-kottam (ARE 189 of 1915).

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but that provision was made for two perpetual lamps by Vennaipputtur Udaiyar Kandan Maindan of the village of Kalakattur in Eri-kil nadu, included in Kaliyur kottam.

The next inscription, which is of his seventeenth year is fragmentary, but the previous donor figures in this also (ARE 118 of 1923); it registers a gift by Madevan Kolambattadigal of Kusappur, in Pulal kottam of Tondai Nadu.

There are two inscriptions of Rajendra I, both of his third regnal year. In one (ARE 120 of 1923), Kalakkattur is said to be a *sala bhoga* of Tiruvegambapuram (see no. 121 above) in Eri-kil nadu. The other (ARE 122 of 1923) registers a gift of five cows for supplying curds to the god Uruni Alvar of Kalakkattur by the *Madhyastha* of Nallarrur in Sengattu kottam.

The existence of three temples in this village—the Pidari temple, the Subrahmanyar temple and the Agnisvarar temple—is thus brought out by the local inscriptions. Though the earliest inscription concerning it is one of Rajaraja I's, we can assign the Agnisvarar temple to the period of Aditya I of the Early Chola age based on the evidence of the sculpture of Ardhanarisvarar placed in the *devakoshta* of the central shrine.

SENGUNRAM

34 JAYANGONDASOLISVARAM

Sengunram is in the Gudiyattam taluk of North Arcot district. There is an ancient Siva temple here which is now deserted and without worship. This is a dated temple which came into being in the days of Rajaraja I and was named after one of his surnames.

From four inscriptions that were recorded in this temple in the days of the Middle and the Later Cholas, we learn that the temple bore the name of Jayangondasolisvaram. In the twenty-ninth regnal year of Rajaraja I, one Damodara Bhatta of Kadalangudi in Rajendrasimha valanadu in Chola mandalam made a gift of 20 *pons* to the merchants of Jayangonda-solapuram, which was a city in Andi nadu, a sub-division of Perumbanappadi

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in Jayangondasola mandalam. The gift was meant for the purchase of 180 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple, which is called in the inscription Jayangonda solisvaram. Even the liquid measure adopted by the temple and possibly in the neighbourhood also was called 'Jayangonda solaraiyan' (ARE 149 of 1921). In the seventh regnal year of Rajendra I, a similar gift of 20 *kalanjus* of gold was made by a citizen for two perpetual lamps in the temple (ARE 151 of 1921). Here again the name of the temple is given as Jayangonda solisvaram. We also learn that, about the same time, the merchants of Jayangonda-solapuram, which bore the alternate name of Vikkur, met in a hall presumably built by the chief of the city, and made a gift of land free of taxes, for the services in the temple (inscription dated in the seventh regnal year of Rajendra I—ARE 152 of 1921). There is a fragmentary inscription of the time of Vikrama Chola.

TIRUMALAI

KUNDAVAI JINALAYA 35

Polur is an important station on the Villupuram-Katpadi rail link of the Southern Railway. Sixteen kms (10 miles) to its east is the village of Tirumalai, which was an important Jaina centre in the Pallava and Chola days. Here is a hill known in the local inscriptions as Vaigai (or Vaigavur) Tirumalai. Some of the inscriptions refer to a Kundavai Jinalaya.

This Jaina centre, so we learn from a Later Chola inscription, was ruled by a Yavanika, called Elini of Vanji (which is to be identified with modern Karur), during the early Sangam period. This chief is claimed to have set up images of Yaksha and Yakshini on the Tirumalai hill, which bore the Sanskrit name of *Arnasu-giri* and the Tamil name of *En-guna-virat-tirumalai*.

The earliest Chola inscription at Tirumalai relates to a gift of gold in the third regnal year of Parantaka I (A.D. 910), by two residents of Kaduttalai for feeding a devotee in the Jaina temple at Vaigavur. We next hear of a gift of a lamp to the Yaksha of

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Tirumalai made in A.D. 959 by a servant of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III.

Next comes a record of Rajaraja I dated in his twenty-first year, which is found on a rock in front of the *gopuram* at the base of the Tirumalai hill (SII, I, 66). It mentions that a certain Gunavira-mamunivan built a sluice in the local reservoir.

There are two inscriptions of Rajendra I. Both of them relate to his twelfth regnal year. One of them records a gift to the temple Vaigavur-Tirumalai which is therein called Kundavai Jinalaya, i.e., the temple dedicated by Kundavai to the Jina (SII, I, 67).

According to this inscription, "Chamuddappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaiyan, resident of Perumbanappadi, *alias* Karaivarimalliyur, gave a perpetual lamp to the temple of Sri Kundavai Jinalaya (on) the holy mountain at the *Pallich-chandam* (a village belonging to the Jaina temple) of Vaigavur in Mugai nadu, a division in the middle of Pangala nadu in Jayangondasola mandalam. Twenty *kasus* were given for one lamp and ten *kasus* for the sacred food-offerings".

At the foot of the hillock is a shrine in a natural cave under a ledge of the rock mentioned earlier. It is likely that this cave temple was renovated at about the time when Kundavai built her Jinalaya and reconsecrated the sculptures of Yaksha and Yakshini held to have been set up in the days of Elini, the ancient Chera ruler. There are paintings on the walls of the cave, which might also have been carried out at Kundavai's instance; they appear to have been overlaid on an earlier layer of paintings. Patches of the latter are still to be seen in the background. Presumably, the older paintings had mostly faded and Kundavai had them repainted. The centre of attention in the paintings is a wheel of victory (*Vijaya-chakra*) whose nave is occupied by the Jina flanked by attendant deities. What the *Dharma-chakra* is to the Buddhists, the *Vijaya-chakra* is to the Jainas. Such a wheel is mentioned by the Jaina ruler Kharavela of Kalinga in his inscription at the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves near Bhubanesvar in Orissa. There is also a Jaina *Vijaya-chakra* painted on the ceiling of the Jaina cave temple at Sittannavasal

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in the Pudukkottai district* (seventh century A.D.).

In Puduppadi in Walajapet taluk, North Arcot district, there are a Siva temple and a Vishnu temple (called Vedaranya Perumal temple), belonging to the Middle Chola period. Besides, there was a Jaina temple built during the days of Rajaraja I and named Iravikula Manikkap-perumpalli, after a surname of Rajaraja I. Nothing beyond a slab of stone containing the inscription, *"Svasti-sri Iravikula manikkap-perumpalli"*, remains of the temple (ARE 225 of 1905). Puduppadi, like Dadapuram and Olagapuram, must have been an important centre in Jayangondasola mandalam where sectarian rivalries were then unknown (Pls 141 and 142).

Thus, Kundavai Jinalaya was a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I. The paintings in the lower cave require our attention.

MELPADI

CHOLISVARAM (ARINJIGAI-ISVARAM) 36

Melpadi is situated 25.60 kms (16 miles) south-west of Chittoor and 9.60 kms (6 miles) north of Tiruvallam, on the western bank of the Niva (or Ponni) river. The region of Melpadi, which was a part of the Chola kingdom during the time of Parantaka I, was lost to the Rashtrakutas after the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949), and would appear to have been firmly reannexed to the Chola empire only after Rajaraja I came to the throne (A.D. 985).

Cholendra Simhesvaram

There is a temple in the village, dedicated to Somanathesvarar. Though it was rebuilt and given the new name of Cholendra-simhesvaram in the days of Rajaraja I, it dates back in fact to those of Parantaka I. From an inscription of the fourteenth year, 258th day of a king referred to as Konerinmaikondan (ARE 101 of 1921), which should also be attributed to Rajaraja I,

*Lalit Kala No. 9, pp 30-54.

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we learn that the name of the city changed from Merpadi *alias* Viranarayanapuram into Rajasrayapuram after a surname of Rajaraja I and that gifts of lands located in several villages were made to the Mahadevar of the Cholendra-simhesvarar temple constructed there by the king.

Arinjigai Isvaram

Arinjigai or Arinjaya was the youngest son of Parantaka I and the grandfather of Rajaraja I. Perhaps he fell fighting in or near this place, and consequently came to be referred to later as *Arrur-tunjina-devar*.

Sometime before his twenty-ninth regnal year (A.D. 1014) Rajaraja I constructed a temple called after him that of *Arinjigai Isvarattu Mahadevar*, as a *pallippadi* (memorial sepulchral temple), at the place where the mortal remains of Arinjigai devar were buried (ARE 86 of 1889 and SII, III, 17; See also *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 299–302).

It may be of interest to mention that in the days of Rajendra I, its management was in the hands of Lakulisa Pandita, the head of the *matha* of Saivas of the Pasupata sect.

ATTUR

37 (I) SOMESVARAR TEMPLE (II) PALLIKONDAR SHRINE

Attur in Tirunelveli district is now a small village located in picturesque surroundings on the banks of the Tamraparni very near where it joins the sea. It is at a distance of about 64 kms from the district headquarters of Tirunelveli, in an easterly direction. The ancient Pandyan capital of Korkai is only five kms from this place. There is an ancient Siva temple in this village dedicated to Somanathar; now, however, the deity goes under the name of Somesvarar.

The temple contains a large number of inscriptions ranging from the days of Rajaraja I to the sixteenth century A.D. Those of the Imperial Cholas and their Chola-Pandya viceroys cover

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almost half the number of the total of ninety and odd records, the remaining relating mostly to the Pandyas of the post-Chola era.

There are ten inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I, which are the earliest to be found in this temple. They are all engraved on the walls of the central shrine. A twenty-first year inscription which is the earliest of them, records a gift of sheep for a lamp to the temple by Kandan Sittan of Alangudi in Vandalai-velur in Arumolideva valanadu (ARE 388 of 1929–30). Three others belong to his twenty-second regnal year; one of them stops with the mention of Somanatha devar *alias* Ten Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar; another incomplete piece in the same characters mentions a merchant Velan Teran *alias* Purusha-manikka Setti (ARE 392 of 1929–30). The next record seems to state that *tiruvunnaligaiyar* agreed to provide for offerings to the deity with the income from the land endowed, by purchase, to the temple by the king's regiment called *Arulmolideva terinda parivarattar* (ARE 419 of 1929–30). The third one of the same year registers a gift of land as *kudiningaa-devadanam* for the expenses of the *tiruchchennadai* of the images of Olakka-Vitankar and Nitya-sundarar in the temple of Somanatha devar *alias* Ten Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar at Arrur, a *brahmadeya* in Kuda nadu, in the subdivision of Rajaraja valanadu by Bharadvajan Madhava Udaiya Divakaran of Kalitava-mangalam, with himself as a tenant (ARE 409 of 1929-30). There are two records of the next year, the twenty-third. One of them mentions a sale of land made tax-free by the assembly of Kiranur for worship and offerings to the images of Rajaraja vinnagar Pallikonda-rulina-devar (Vishnu), Durga-Bhagavati, Saptamatrikas, Kshetra-palar and Ganapati set up in the temple of Somanathadevar *alias* Ten Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar at Arrur-Sendamangalam (ARE 415 of 1929-30). The other inscription which on the basis of the characters should belong to the time of Rajaraja I refers to a gift of sheep by a person from Parantaka valanadu (ARE 390 of 1929-30). In the twenty-fourth year, a lady makes a gift of sheep for a perpetual lamp (ARE 386 of 1929-30). Another, of the twenty-seventh year also refers to a gift of sheep for a

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lamp (ARE 397 of 1929-30). A twenty-eighth year record mentions a gift of land after purchase from the *uravar* of Varandivayal, for the mid-day offerings to the image of *puram-balai* Pillaiyar Ganapatiyar in the temple of Somanathadevar *alias* Ten Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar at Arrur-Sendamangalam (ARE 387 of 1929-30).

Surprisingly, there are only five records of the days of Rajendra I, three in his third year and the rest in his fifth year. Of his third year inscriptions, one is incomplete, another refers to a gift of sheep and the third which is on the east wall of the Perumal shrine, registers a sale of land to the temple by the assembly, the *karanmai*-tenants and Nakkan Tukkadichchan (ARE 391, 399 and 471 of 1929-30). The two records of the fifth year, one of the 200th day and the other of the 254th day, both refer to gifts of sheep for perpetual lamps from persons in Chola mandalam.

Next we have three records of the days of Vira Rajendra; the fourth year inscription mentions the provision made for offerings in the temple of Somanathadevar every Sunday by a certain Narayana Tiruvengadam *alias* Atula-vichchadira-Muvendavelan, the headman of Attur. The fifth year record registers a gift of land, after purchase, by Virasir Muvendavelan, the headman of Karuppur and a resident of Vetchiyur, a village in Serrur kurram, a sub-division of Arumolideva valanadu in Chola mandalam, for providing on the day of *Ayilyam*, the natal star of the king, special worship to the several deities in the temple. A seventh year record deals with a gift of money to the *aganaligaiyar* for a twilight lamp in the temple by a certain Arangan Sodi, a *Vellala* of Tidarcheri in Pampur nadu (ARE 401, 389 and 400 of 1929-30).*

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*Among the Later Chola inscriptions, almost all relate to Kulottunga I, beginning with his twelfth regnal year. The earliest, records a gift of sheep and of stands for two perpetual lamps to the temple of Somanathadevar *alias* Ten Tiruppuvanam Udaiyar by a certain Siraman Aditta Pidaran *alias* Nulambadirajan (ARE 407 of 1929-30). The next record relates to his twentieth year; it gives the details of certain lands sold to the temple by the assembly and the *karanmai* tenants of Arrur-Sendamangalam, the latter agreeing to pay the taxes on the land (ARE 448 of 1929-30). From a record of his twenty-fourth year, we get to know that Arrur in Kuda nadu becomes a part of Uttamasola valanadu. A thirty-sixth year record gives the information that

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Apart from these records, there are others given with the regnal years of the Chola Pandya viceroys. Three relate to Jatavarman *alias* Sundara Chola Pandya deva and are of his sixth, twenty-first and thirtieth years; the first refers to a gift of buffaloes by a *Vellala* of the village for a perpetual lamp; the second, found in a random stone in the pavement of the Soma-sundari Amman shrine, records the provision made by Bharadvajan Lokaditya Kuttan of Arrur for a perpetual lamp; the third records a gift of sheep and a lamp-stand for a perpetual lamp by Pandan Kattangan of the *Sundara Sola Pandya terinda palayaval* (a unit of the army) (ARE 416, 473 and 395 of 1929-30). Similarly, of another viceroy, Maravarman Vikrama Chola Pandya deva, we have four records; one, whose year is lost, records a gift of buffaloes for a perpetual lamp; another of his twenty-second year, also deals with a gift for a perpetual lamp to the temple, which is here said to be in Arrur in Rajadhiraja chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* of Kuda nadu, a sub-division of Uttamasola valanadu in Rajaraja Pandi Nadu, by a native of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu; a third, of his twenty-fifth year, states that the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple agreed to provide for special offerings and worship to the God

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one Kuditangi Mummudi solan *alias* Jayangondasola Vesalipadi of Arasur in Arumolideva valanadu of Chola mandalam bought land from two residents of Tirukkadavur, a *brahmadeyam* in Talaippanai in Kuda nadu, and gifted it to the temple for the sacred bath of the deity with water from the Tanporundam (Tamraparni) (ARE 402 of 1929-30). A thirty-eighth year inscription is found on a pillar in the *antarala* of the central shrine, and registers the sale of land made tax-free to the temple by seven persons of Korkai *alias* Madhurantakanallur in Kuda nadu (ARE 422 of 1929-30). This inscription is preceded by an incomplete inscription of Vira Rajendra. On another pillar in the same place is a forty-eighth year inscription of the same ruler; it registers a gift of land tax-free to the temple by two residents of the village for lamps and for offerings to the deity on the day of *Kartigai* (ARE 422 of 1929-30). An undated record in Sanskrit verse (in Grantha) gives the surname of Jayadhara for Kulottunga I and records a gift of a gold aureola and money for two lamps to the temple by the minister Manavatara (Naralokavira).

There are a large number of Pandyan records; briefly covering them, we learn that in Arrur-Sendamangalam there was a Vishnu temple called Tirunarayana Vinnagar, that in the days of Maravarman Sundara Pandya "who was pleased to hand back to the Cholas the Chola country", the place bore the alternate name of Avanipasekhara chaturvedimangalam, that Korkai was called Madhurodayanallur, that in the days of Maravarman Kulasekhara, a *mandapa* was built in, and a flower-garden endowed to, this temple by one Kesavan Idaiyarru Isvaramudaiyan, and that Arrur was called Venru-mudisudiya-Sundara-Pandiyapattinam in Parantaka valanadu (ARE of 454, 1929-30).

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Somanathadevar on the days of the new moon and to feed pilgrims on those days, with the interest on the endowment made by Udaiya Divakaran Trimurti of Madevimangalam in Panaiyur nadu, a sub-division of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu in Cholamandalam. And finally, one, also of his twenty-fifth year, says that the *Sivabrahmanas* belonging to the *aganaligai* of the temple agreed to provide on every *amavasya* day special offerings to the deity and to feed 15 *Sivabrahmanas* in the temple with the produce of the land endowed by a certain Kandan Aiyanar *alias* Nripasikhamani Muvendavelar of Mangalakkal, who purchased it from the assembly of Rajadhiraja chaturvedimangalam; this record mentions a unit of measure for grains called the *Somanathanmarakkal* (ARE 403, 406, 417 and 393 of 1929-30).

We may conclude that this temple came into existence during the days of Rajaraja I after he had annexed the Pandyan territory and that the Pallikonda Perumal shrine in the temple came into existence before the twenty-third year of Rajaraja I.

The Amman shrine came into existence during the Pandyan days.

The main shrine of Attur, *viz.*, that of Somanatha devar consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala*, and an *ardhamandapa* with a circumambulatory passage and a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. In the front there is a covered hall (*mahamandapa*) supported by three rows of six pillars each. The *garbhagriha* and the *antarala* constitute one unit on a common plinth, while the *ardhamandapa* is at a lower level, from which the *antarala* is reached by a flight of three steps. There are four pillars in the *ardhamandapa* in the traditional Middle Chola style, round and capped by a plain corbel with bevelled edges. On the outer front of the *ardhamandapa* one on either side of the entrance, are two beautifully carved Rajaraja-style *dvarapalas*, measuring about 1.22 ms (four feet) in height. There are no niche figures in the three niches of the *garbhagriha*, which are shallow, very much in the Pandyan style, with little scope for housing any *koshta* deities. There is a sparsely distributed *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice. On the southern side, however, where there ought to be a Dakshinamurti niche figure, we have a modern structure to house an old and fine

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stone sculpture of Yoga-Dakshinamurti. Away from the *dvara-palas* and in front of the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa*, there are some fine bronzes.

Sculptures

(i) *Stone*: From east to west along the southern wall in the *tiruch-churru-maligai*, there is a fine image of Jvaraharadevar, facing north, followed by the sculptures of the 63 Saiva saints; further west along this wall, we have an excellent set of sculptures in stone of the Saptamatrikas, with Virabhadra (?) and Ganapati bracketing the group, facing each other and at right angles to the row of the seven *Matrikas*. In the south-western corner of the *prakara*, facing east, is an image of Ganapati. Correspondingly on the north-western corner, we have a fine set of stone images of Karttikeya and His two Consorts, facing east. In the north-eastern corner, adjoining the northern wall and facing south is an image of Bhairavar. On the inner side of the eastern wall of the *mahamandapa* are images of Chandra in the north and Surya in the south. Close to Surya and near the doorway of the *mahamandapa* leading to the later-date *agra-mandapa* is an image of Adhikara-nandi.

(ii) *Bronzes*: There are in this temple some of the finest bronzes of Pandi Nadu. The most captivating pieces among them are those of Nataraja, Sivakami, Manikkavasagar and Karaikkal Ammaiyar, all in one group, in a chamber to the north-east of the circumambulatory passage.

The Nataraja image measures 112 cms (3′ 8″) from the base of the *padmapitham* to the top of the *jatha*, which is beautifully shaped and from tip to tip of the fingers of the outstretched arms breadthwise it measures 81 cms (2′ 8″). From the top of the aureola (*ardhachandra* element) to the base of the *bhadra-pitham* it measures 160 cms (5′ 3″); there are 12 tongues of flame on either side of the *ardhachandra*, which rests on two pillars (*kals*). Nataraja wears the *jathamakuta*, on which are the crescent moon and Ganga-Bhattari; He wears the usual *malu* in the upper right arm and the fire in the upper left arm; the lower right in *varada* pose has the coiled snake on it while the fourth arm is in the *gajahasta* posture. He stands with His right

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foot on Muyalagan who is prostrate on his belly and holds a snake by the neck which lies along the entire length of Muyalagan's body. He is on a *padma pitham* placed on a *bhadra pitham*.

The equally beautiful and majestic image of Sivakami Amman standing on a *padma pitham* with a *nilotpala* in the right hand and the other arm falling gracefully and with a fine natural bend down the length of the left thigh, measures 84 cms (2′ 9″). Both the Nataraja and Sivakami images rest on a common *bhadra pitham*.

To the proper right of Nataraja, we have an image of Manikkavasagar with the *chevudi* in the left arm and the right arm is in the *chin-mudra* pose. We have a small icon of Karaikkal Ammaiyar with sagging breasts and shrunken belly and holding cymbals in both hands. This entire group constitutes a fine set of bronzes in the true Chola tradition, installed in a Chola temple built in the Pandya country. The style of these sculptures may be termed *Chola-Pandya*. There are also two beautiful Somaskandar metal images and a Tani-Amman. Besides, there are the icons of Appar, Tirunavukkarasar, Sundarar, Astradevar and Chandesvarar. Flanking the stone *dvarapalas* referred to earlier, there are, on the south, metal images of Bhikshatanar and of Kevala-Chandrasekharar. North of the *dvarapala* are images of Subrahmanyar and His two Consorts. All these are exquisite specimens of *Chola-Pandya* bronzes of the period (Pls 143 to 155).

Inscriptions refer to the gift of a number of icons to the temple of Somanathar. Mentioned among them are images of Uloga Vitankar and Nityasundarar. While the former could be identified with the Somaskandar in the rear verandah adjoining the Ganapati icon, the identification of the latter presents some difficulty. Could it be the other Somaskandar image, on the northern side of the rear verandah?

Inscriptions again refer to the gift in the days of Rajaraja I of two villages, *viz.*, Varandiyal and Kiranur for various services of the temple; they could be identified with Varandivel, a suburb of Attur, which is less than a kilometre from the temple and with another suburb which goes by its old name of Kiranur. These places are at present hamlets of Attur.

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PALLIKONDA-PERUMAL SHRINE (ii)

What is of special importance about this temple is the existence of a shrine on the northern verandah of the *prakara*, dedicated to *Pallikonda-Perumal*, similar to the one at the Nelliyappar temple at Tirunelveli (see below). The shrine is outside the wall of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*, the entrance to it being on its wall and the *garbhagriha* being in a cella built outside, with a wagon-shaped *vimana*. This shrine was built by Rajaraja I. The recumbent Vishnu has His head to the west and the feet to the east and lies on a serpent whose coils however, are not to be seen above the floor level; the hood (with five heads) is a modern replacement. Sridevi and Bhudevi are seated. There is no Brahma. In the same chamber, on the western side, there are four bronze images of exquisite quality and finish, of Rama, Vishnu, Sridevi and dancing Krishna. The image of Rama is fascinating. His two arms are in the posture of holding the bow and arrow, which however, are not there now. He wears *patra-kundalas*. These icons measure 89 cms (2′ 11″), 69 cms (2′ 3″), 58 cms (1′ 11″), and 61 cms (2′) respectively.

TIRUNELVELI

NELLIYAPPAR TEMPLE (PALLIKONDAR SHRINE) 38

Within the limits of the township of Tirunelveli, the headquarters of the district bearing the same name, is a temple dedicated to Nelliyappar. As mentioned in the *sthalapuranam* of the Kailasapati temple at Gangaikondan, this is held to be one of the three early temples founded by Agastya and to have been established in a *venu* (bamboo) forest. In token of this origin, we still have a clump of bamboo bushes in the outer *prakara*; bamboo is also the *sthala-vriksha* of the Nelliyappar temple.

The temple, which dates possibly earlier than Rajaraja I, consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and an *ardhamandapa*, and underwent considerable modification during the reign of Rajaraja I. The *garbhagriha* and the *mahamandapa* have been lop-sidedly

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widened to enable the erection of a *sanctum* for housing the stone sculpture of the reclining Vishnu (Pallikondar) of massive dimensions, to the north of the main sanctum and the *antarala*. Correspondingly, the *ardhamandapa* is asymmetrical with reference to the main shrine of Nelliyappar; the sanctum and the *antarala* of the latter and the sanctum of the Pallikondar shrine together share a common *ardhamandapa*, which has three rows of three pillars; the bathing platform in the *ardhamandapa*, however, being along the same axis as the Nelliyappar sanctum.

We are here concerned with the Pallikondar shrine only, it being an addition made by Rajaraja I to the Nelliyappar temple. The *ardhamandapa* also is attributable to his age.

To the north of the Nelliyappar sanctum is the chamber housing the image of Pallikondar (Vishnu in the *anantasayanam* pose) with his head to the west; the entrance to the chamber is on its eastern wall. The divine serpent (with its five-headed hood) is protecting the head of the Vishnu image; in front of this recumbent figure is an excellent metal image of Vishnu with four arms; the two upper arms carry the *sankha* and the *chakra* and what is peculiar to this sculpture (and a rare feature) is that the other two arms hold the *amrita-kalasam*, the pot of nectar. It can easily be assigned to the period of Rajaraja I as is the case with the Pallikondar image and the shrine.

The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are enclosed in a surrounding peristyle with a circumambulatory passage, and, by the style of the pillars and other sculptural characteristics, both the *prakara* and the peristyle could be attributed to the age of Rajaraja I. The pillars of the peristyle are round, and the corbel is scalloped at the ends, while in the middle is a band with decorative designs; Ganapati and Subrahmanyar are housed in two shrines in the south-western and north-western corners (in the *tiruch-churru-maligai*). In the northern *prakara*, close to the *ardhamandapa*, are images of Valampuri-Ganapati and a *dvarapala* to the south of the entrance, and the other *dvarapala* and the icons of Subrahmanyar and His Consorts, to the north of it. Besides these icons, which are all in stone, there is a fine bronze of Kankalamurti to the west of the *garbhagriha* in the

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peristyle of the first *prakara*. This is a noble specimen of Rajaraja bronze. In the second *prakara*, on the north-eastern corner, are some more bronzes; the most striking of them is a set of Nataraja and Sivakami, housed in a cella in the peristyle; there is also a stone sculpture of Mahishasuramardini, of fine workmanship; in the north-eastern corner is a cella containing a stone sculpture of Bhairavar. The second *prakara* contains a *maha-mandapa* leading to the *gopuram*. On its front wall, close to the *manimandapa*, is a fine panel showing Cheraman Perumal and Sundaramurti. In this *prakara*, on the southern side, there is a good set of bronze icons of the sixty-three Nayanmars and a panel of the *Saptarishis* in stone, followed further west by a set of the sixty-three Nayanmars in stone. A treasured possession of this temple is a fine set of the four Saiva saints in bronze.

GANGAIKONDAN

KAILASAPATI TEMPLE 39

Gangaikondan is now a small, a very insignificant village on the trunk road from Madurai to Tirunelveli, 16 kilometres short of Tirunelveli. There are two temples in this village, one dedicated to Kailasanathar or Kailasapati (Siva), and the other a Vishnu temple to the west of the village, dedicated to Venkatachalapati. We are here concerned with the Siva temple which is on the southern bank of the river Chirraru, whose ancient name was "Chitranadi". The earliest name of this place is Sri Vallabha-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Kilkalar kurram. Even during the reign of Rajaraja I and the first few years of Rajendra I, the place continued to retain this name as seen from a twenty-sixth year inscription of the former and an eighth year inscription of the latter (ARE 160 and 165 of 1895). After Rajendra I's conquest of the Gangetic delta region, this place was renamed Gangaikondasola-chaturvedimangalam as evidenced by an inscription of Ko-Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya (ARE 162 of 1895).

The local legends incorporated in the *sthalapuranam* say that

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in the southern part of the Pandyan country, there were three temples consecrated by the sage Agastya, *viz.*, (*i*) the Nelliyappar temple in the *venu* (bamboo) forest (the modern town of Tirunelveli), worshipped by Surya and considered to be the right eye of Siva, (*ii*) the Tiru-kuta-achalesvarar temple in the *champaka* forest (the present-day Kuttalam), worshipped by Chandra and considered to be the left eye of Siva, and (*iii*) the temple of Kailasapati in the *tintrini* (tamarind) forest (Gangaikondan), worshipped by Agni and considered to be the third eye of Siva. (The tamarind tree is also called the Kalpaka tree.) After consecrating these three temples, Agastya is said to have proceeded on to Malayachalam and lived with his wife Yogamudra on the banks of the river Tamraparni whose ancient name was "Tanporundam" or "Tan Porunai" (SII, V, 724). According to the *sthalapuranam*, the temple at Gangaikondan was at a distance of a *yojana* from the *venu vanam* (Tirunelveli) and three *yojanas* from the *champaka vanam* (Kuttalam). The *sthalapuranam* goes on to mention the details of the deities in the temple.

From an inscription of the twenty-sixth year of Rajaraja I found on the north wall of the temple, we could conclude that this temple, in some form, was possibly in existence even in the days of Parantaka I, who bore the title of *Madirai-kondan*; there is mention of the existence of a lake in the neighbourhood of the temple called Viranarayana-eri, named after another surname of Parantaka I (ARE 160 of 1895; SII, V, 724). However, the present temple, on the basis of its structural characteristics, would appear to be the result of extensive renovations and modifications in the days of Rajaraja I and the viceroyalty of Rajendra I in Pandi Nadu. This record further mentions that provision was made for the worship of and offerings to the deities of Kshetrapalar and Durga in the temple of Sri Kailayam in Sri Vallabha-mangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Kilkalar kurram in Rajaraja mandalam and mention is also made of the gift by the *sabha* of the village, of a flower-garden for the use of the temple. Among the boundaries of the temple is mentioned a big lake named *Paramesvarap-pereri*, perhaps *Viranarayana-perieri*, the lake mentioned earlier.

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The main temple consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and an *ardhamandapa*; other structures and *prakaras* have been added later. These three are surrounded by a circumambulatory passage with a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. In the *ardhamandapa*, there are two beautiful, two-armed *dvarapalas*, one on either side of the entrance to the *antarala*, in the true Rajaraja-Rajendra style.

Close to the north wall of the *ardhamandapa* and inside it, there are some fine metals of the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. One of them is of Nataraja; from the base to the top of the aureola, it measures 137 cms (4′ 6″). The Sivakami icon by its side is also of the same height, the pedestal being smaller. The *ardha-chandra*, the crescent and the *Ganga Bhattari* are there on the crown, while the *jata* is spread out in strands, three to to the right, three to the left and three let loose over the nape. The figure of the Amman is graceful, with the right hand holding a *nilotpala* flower. Close to this is a beautiful figure of Soma-skandar which has been brought from Pannikulam temple (near Kayattaru not far from here) and kept here for the sake of safety. In this, the image of Skanda is missing though the pedestal thereof is there. In the south-western corner of the *mandapa* are images of a Tani Amman and Siva as Pradoshamurti. The former holds a *nilotpala* flower in one hand while the other is in the *varada* pose. The latter is depicted with the *abhaya* and the *ahuya* poses (Pls 156 to 160).

In the *tiruch-churru-maligai*, there are stone figures of Jvara-hara-devar, the 63 Tamil saints, a standing Ganapati on a lotus *pitham* (in the south-west corner), Subrahmanyar (in the north-west corner) and Bhairavar (in the north-east corner). Outside of this wall, on either side of the entrance, are the large *dvarapalas* we have mentioned earlier. In the verandah of the second *prakara* there is a cella containing a stone figure of Nataraja and His Consort, with Patanjali and Vyaghrapadar worshipping Nataraja, and there is a dimunitive figure of the fasting Karaikkal Ammaiyar. Inside, on either side of the gateway, are stone images of Surya and Chandra. There is also one of Adhikara Nandi.

The temple of Kailasapati has a venerable old tamarind

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tree for the *sthala-vriksha*, 5.48 ms (18′) in girth at the root level, representing the *kalpaka-vriksha* of the local legend.

PASUVANDANAI

40 KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE

Pasuvandanai, a small village in Tirunelveli district, is situated about 22.5 kms (14 miles) in an easterly direction from Kayattaru, which in turn is 27.36 kms (17 miles) north of Tirunelveli town on the Tirunelveli-Madurai highway. Kayattaru is the place associated with the martyrdom of the later-day Tamil hero, Kattabomman.

The temple has had a haphazard growth over the centuries so that no unified plan of construction is discernible; however, on a close study of the buildings, it is seen that the basic structures are two independent shrines, both facing east, one dedicated to Siva (Kailasanathar) and the other to Karttikeya.

Both the Siva and the Karttikeya shrines belong to the same period and bear the imprint of Chola construction. Each consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and an *ardhamandapa*; in the case of the Karttikeya shrine, these three constituents together form a rectangular structure with only a token recess between the latter two; this recess is decorated with *koshta-pancharas*. The side-walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* have shallow niches in the centre; they have no icons in them as elsewhere in the Pandya country. Close to the perimeter wall, there are shrines for Ganapati, Subrahmanyar and Bhairavar.

The Kailasanathar shrine is an *eka-tala* structure, with a brick superstructure; the entablature is adorned with *salas* and *kutas*. There are sculptures over the *hara* and the *griva;* the former are Subrahmanyar on the elephant with His Consorts in the east, Dakshinamurti in the south, Lakshmi-Narasimha in the west and Brahma on a *hamsa* (swan) in the north; the *griva-koshta* figures are Dakshinamurti in the south, Yoga-Narasimha in the west, and Brahma seated on a lotus in the north.

On grounds of style and the general architectural features,

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the Kailasanathar and Subrahmanyar temples should be assigned to the period of Rajaraja I.

SERAMADEVI

RAMASVAMIN TEMPLE (NIGARILISOLA VINNAGARAM) 41

AMMANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE (CHOLENDRASIMHA-ISVARAM) 42

DEYVISVARAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 43

Seramadevi, or Seraman-Mahadevi as it is referred to in inscriptions, is located in an attractive stretch of the right bank of the river Tamraparni and is 16 kms from Tirunelveli town. It has a number of ancient temples dedicated to Vishnu and Siva and is in fact a city of temples like Kanchipuram. Of them, as many as eight are of importance. Of these, we are concerned only with three which belong to the period of Chola hegemony over Pandi Nadu.

Before going into the details of these temples, a word may be said about the place itself, as culled from the epigraphical material available from the walls of these temples. From an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rajaraja I found in the Ramasvamin temple, we gather that the village of Seramadevi was still called Seraman Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam and that the Ramasvamin temple was called Nigarilisola Vinnagar (ARE 180 of 1895); in a third year inscription of Rajendra I found in the same temple, the place is described as Nigarilisola charuppedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Mulli nadu (ARE 181 of 1895). Similarly from another inscription (ARE 192 of 1895) found in the Ambalanathesvarar temple (now called Ammanathasvamin temple) also in Seramadevi, we get the following passage:

> "Sri kovirajarajakesari-panmarana sri Rajaraja devarkku yandu 28-avadu Mulli nattu brahmadeyam Nigarilisola-saruppedimangalattu Solendra-singa isvarattu... "

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We may thus presume that the name of the village was changed from Seraman Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam to Nigarilisola chaturvedimangalam just before the twenty-eighth year of Rajaraja I. From a twelfth year record of Ko-Sadaiyavarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Sundara Chola-Pandya deva (ARE 193 of 1895), found in the Ammanathasvamin temple, we get the name of the deity as "Kailayamudaiyar" (Kailasam Udaiyar) and the name of the temple as "Cholendra-simhesvaram" of Nigarilisola chaturvedimangalam in Mulli nadu, in Uttamasola valanadu in Rajaraja Pandi Nadu. We learn from later Pandyan records in these temples that the name of the village was changed back to Seraman Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam, evidently after the Chola rule over this territory weakened and in course of time ceased to be.

41 RAMASVAMIN TEMPLE (NIGARILISOLA VINNAGAR)

Among the eight temples of this place, three are located on the banks of the river Tamraparni, *viz.*, the Vaidyanathasvamin temple, which is in the extreme west end of the area, followed by the Bhaktavatsalar temple which is about 0.80 km (half a mile) down-stream from the Vaidyanathasvamin temple, and finally the Ammanathasvamin temple which is at the north-eastern end of what should have been the old Seraman Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam.

Ramasvamin temple is about 0.80 km (four furlongs) to the south of the river and is in the heart of the town; it is an imposing complex of buildings built over the centuries with accretions made from time to time by the Cholas, the Pandyas and later the Vijayanagara and the Nayak rulers.

On the main wall of the central shrine, we have an inscription of Rajaraja I dated in the twenty-fourth year; it is in *vatteluttu* and mentions a gift by Divakaran Vasudevan of 75 cows for three lamps to be burnt in the temple of Nigarilisola Vinnagar Alvar. Rajaraja I bore the title of Nigarilisola among others and so we may conclude that this village was renamed Nigarilisola

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chaturvedimangalam in the later years of Rajaraja I, and the temple of Vishnu built in this village was also named after him. It must have come into existence before his twenty-fourth regnal year. The Chola viceroy, Jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya provided for offerings *(tiruchchennadai)* in the shrine of Uyyakkondan within the temple of Nigarilisola Vinnagar, as found in a record of his fourteenth year, 320th day. Similarly, in the fifteenth year, a gift is made of land for *tirumeykkappu* in this temple, to a certain Parantakan Niranjan, a member of the *Tisai Ayirattu Annurruvar* Guild. A *brahmana* lady deposited an amount of six *kasus* in the hands of the *Vaikhanasas* for burning half a lamp in the temple of Nigarilisola Vinnagar Alvar in Nigarilisola chaturvedimangalam according to a fourth year record of Rajendra Chola deva I (ARE 708 of 1916).

The temple consists of a square *garbhagriha* of side 2.44 ms (8′) externally, an *antarala* and an *ardhamandapa*; beyond them is an enlarged *antarala* with two openings at the sides; at the entrance from this second and outer *antarala* to the *ardhamandapa*, there are two *dvarapalas*. The *mula-vigraha* is Adinarayana-svamin measuring 1.83 ms (6′) from toe to *kiritam* standing on a *pitham*. The upper hands hold the *sankha* and the *chakra* and the other two are in the *abhaya* and the *ahuya* poses. Abreast of the Lord are Sridevi and Bhudevi, each with a flower in one hand, the other arm being in the *kati-avalambita* pose. Bhrigu and Markandeya flank these images and face each other.

In front of the *mulasthana* images are the *utsava-vigrahas* of Adinarayana accompanied by Sridevi and Bhudevi.

In the *ardhamandapa*, we have a fine set of bronzes, grand by any standard, comprising Sita, Rama and Lakshmana, all in one row, and Hanuman (to their left). Local tradition has it that these fine bronzes were discovered from a well in the temple campus while it was being excavated. In the north-western corner of the *ardhamandapa*, we have a fine set of metal sculptures of Alarmel-mangai, Sridevi, Venkatachalasvamin, Bhudevi, Andal, Rukmini, Rajagopala (or Rajamannar) and Satyabhama. Alarmel-mangai is in a seated posture, with lotuses held in the two upper arms, the two lower ones being in the

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abhaya and the *varada* poses. The metals of Venkatachalasvamin and His Consorts have been brought from the Appar (or Appan) Venkatachalasvamin temple and kept here for purposes of security. The Vishnu image (with Sridevi and Bhudevi brought from the Appar temple) is a gorgeous piece, with *channavira*, *upavita*, *udarabandha* and *kaustubha*; the upper arms of the image bear the *sankha* and the *chakra*, the other two being in the *varada* and the *ahuya* poses. Sridevi to His right has disc-shaped ear-rings and Bhudevi on His left holds the *nilotpalam*; Andal does not have her hair tied to one side as usual, but the entire bun at the rear is merely shifted slightly to her left.

In addition to these bronzes, there are some on the northern side (middle portion) of the *ardhamandapa*. There are two sets of images of Vishnu with His Consorts, brought from the *Naduvulappan* temple and kept here for safety; one set is old and the other, of a somewhat later period. Then we have Visvaksena, dancing Krishna, Manavala Muni (sitting), a standing image of Tirumangai Alvar and Udaiyavar (Ramanuja).

The entire *ardhamandapa* has the usual Chola type of pillars of the Rajaraja I-Rajendra I period (Pls 161 and 162.)

The *garbhagriha* has three chambers, one above the other; the ground floor is the *mulasthanam*; the first floor contains an image of Vishnu as Virrirunda Perumal; the second floor cella contains an image of Pallikonda Perumal with Sridevi, Bhudevi, Bhrigu-rishi and Markandeya. The roofs of these two upper floors are supported by wooden beams with possibly flat tiles for the roof. The *srivimana* is of brick and is in three tiers. The *sikhara* is circular. The *garbhagriha* is 11.58 ms (38′) square and is divided into seven segments each having a *koshta-panchara*; the *adhishthanam* is 1.63 ms (5′ 4″) in height; the *antarala* projects 0.53 m (1′ 9″) forward while the *ardhamandapa* takes it forward by another 8.53 ms (28′); the second *antarala* is 3.96 ms (13′) in length. Adjoining this temple and to its south is a temple of the later Pandya period, dedicated to the Consort of Vedanarayana.

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AMMANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE: (CHOLENDRA-SIMHA-ISVARAM, AMBALANATHESVARAR OR KAILAYAMUDAIYAR) 42

The next important temple at Seramadevi is the Mahadevar temple, now called Ammanathasvamin temple, whose original name during the days of the Middle Cholas was Cholendra-simha-Isvaram *alias* Kailayamudaiya Mahadevar temple at Nigarilisola chaturvedimangalam. This too bears a large number of inscriptions belonging to the days of Rajaraja I, from his twenty-fourth year onwards, and of his successors as well as their viceroys in charge of the Pandyan province. From these records, and from the absence of any other records of an earlier date on the walls of this temple one could conclude that this temple also came into existence during the days of Rajaraja I prior to his twenty-fourth year and thus was *coeval* with the Vishnu temple of Nigarilisola Vinnagar Alvar (ARE 612 of 1916).

At the turn of the last century, this temple had come to be called Ambalanathesvarar temple. It lies to the north-east of the town, on the south bank of the river Tamraparni; it faces east and the railway line runs in front of the temple.

It has a five-storeyed *gopuram* at the main entrance. It consists of the *garbhagriha* which is 4.57 ms (15′) square externally and and has a height of 3.05 ms (10′) from the ground level to the cornice. The *antarala* is 1.70 ms (5′ 7″) in length and this is followed by the *ardhamandapa* which projects 8.84 ms (29′) forward. The *ardhamandapa* is also the *snapana mandapa*. There is the *manimandapa* in front. In the *tiruch-churru-maligai* we have in clock-wise order images of Adhikara Nandi, Surya, the four Saiva saints, Jvara-hara-devar, the Saptamatrikas with Virabhadra and Ganapati flanking them, and Ganapati in the south-western corner. Adjoining the Ganapati image is another chamber containing the metal images of Somaskandar; along the western wall, there are bronzes of Chandrasekharar with Amman brought from the Deyvisvaram Udaiyar koyil, and a Tani Amman. In the north-west corner is Karttikeya. In the centre of the northern wall

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and close to it is the image of Sani (Saturn) while Chandra, facing west, is close to the east wall and adjoining the main entrance. Inside the *ardha*-cum-*snapana mandapa* are a number of fine bronzes including a set of Nataraja and Sivakami Amman brought and kept here from the Deyvisvarasvamin temple. The other bronzes in the temple are those of: Adhikara Nandi, Chandrasekharar, Seraman Perumal, Sambandar, Appar, Sundarar, Manikka-vasagar, Agastyar, Chandesvarar and Kankalamurti (Pl 163).

To the south of this temple is an Amman shrine, the presiding deity of which now goes under the name of *Avudai Nayaki Amman*. This shrine, a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I or his son, was probably a Siva temple in those days. It was later converted into an Amman shrine, perhaps during or after the days of Kulottunga I.

The temple of Ambalanathesvarar as a whole is thus a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I built before the twenty-fourth year of the king.

43 DEYVISVARAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE

This temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *ardha-mandapa* and a *mahamandapa*. The *srivimana* is in three *talas*; in the shallow niches (*koshtas*) on the walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are decorative floral designs; in the insets of these designs, there are miniature sculptures of Dakshinamurti in the south, Narasimha in the west and Brahma in the north. The same deities are found in the *koshtas* of the first tier, over the *yali* frieze, which in turn is above the cornice and runs the entire round of the entablature. In the *adhishthanam*, we have a frieze of elephants and *yalis* which bears great similarity to the frieze of the Sapta-rishisvarar temple at Lalgudy (Tiruchy district).

Subshrines for all the *ashta-parivara-devatas* must have existed originally of which, however, only a few remain; the shrines for Bhairavar in the north-east and for Subrahmanyar in the north-west are noteworthy; the Bhairavar shrine appears to be original, and faces south; it consists of a low-roofed cella with

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a porch in front supported by two pillars which are divided into segments with alternating square and octagonal cross sections, and the corbel intervening between the roof and the pillar is scalloped at the sides with a plain band in the middle. These features are typical of the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. And so this shrine could be assigned to the days of Rajaraja I.

TIRUPPUDAIMARUDIL

PUTARJUNESVARAR (NARUMBUNADAR) TEMPLE 44

Tiruppudaimarudil is about seven kms to the north of the town of Viravanallur, in Tirunelveli district. It is on the banks of the river Tamraparni. The temple of Narumbunadar, facing east, is located on a beautiful bend of this river, and with the various additions made to it in later times, the entire temple presents a picturesque scene. The inscriptions on the walls of this temple refer to the deity as *Putarjunesvarar*.

The *garbhagriha* is 6.17 ms (20′ 3″) square; the *adhishthanam* measures 1.45 ms (4′ 9″) in height from the ground level. Each free wall of the *garbhagriha* is divided into three vertical elements, each decorated with a *koshta-panchara*, and separated from one another by low recesses. The width of the central element is 3.12 ms (10′ 3″). After the *antarala*, there is an *ardhamandapa*, which houses a number of fine bronzes. In the south-western corner, facing east, is a bronze of Chandrasekharar and Manonmani. On the northern side, along the wall, there are images of Nataraja and Sivakami Amman, Sri Perumal and Kankalamurti, the last one a very fine figure.

In the outer verandah, there is a *sannidhi*, not amounting to a shrine but constituting a chamber, where there is a fine set of stone sculptures of Nataraja, Sivakami, Patanjali and Vyaghrapada with Karaikkal Ammaiyar to the right of the Nataraja icon.

The wall of enclosure of the second *prakara* has, close to it and on either side of the *gopuram*, icons of Surya and Chandra. There is a shrine for Bhairavar in the north-eastern corner of

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the *prakara*. There is a second wall of enclosure on which is located the outer *gopuram*. The Amman shrine housing Gomati Amman is in the second *prakara*.

What is of importance in this temple is the Chandesvarar shrine, located close to and north of the main temple, and adjacent to the *antarala*, and the *ardhamandapa*; this forms a part of the *original* temple-plan and contains some valuable and informative inscriptions. On the west wall of this shrine, we have a damaged and incomplete record of Rajaraja I (ARE 124 of 1905). There is another of the tenth year of the same ruler which mentions a gift of land and bears signatures of donees in *Grantha* and *Vatteluttu* (ARE 123 of 1905). This is found on the north and east walls of this shine. There is a record of the twentieth year of *Sadaiyamaran* on the east wall making a reference to a servant of Vira Pandya, and the village is therein called Tiruppudamarudil, in Pandimarttanda *valanadu* (ARE 122 of 1905).

On grounds of style and epigraphical evidence, this temple (without the later accretions) could be a foundation of the time of Rajaraja I.

AMBASAMUDRAM

45 ERICHCHA UDAIYAR TEMPLE (TIRUMULASTHANAM UDAIYAR)

Ambasamudram is the headquarters of a *taluk* by the same name in the Tirunelveli district. It is on the Tamraparni and on its northern bank is the Erichcha Udaiyar temple. This temple consists of the central shrine which is called the Tirumulasthanasvamin shrine or the Tiruch-chalaitturai Mahadevar shrine. Nowadays however the deity of the central shrine is called Kasipanathar or Kasisvarar, a name the deity acquired in the recent centuries. The entire temple was called in the olden times Tiruchchalaitturai koyil.

Among the inscriptions found on the walls of the *garbhagriha* of the central shrine, there are at least four which belong to the period of Rajendra I, and at least five, to the period of the

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viceroyalty of Jatavarman Sundara Chola-Pandya deva. The earliest of these inscriptions are two, both dated in the eighth regnal year of Rajendra I (ARE 71 and 73 of 1907). We may, therefore, presume that this temple in its present form came into existence in the early years of Rajendra I, or perhaps even in the later days of Rajaraja I (ARE 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78 and 80? of 1907).

The main shrine consists of a *garbhagriha*, a *snapana-mandapa* and an *ardhamandapa* and is surrounded by a courtyard circumscribed by a *tiruch-churru-maligai*.

There are a number of smaller shrines in the temple campus. Two of them, both of about the same age, are located in the northern verandah, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu. These two shrines are perhaps the oldest shrines in the temple complex and date back at least to the days of the Pandyan king Varaguna Maharaja. The deity of the Siva shrine is now called Erichcha Udaiyar, though in the inscriptions it was known as Tiruppottudaiyar or Tiruppottudaiya Bhatarar at Ilangoykkudi, a *brahmadeya* in Mulli nadu. The application of the name of Erichcha Udaiyar to the entire temple as well as to the deity of the small shrine in the north *prakara* has been the cause of much confusion. The earliest inscription to be found on the walls of the Siva shrine is one in *Vatteluttu* which mentions 'Vira Pandya who took the Chola head' and refers to a gift of land (ARE 101 of 1907). On the south wall of the shrine, there is a Tamil record of the eighteenth year of Jatavarman Udaiyar Sundara Chola-Pandya deva relating to a gift of 60 sheep for a lamp and another of the eighteenth year of Rajaraja I refers to a gift of 25 sheep for a lamp to the deity who is called Tiruppottudaiya devar (ARE 99 and 98 of 1907). Thus the deity of this small shrine now called Erichcha Udaiyar was known in the past as Tiruppottudaiyar. This shrine is the oldest part of the temple and dates back at least to the days of the Pandyan king Varaguna Maharaja (A.D. 765–815). This is attested by an inscription found embedded in the floor of the north *prakara* of the temple (ARE 105 of 1907) relating to his sixteenth regnal year; Varaguna in the course of his wars with the

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Pallavas went as far north as Araisur on the banks of the Pennai river (in Tondai mandalam) from where (Araisur) he granted 290 *kasus* to the temple of Tiruppottudaiyar at Ilangoykkudi in Mulli nadu. The shrine evidently underwent renovation sometime during the reign of Rajaraja I.

Facing this shrine is the small cella of the Vishnu shrine, whose deity is called in the inscriptions Tiruchchalaitturai Ninralulina Emberuman of Ilangoykkudi, a *brahmadeya* in Mulli nadu.

BRAHMADESAM

46 KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE

Brahmadesam is about 22 kms from Seramadevi and has an ancient temple dedicated to Kailasanathar, one of the biggest temples in the district of Tirunelveli.

Brahmadesam, along with Tiruvalisvaram and Mannarkoyil which are both less than two kms from here, was part of an important military centre where Rajaraja I and his successors had stationed a strong army as they had done at Kottaru near Nagerkoyil. During their time, the three places came under a common jurisdiction known as Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam which was a *brahmadeyam*. As will be seen in the section on Tiruvalisvaram, the *Munrukai mahasenai* was an important contingent of the Chola army stationed at this cantonment.

The Kailasanathar temple perhaps came into existence during the days of Chola occupation of the Pandi Nadu. However beyond a stray *vatteluttu* inscription of the period of Rajaraja I found embedded in the steps of the river in the village, we have little evidence of the shape of the temple during his time. The present day temple appears to belong to the late fifteenth century, the additions and renovations having gone on over the earlier centuries (ARE 373 to 381 of 1916). It is a vast complex consisting of the Kailasanathar shrine in the main axis; to the north of it are the shrines of Sundaresvarar and Minakshi and further north of it is the Brigannayaki shrine; linking these

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three shrines is a common, multi-pillared, open hall called the Somavara *mandapa*; in the north-east corner of the campus is another, big, independent, multi-pillared hall called the Arudhra *mandapa*. All these shrines and halls are encompassed by a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. The main *elu-nilai gopuram* built during the days of Virappa Nayaka, son of Visvanatha Nayaka Krishnappa Nayaka of the Madurai Nayaka dynasty, dates back to the turn of the sixteenth century (ARE 377 of 1916) and stands in front of the Kailasanatha shrine (Pls 164 to 171).

There are a number of fine bronzes in this temple, some of which date back to the days of Chola hegemony over this region.

TIRUVALISVARAM

TIRUVALISVARAR (TIRU-IRAMISVARAM) TEMPLE 47

The temple of Tiruvalisvaram, not far from the taluk head-quarters of Ambasamudram in Tirunelveli district, is set in the midst of green paddy fields, away from all habitation, on the banks of the river Ghatana, at the point where the river changes from a south-easterly to an easterly course. This river is said to take its name after the pot (*ghatam* in Sanskrit) of Agastyar who is said to reside in the hills to the west of the temple. The temple is at a distance of about three kms from Mannarkoyil and about two kms from Brahmadesam and is reached only by a tortuous country track.

A structure entirely in stone from the *adhishthanam* to the *stupi*, and in a fine state of preservation, this temple is a beautiful specimen of Chola art of the middle period in the Pandyan region. There are a number of Chola, Chola-Pandya and Pandya inscriptions on the walls of the temple. On the north wall of the central shrine is a record of Rajaraja I dated in his eleventh year relating to a gift of land (ARE 116 of 1905). On the same wall, there is a *Vatteluttu* inscription dated in the eighteenth year of a king whose name is not mentioned, from which we learn of an agreement among the villagers of Rajaraja-chaturvedi-mangalam (ARE 117 of 1901). In another eleventh year inscription

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of Rajarajakesarivarman of Kandalur salai fame, i.e. Rajaraja I, the village is referred to as Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Mulli nadu, a sub-division of Rajaraja valanadu (ARE 119 of 1901). On a pillar near the *bali-pitham*, there is another inscription registering the victories gained by a corps of the Chola army called *Munru-kai-mahasenai*, which further mentions that the temple of Tiruvalisvaram, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of this unit of the army stationed in the neighbouring military station of the Cholas.

The temple faces east. It consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and an *ardhamandapa*. Externally, the *garbhagriha* measures 4.72 ms (15′ 6″) square, the *antarala* projects 2.72 ms (8′ 11″) forward and the *ardhamandapa* takes the building further forward by another 7.75 ms (29′ 5″), the width of this portion being 7.34 ms (24′). The *adhishthanam* measures 0.98 m (3′ 2½″) in height. It consists of the *jagati*, the octagonal *kumudam*, followed by a lively frieze, running the full round of the *garbhagriha*, showing animated figures of lions, *yalis* and elephants. A *vari* tops the *adhishthanam* mouldings. The outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are plain without *devakoshtas* as is common in temples of the Pandya country. The *prastara* has a *bhutagana* frieze, a cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The temple is *dvi-tala* with a *hara* over the *garbhagriha*. The *hara* comprises a central *sala* flanked by a *kuta* on each side, with a *nidha* in between the *sala* and the *kuta*. The *griva* rests on an octagonal slab whose side measures 1.14 ms (3′ 8″). At each of the corners of this platform, is a recumbent *nandi*. From the base of the *griva* to the top of the *simhamukha* over the *grivakoshta*, the height is 2.35 ms (7′ 8″).

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by eight pillars and eight pilasters. Outside the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* and on either side of it, there are two fine *dvarapala* images with two arms, typical of the period of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. The *tiruch-churru-maligai* is intact in the south and west, the northern portion having collapsed. In the peristyle, there are stone sculptures of Jvaraharesvarar, the Saptamatrikas, a standing Ganapati in the south-western corner in a separate structure, and Karttikeya

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similarly housed in the north-western corner. The Ganapati sculpture is a grand one, measuring 1.32 ms (4′ 4″) in height; Karttikeya, with six pairs of hands, is in a standing posture and the mount, the peacock, is to the rear.

The most noteworthy feature of this temple, apart from the subdued beauty of its proportions, is the set of exquisite sculptures adorning the outer surfaces of the *kutas*, *salas* and the *nidhas* on all the three sides of the *srivimana*. Some of these sculptures are somewhat rare, and the others, though depicting oft-repeated themes are so delightfully carved that they deserve close description. There are no sculptures on the eastern wing of the *hara*. We have five sculptures on each of the three sides, one in each corner on the *kuta*, one on the *sala* in the middle and two in the *nidhas* between the central *sala* and the *kutas* on the sides. Taking the sculptures from the south-eastern corner and going round the *hara* in a clockwise order, they are:

(*i*) *South-kuta-eastern*

This is a sculpture of Gangadharar, Siva in the act of receiving the Ganga in his matted locks and simultaneously appeasing Parvati, who is annoyed at Siva's diverted attention; also called Uma-prasadana, for this reason.

(*ii*) *South-nidha*

This is a sculpture of Vrishabhantikar, depicting Siva and Uma standing in a posture of embrace (*alingina*) while leaning against the Vrishabha.

(*iii*) *South-sala*

This is the niche which is usually earmarked for Dakshinamurti; there is a fine figure of Nataraja in the *ananda tandava* pose with one foot planted on the prostrate *Apasmara*.

(*iv*) *South-nidha*

This is a rare sculptural representation of Siva. He stands in a posture of offering blessings; Parvati, as Sati, is standing in the background and below her is Daksha with a ram's head

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(being fitted on to him by a *gana*). This is a sculpture of Daksha.

(*v*) *South-kuta-western*

This depicts Siva as Ardhanarisvarar, standing against a bull, with the Siva-half two-armed and the Parvati-half single-armed.

(*vi*) *West-kuta-southern*

This would appear to be a representation of Tripurantakar, as the central figure (Siva) is armed with bow and arrow in one pair of arms, the *mriga* and the *parasu* being held in the other pair. The figure has also been interpreted, with less justification, as Kirata.

(*vii*) *West-nidha*

This is a sculpture of Kalantakar or Kalari, i.e., Siva (with eight arms) trampling on Kala (Yama).

(*viii*) *West-sala*

Lingodbhavar with Brahma as *hamsa* on the top and Vishnu as *Varaha* at the base of the *linga*; flanking the image are again Brahma on the left and Vishnu with hands in the *anjali* pose on the right of the niche housing the Lingodbhavar image.

(*ix*) *West-nidha*

Siva is shown here as Kamantaka. Siva is seated in the *sukhasana* pose, with a *yoga-patta* holding the left uplifted knee on to the body. In the recess to the right of Siva is the figure of Kama encircled by flames caused by the anger of Siva disturbed in His meditation. To the left is shown Rati, the wife of Manmatha, in a pose of supplication seeking forgiveness from Siva for the misdemeanour of her husband.

(*x*) *West-kuta-northern*

This is a beautiful figure of Kankalamurti, with two hands engaged in beating the drum with a piece of bone, while the upper left hand holds the trident flung over the nape. A *gana*

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is carrying the begging bowl on his head and stands beside the main figure while the *rishi-patni* to his right offers him alms.

(*xi*) *North-kuta-western*

There is a standing female figure with the head tilted upwards in a posture of looking up to heaven in prayer and the two arms held in the *anjali* pose. She is standing on one leg and the other is lifted up and bent in the posture of *urdhavajanu*. There would appear to be the five fires (*panchagni*) surrounding her; she may be identified as Parvati engaged in her austere penace before her marriage to Siva.

(*xii*) *North-nidha*

As if in continuation and culmination of the penance scene above, this panel depicts Parvati being led and offered by her father Himavan in marriage to Siva who is shown seated in the *sukhasana* pose. The affectionate holding by the father of the shoulders of Parvati, the down-turned face of Parvati indicative of coyness, along with the *anjali* pose denoting her acceptance of the protection of Siva, present an altogether well-articulated scene of Parvati's marriage and the theme of Kalyanasundarar.

(*xiii*) *North-sala*

This depicts Siva as Gajasamharamurti; the verve of action and the ease with which the annihilation is effected are brought out in this representation of the oft-repeated theme; the head of the elephant is shown to the left of the base with Siva's left foot stamping on it, the skin of the animal being shown as the canvas for the entire panel, held aloft between a pair of Siva's eight arms. The vigour of the action is shown by the wide spread of the matted locks and the stance and the flexion of the body. The other arms carry the usual weapons and assume the usual poses.

(*xiv*) *North-nidha*

This represents one of the finest themes in South Indian art; and under the section on Gangaikondacholisvaram we

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shall deal with an exquisite sculpture on this theme found in that temple. Siva and Uma are here shown as seated on the recumbent Nandi, and Siva is shown in the process of tying the *nirmalya* (garland) round the head of the supplicant Chandesa, who is seen accepting the blessings and grace (*anugraha*) of the Lord. This figure is known as Chandesa-anugraha-murti.

(*xv*) *North-kuta-eastern*

This icon is not easily identifiable; however one can see the figure of Siva seated in the *sukhasana* posture and a devotee performing *abhisheka*.

In addition to this array of sculptures in the *hara*, there are four equally exquisite figures in the *grivakoshtas*. They are:

(i) Indra seated on the divine elephant (Airavata) in the eastern niche;
(ii) Dakshinamurti in the southern niche—the usual place;
(iii) Yoga-Narasimha (Narasimha in his *yoga* posture, with the *yoga-patta* tied round his upturned knees and the waist) in the western niche; and
(iv) Brahma, seated on a lotus, in the northern niche.

Outside the temple and close to the *gopuram*, in the north-eastern direction, is a shrine of Bhairavar, one of the *ashta-parivara-devatas*. On grounds of structural characteristics, it would appear to be of the same period as the main temple.

The name Tiruvalisvaram is found mentioned, among others, in an inscription in this temple of a Chola-Pandya viceroy, Sundara Chola-Pandya deva of the post-Rajaraja I period (vide ARE 327 of 1916), which refers to a gift of five *velis* of land to the temple of *Tiruvalisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar* in Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Mulli nadu in Mudi-gondasola valanadu, a district of Rajaraja Pandi Nadu, for conducting festivals, feeding *brahmanas*, and reading the *Siva-dharma*; the inscription mentions that the gift was made by the king from his palace at Rajendrasolapuram, at the request of the king's maternal uncle (*ammanar*). Presumably the deity of this temple was known by the name of Tiruviramesvarar in the earlier days and later on came to be known by the name of

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Tiruvalisvarar, though unconnected with Vali in any manner. The inscriptions reveal that the name of Tiruvalisvaram applies both to the place and to the temple.

To the south of this temple is the Amman temple of Soundaranayaki. This must have been a Siva temple coeval with the main temple and later on converted into an Amman shrine, as has happened in the case of a number of temples built in the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. On the west and north sides of the base of this temple, there are later Pandyan records.

Surrounding the main Siva temple and the Amman temple is a second wall of enclosure which is of a later date.

This temple is one of the finest structural stone temples built in the Pandya country. Its date is not easy to decide. It is clear that it should have been built by the Cholas during their imperial sway. There is no foundation inscription. The earliest inscriptions in this temple are two of the eleventh regnal year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 996). They are in *vatteluttu* characters. Herein, we find the village renamed Rajaraja chaturvedimangalam; but there is no indication that Rajaraja I was the builder of this temple.

N.R. Banerjee of the Archaeological Survey of India has contributed a learned article to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Vol. IV, 3 and 4 of 1962). In this he writes: "Stylistically, circumstantially, and on the basis of the indirect evidence of inscriptions, it is ascribed to the period of Parantaka, sometime before the accession of Rajaraja I" (p. 169), and again after examining epigraphical evidence, he adds: "It is most likely that the temple would have come into existence in the time of Parantaka, if not a little earlier." He concedes that it is of early Chola style built early in the tenth century (pp. 169 and 177).

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri writes: "The Siva temple at Tiruvalisvaram (Tirunelveli district) is a valuable museum of superb early Chola iconography of the time before Rajaraja I." (*The Colas*, second edition, p. 728).

There is no possibility of this temple having come into existence earlier than the period of Parantaka I. He had conquered the whole of the Pandya country after defeating Rajasimha, the

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last Pandya ruler of the First Pandyan Empire. His consolidation of the Pandya country is brought out by three inscriptions between A.D. 940 and 947.* It has to be added that Sundara Chola had to put down the revolt of Vira Pandya at the battle of Sevuru in about A.D. 963 (vide pp. 105 and 133 of my *Early Chola Temples*). But still a sort of political confusion bordering on anarchy would have prevailed in the Pandya country till the final consolidation of Chola rule under Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I.

So, a definite date for the construction of the Tiruvalisvaram temple is hard to fix. Without a full survey of all the Pandyan monuments no safe deduction as to style is possible. It is incredible but a fact that a complete survey of Pandyan temples has not been done even after a century of work by the Archaeological Survey.

Parantaka I must have been in possession of this strategic area on the well-established military route to Kottaru on the west coast.* In India, Art follows the flag. This temple might have been started during the last phase of Parantaka I's rule in the middle of the tenth century (about A.D. 947) and completed just after Rajaraja I's conquest of the Pandya country (between A.D. 988 and 996). His eleventh year inscription might indicate this stage.

An observation may be ventured. Some features of this temple resemble those of the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur, to be assigned to the days of Sundara Chola who also claims to be a conqueror of Madurai and an invader of Sri Lanka. The arrangement of the

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*Thirty-third year at Anaimalai (ARE 63 of 1905; SII, III, 106), thirty-sixth year at Kuttalam (ARE 448 of 1917) and fortieth year at Suchindram (ARE 82 of 1896).

**Parakesari inscriptions which could be attributed to Parantaka I are found in southern Pandya country at Kuttalam, Kanya Kumari and Suchindram:

21st year	Kuttalam	ARE 439 of 1917
22nd „	„	„ 441 „
24th „	„	„ 442 „
25th „	„	„ 443 „
27th „	„	„ 438 „
31st „	Kanya Kumari	T.A.S., I., p 237
34th „	Suchindram	ARE 81 of 1896
35th „	„	ARE 447 of 1917.

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salas and the *karnakutas* and the installation of *vimana-devatas* are similar, though the shape of the *sikharas* is different.

Another feature that strikes us, on a careful study of this temple, is that the superb *vimana-devatas* in their numbers and variety are not fitted correctly and elegantly into the *niches*. The heads of the central figures in the *koshtas* of the second *tala* are not on the same axis as the apex of the *simha-lalatas* over the *koshtas* (see figures of Kalari and Gajasamhara). It seems to be a case of later insertion (Pls 172 to 176).

With such an uncertain background and lack of clear epigraphical evidence, it is difficult to come to a definite conclusion on the date of this temple. It seems to me to be safe to ascribe this temple to the latter half of the tenth century and deem it a monument started in the days of Parantaka I near his military station of Brahmadesam and completed by Rajaraja I during his early days after the conquest of Pandi Nadu and maintained for the benefit of his own men stationed there and of the local population.

The deep interest, nay even concern, Rajaraja I had evinced in this temple and its affairs is reflected in an undated inscription of this period which mentions that the temple of Tiruvalisvaram, all its belongings, its priests and servants were placed in charge of the *Munru-kai-mahasenai* (a regiment of the imperial army).

NAGERKOYIL

CHOLISVARAM TEMPLE 48

The southernmost tip of the peninsula received as much attention from the suzerain as the heartland of the Cholas, the Chola mandalam, and their mandate was enforced through military stations set up at Kottaru among other places; it is now a suburb of Nagerkoyil in Kanyakumari district. In this region there are numerous temples built during the Chola period.

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(I) BHUVANA NANDISVARAR TEMPLE:

One among them is a half-ruined temple close to Kanya Kumari town on the road leading to it from Nagerkoyil. The temple, presently called Bhuvana nandisvaram was known in ancient days as Rajarajesvaram, after Rajaraja I. This should have come into existence even during his life time or within three years of his death, as the earliest inscription found on the walls of this temple dates back to the fifth regnal year of Rajendra I (ARE 103 of 1896). There are a number of subsequent records of Rajendra I mostly relating to gifts of lamps and provision for services, and belonging to his 24th, 25th, 29th and 31st years. There are also records of Rajadhiraja I; one of his, of the 31st year, refers to the conquest of the Kupaka kingdom, which extended over the present day district of Kanya Kumari in Tamil Nadu and the southern parts of Kerala state (ARE 96 of 1896). There are inscriptions of the later Chola ruler Vikrama Chola too in this temple.

(II) KANYA KUMARI TEMPLE:

Dominating the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula and scanning the three seas is a temple dedicated to the Goddess Kanya Kumari, one of the few ancient and venerated Amman temples in Tamil Nadu that existed even before the period of the Later Cholas when separate independent Amman shrines and temples as adjuncts to the central shrine came to be built. An inscription of Parantaka I's dated in his 9th year confirms that the Chola king was well in control of the Pandyan region; it specifies the boundaries of the temple land (ARE 108 of 1896). From an inscription attributable to Rajendra (perhaps II), we learn that this centre also bore the name of Gangaikondasolapuram, derived from a surname of Rajendra I.

(III) STHANUNATHA TEMPLE, SUCHINDRAM:

Suchindram lies between Kottaru (Nagerkoyil) and Kanya Kumari, and the temple of Sthanunathar along with the Kailasanathar shrine in it is an old and famous temple there. Numerous inscriptions of the Early and Middle Chola rulers and the Chola

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Pandya viceroys are found there. The two records of "Kop-Parakesarivarman who took Madurai and Ilam", Parantaka I, are dated in his thirty-fourth and fortieth years and relate to gifts for lamps.*

(IV) CHOLISVARAM TEMPLE, NAGERKOYIL:

The notable contribution of the Cholas in this region is, however, the Cholisvaram temple, whose original name when it was set up in the Chola military station of Kottaru was Cholisvaram Udaiya Nayanar temple; Kottaru has now been swallowed up by the new city of Nagerkoyil and has assumed the modest status of a suburb under the name of Oliginach-cheri, having gone under the name of Cholarajapuram a century back.**

This temple must have been set up in the years just before the 11th regnal year of the viceroy of Rajaraja I, *viz.*, Rajendra I himself, who as viceroy bore the title of Ko-jatavarman Sundara Chola Pandya deva; for we find that a number of gifts of lamps were made to this temple in his 11th year, one of which is made by a certain Sarvalokasraya Sri Vishnuvardhana Maharaja *alias* Salukki Vijayadittan Vikkiyannan (ARE 30 to 46 of 1896). All these inscriptions are found on the *prakara* walls. During the days of Kulottunga I, the original Middle Chola temple was reconsecrated as seen from an inscription recording a grant to the temple made by Kulottunga I in the thirtieth year and 180th day from his palace at Kanchipuram. One of the local officers of this Chola king, Mulliyur Udaiyan Araiyan Madhurantakan *alias* Kulottungasola-Kerala-rajan of Manni nadu in Chola mandalam (re-)built the temple under the name of Rajendra-solisvaram which was perhaps its original name, and to this temple, Kulottunga I granted the village of Andayakkudi renamed Rajendrasola-nallur, as a *devadana iraiyili* (ARE 31 of

*Other inscriptions are ARE 67, 75, 71 and 85 of 1896, all relating to Rajaraja I in *vatteluttu* and ARE 69 and 76 of 1896 of the viceroys.

**Some 70 years back, when the Government Epigraphist visited this temple, he described it as being located in the suburb of Nagerkoyil known then as Cholarajapuram, which name has changed today and is remembered only by the older men in the area; he also mentioned it as being located close to the Post-office building, which is now gone; we had trouble tracing the temple during our field study.

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1896—See *Laddigam* by B. Venkataraman, pp. 34, 35). Even this inscription is on the *prakara* wall. In the fourteenth century, the temple underwent major remodelling, according to a record dated in Saka 1293 (A.D. 1371), at the hands of a later Pandyan ruler Parakrama Pandya (ARE 30 of 1896).

The temple faces east and consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa;* the square *garbhagriha* measures 17 ft. 5½ in. (5.23 m) side; the *antarala* projects 4 ft. (1.22 ms) forward; the *ardhamandapa* measures 27 ft. 6 in. (8.38 ms) square externally. There are four pilasters in each side wall of the *garbhagriha* and the token niches in the middle are too shallow to accommodate any icons, in true Chola-Pandya tradition. In the *sala* niches in the three directions are Brahma in the north, Narasimha in the west and Dakshinamurti in the south; the icons are repeated in the *griva* niches above. There is an open courtyard (*prakara*) round the temple with a wall of enclosure (*madil*); the entire edifice is on a raised ground and is reached by a high flight of steps from the eastern side.

There is a very-well-turned-out bronze image of Somaskandar kept in the *ardhamandapa,* belonging to the Later Chola period.

A later Pandya addition, the Amman shrine, lies to the south of the Siva temple, and the Consort goes under the name of Pumkulali.

(V) DARISANAMKOPPU TEMPLE:

About 10 miles (16 kms) north of Nagerkoyil is an apsidal, *ekatala* temple, built during the days of Rajaraja I. It bears an inscription of this ruler.

(VI) GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE

At Kanyakumari, there is another Chola temple, built in the days of Rajaraja I. The original temple, dedicated to Guhanathasvamin consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardha-mandapa.* The front hall is a later addition.

The temple preserves the original *devakoshta* sculptures of Ganesa and Dakshinamurti in the south, Yoga-Narasimha in the west, and Brahma in the north. There might have been a figure

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of Durga on the north side of the *ardhamandapa* (see *The Arts and Crafts of Kerala*, Paico Publishing House, Madras, pp. 47-73; Illustrations II).

MATTOTTAM
(*Alias* **Rajarajapuram**)

RAJARAJA-ISVARAM 49

As a part of his plan of extending the limits of his already vastly grown empire, Rajaraja I invaded Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and brought the entire island under his suzerainty and made it a province of the Chola empire, giving it the new appellation of Mummudi Chola valanadu or mandalam after one of his own surnames. Anuradhapura, the capital of Ilam (Sri Lanka), a city with a flourishing past of more than a thousand years, was sacked, and a new capital was established at Polonnaruva, a more centrally situated place and an ancient military station of the Sinhalese, otherwise called Kanavaru Nuvara (a camp city).

There is an inscribed (mutilated) slab preserved at the museum at Colombo which contains a reference to a temple whose deity is named Rajaraja-Isvarattu-Mahadevar at Mandottam *alias* Rajarajapuram in Mummadisola mandalam. This temple was evidently named after Rajaraja I and the place was also similarly named (ARE 616 of 1912; SII, IV, 1412). This inscription relates to a gift of land to this temple by one Tali Kumaran, a headman of Sirukurranallur in Velar nadu, a sub-division of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu, which was a province of Chola mandalam. This gift was given as an *iraiyili devadanam* for the midnight service and for celebrating the festival of *Vaikasi Visakham*.

Mandottam (or Mattottam) has been identified with Mantota, opposite the southern end of the island of Mannar, where there are some ancient remains including those of a celebrated temple dedicated to Tirukedisvarar, a temple in Ila-nadu (Sri Lanka) sung by the Tamil saint Sambandar (seventh century A.D.).

On one face of a pillar preserved in the Colombo Museum, there is a mutilated inscription containing a fragment of the

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historical introduction of Rajendra Chola I (ARE 618 of 1912; SII, IV, 1414); on another face of the same pillar, there is a mutilated inscription which mentions a gift of four *kasus* for a twilight lamp *(sandhi-vilakku)* by a royal officer of Udaiyar Rajendra Chola deva I (*perundanattu pani-magan*) by name Sirukattur Udaiyar.. devam chandi...., to the temple here called that of Tiruviramisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Mandottam *alias* Rajarajapuram. There is a reference here to Rishabhavahana devar, possibly an icon set up in the temple. Could this temple be the same as the Rajaraja Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar shrine?

Though, unfortunately, we have no trace of this temple, the two inscriptions definitely establish the existence of at least one Chola temple at Mandottam during the reign of Rajaraja I.

POLONNARUVA

50 SIVA DEVALE (DEVALAYA) NO. 2
(I) VANAVAN MADEVI ISVARAM
(II) PALLIKONDAR SHRINE

Polonnaruva, which lies between the 26th and 27th mile posts on the Habarana (Giritale) Batticaloa road, bore various names in the past such as Pulastipura, Pulainari and Vijayarajapura, and was renamed Jananathapura or Jananatha-mangalam in Nigarilisola mandalam after Rajaraja I's conquest. In this new capital, many Buddhist and Jain temples already existed side by side. A number of Siva temples were added during the Chola rule (Bell's Report on Epigraphy, 1909–10, p.9). Very few of these, however, have survived. The most important among such survivors is a Siva temple designated "Siva Devale 2".

Vanavan Madevi Isvaram: There are three Chola inscriptions found in this temple. The earliest of them is a fragmentary record of Rajendra I found on the south wall of the temple (ARE 595 of 1912; SII, IV, 1389—this record is referred to in the Sri Lanka Literature as Inscription E). The remaining two records relate to the period of the short-lived Chola ruler Adhirajendra. One

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of them (ARE 596 of 1912; SII, IV, 1392—referred to as Inscriptions A, B and C in Sri Lanka Literature) refers to a gift of a perpetual lamp and a *tara* lamp-stand to the temple of Vanavan Madevi Isvaram Udaiyar, the Lord of Jananathamangalam (the new name of Polonnaruva), the gift being placed under the protection of the *Mahesvaras* and other members of a local committee. The date of this inscription is missing but it would appear to relate to his third year; it begins with his historical introduction *tingaler malarndu*. The other inscription of Ko-Parakesarivarman Udaiyar Sri Adhirajendra devar is dated in his third year (ARE 594 of 1912; SII, IV, 1388). His accession was in A.D. 1067–68 and his highest regnal year was third; so this inscription could be ascribed to the early part of A.D. 1070. This mentions a gift of money (five *kasus*) for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Vanavan Madevi Isvaram udaiyar at Jananathamangalam: The name of a petty chief Cholap-pallavaraiyan of Sonadu is mentioned in this record.

Vanavan Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi was a queen of Rajaraja I's and the mother of Rajendra I. It, therefore, appears reasonable to infer that the Siva temple, known by the name of Vanavan Madevi Isvaram, was built during the reign of Rajaraja I, possibly by his son Rajendra I, who was the father's viceroy in the southern provinces of the empire.

There is an inscription of the third regnal year of Rajaraja I at Tiruvenkadu (Tanjavur district) which mentions a gift of a lamp to this temple by Udaiya Pirattiyar Tambiranadigal Vanavan Madeviyar *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar, the queen (*nampirattiyar*) of Rajaraja I and the mother (*achchiyar*) of Rajendrasola devar (SII, V, 982: ARE, 117 of 1896). This confirms the association of this queen of Rajaraja I with the temple at Polonnaruva.

Pallikondar shrine: On the south wall of this temple is another inscription (ARE 595-A of 1912; SII, IV, 1390; inscription D in Sri Lanka records), which refers to a shrine of Pallikondar within the temple of Vanavan Madevi Isvaram udaiyar (*Vanavan Madevi Koyir-pallikondar*). Another brief inscription also found

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on the south wall (ARE 595-B of 1912; SII, IV, 1391) mentions the consecration of the image of Alagiya Manavalar (Krishna) (*alagiya manavalarai elundarulivittu*). There are no Vishnu shrines either intact or in ruins within the premises of this temple (Siva Devale 2); but there do exist the ruins of a Vishnu temple of stone, about a third of a mile (0.54 km) to the west of this temple and within the city wall at its northern gate. Perhaps the two Vaishnavite images referred to above were housed in this Vishnu temple.

We have examples of a Pallikondar shrine in a Siva temple at other places too, as for instance in the Somanathesvarar temple at Attur-Sendamangalam and in the Nelliyappar temple at Tirunelveli, both in Pandi Nadu.

Siva Devale no.2 is situated in a vast compound measuring 29.26 ms (96′) by 25.60 ms (84′). A wall of enclosure for the temple was built at a later date. The temple is a *dvitala* structure facing east, and consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa;* only the basement of the latter survives. It is built of granite and sandstone. The *adhishthanam* has an octagonal *kumudam.* The central shrine has three projecting niches, one each in the centre of the three free sides. There is a cornice adorned with *kudus* in the first *tala.* The second *tala* contains the *bhadra-sala* in the centre and two *karna-kutas* at the corners; above it, we have the *griva* and an octagonal, curvilinear *sikhara.* There is no *stupi* at present. There is a *nandi* in front. The *garbhagriha* is 9.14 ms (30′) square and the *srivimana* is 9.75 ms (31′ 9″) high measured from the courtyard floor (Pl 177).

The only surviving memorial of the rule over Sri Lanka of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, this fine temple in Sri Lanka, simple but grand in design, still majestic in its bearing and built on the best traditions of the *sthapatis* of the mother country, is a symbol of the artistic and cultural influence exercised by the Imperial Cholas in the conquered provinces.

Siva Devale No. 5: Adjoining Siva Devale No. 2 are some inscribed pillars containing the names of individuals who were evidently the donors of the respective pillars for a temple that is now no longer there. The donors were apparently prominent

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men from the mainland, their names being associated with sacred centres like Chidambaram and Tiruvaiyaru.

We know nothing more of this temple.

KALPE KORALE

UTTAMA CHOLA ISVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR TEMPLE

Of this temple at Kalpe Korale in Sri Lanka, we know very little beyond the name. On a pillar slab at Etakade in Kalpe Korale, there is an inscription of the twenty-eighth year (possibly of Rajaraja I) which registers a gift of three *velis* of land for a lamp to the temple of Uttama-Chola-Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, by a certain Arangan Iramesan (ARE 615 of 1912). In all likelihood this temple was built during the days of Rajendra I's viceroyalty in Sri Lanka.

MALURPATNA

ARKESVARAR (ARUMOLIDEVISVARAM UDAIYA MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE 51

NARAYANASVAMY (JAYANGONDASOLA VINNAGAR ALVAR) TEMPLE 52

On the road from Bangalore to Mysore, there is a country track that takes off from the highway at a point 2½ kms south-west of Chennapatna, the present taluk headquarters, to reach Malur-Patna which is at a distance of 8 kms along this track in a southerly direction. In the olden days, Dodda-Malur, where the temples of Kailasesvarar and Apprameyasvamin are located, as well as Malur-Patna, which is also on the western bank of the river Kanva about 8 kms south of Dodda-Malur, evidently constituted adjoining administrative urban units, under the names of Rajendrasimha chaturvedimangalam and Nigarilisola-puram, names given to them during the Middle Chola period.

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Nigarilisolapuram was evidently a *nagaram,* an urban unit administered by the mercantile community, since in one of the inscriptions dated in A.D. 1007, the *nagarattom* (the members of the mercantile community constituting a guild) of Nigarilisolapuram is referred to.

In this township there were two fine temples built during the days of Rajaraja I, one named Arumolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar temple, dedicated to Siva. and the other Jayangondasola Vinnagar, dedicated to Vishnu. Today they are in a sad state of neglect and stand out as two decrepit reminders of the glorious days that they had known. They are set in the midst of cultivated fields and are now outside the village limits in a westerly direction. There is a grand lake as one approaches the village from the east, which must have been a gift of the Cholas to the prosperous township close by.

The two temples now called Arkesvarar temple and Narayanasvamy temple are separated from each other only by a hundred metres or so.

51. Arkesvarar (Arumolisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar) temple*

Seven inscriptions have been found on the walls and pillars of this temple. Of them the earliest are dated in A.D. 1013 and 1015 respectively. The former, found engraved on the outside of the south wall, is dated in the second regnal year of Kop-Parakesaripanmar *alias* Sri Rajendrasola devar and is incomplete, but we get the information that certain inhabitants of Manalur, including Kottayan Uttaman *alias* Solavichchadirag-Gamundan and Vidiyan Kottayan *alias* Idava Gamundan received some assets as a gift in favour of the god Arumolidevisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar of Nigarilisolapuram, which was a portion of "this village", for conducting the festivals of the god (EC, IV, CN, 135). Similarly, in the fourth year of Rajendra I, certain members of the chaturvedimangalam, the first part of whose name is missing in the inscription, received full payment in gold and gave full

*Also called Amritesvara temple (cf. *Early Chola Art I,* Pl.104)

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possession of certain lands, whose boundaries and other details are specified, as tax-free *devadana,* for Arumolisvaram Udaiyar of Nigarilisolapuram, which was a portion of Manalur in Kilalai nadu. There was also a grant for the drummers at the temple (EC, IV, CN, 139). Two other records are dated in A.D. 1152 and 1150 respectively, and mention the gift of one *pon* for a bell-metal censer and bell by one Madurantaka devan's son, Palliperiyan, and the gift of a certain sum of money to Gomali by Malaiyandan, the headman of Merpadi, in order to provide for the night offerings of rice for the god, who continues to be called almost a hundred and fifty years later, by the same name of Arumolisvaram Udaiyar (EC, IV, CN, 136 and 138).* We are aware that a few decades earlier this region had temporarily gone back to the hands of the Hoysalas but was retaken by the Cholas during Vikrama Chola's rule.

This temple, now called that of Arkesvarar, came into existence during the early part of the rule of Rajaraja I and along with the temples of Rajendrasimha-isvaram and Jayangondasola-vinnagar, received considerable attention from the local bodies in this region during the period when the Cholas were ruling this area and also under the Hoysalas. The deity was named after one of the earliest names of Rajaraja I, Arumolidevan.

This temple faces west and is *eka-tala*; it consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa* in front. Fortunately the *sikhara* is still in position though its massive stones have been loosened by rank vegetation growing from the crevices. The square *sikhara* is reminiscent of the many structures of Rajaraja I's period as well of the later years of the Early Chola phase. The *griva-koshtas* are empty. The *garbhagriha* walls have niches in the middle, with flanking pilasters, and square pilasters

*There is a record dated in A.D. 1159, when Mahamandalesvara Tribhuvanamalla, capturer of Talaikkadu and other areas, was ruling the region. Malaiyandan, the headman of Merpadi, gave three *pon* for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of the god Arumolichcharam udaiyar at Manalur *alias* Nigarilisolapuram in Kilalai nadu of Irajendirasola valanadu in Mudigondasola mandalam (EC IV, CN, 137). There is a fragmentary inscription (A.D. 1160) which merely mentions Vira Ganga Jagadekamalla Poysala Sri Narasimha devar as ruling the earth. The rest of the inscription is lost. The region continues to be called Mudigondasola mandalam.

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further away on either side. The *garbhagriha* measures 4.25 ms in breadth and 4.95 ms in length along the axis of the temple; the *ardhamandapa* is 3.20 ms in length along the axis of the temple and is 3.75 ms in breadth; the *mahamandapa* in front which widens out is 9.10 ms in breadth and 6.20 ms in length along the axis; thus from the rear wall of the *garbhagriha* to the front of the *mahamandapa,* the length of the temple is 15 ms. The *ardhamandapa,* in ruins, is supported by four very beautifully carved round pillars. The southern wall has partially collapsed. The *mahamandapa* is in shambles; the roof has given way in many places. There are three rows of pillars, six to a row; the *mahamandapa* was completely walled up on all sides except for the front entrance; there is a brief inscription on the inner surface of the western wall of this *mandapa,* which is in fine calligraphy and mentions the name of the temple, Arumolisvaram (Pls 178 and 179).

52. Narayanasvamy Temple (Jayangondasola Vinnagar Alvar)

Eight inscriptions have been recorded on the walls of this temple. They range over a short span of time, from A.D. 1007 to 1030. There are four inscriptions in the year A.D. 1007, and relate to various gifts made to this temple at the time of consecration of the deity, which is called in the inscriptions Jayangondasola-Vinnagar-alvar.

In the 23rd year of the reign of 'Sri Kovirajarajakesaripanmar *alias* Irajaraja devar', the members of the assembly of Periya Malavur *alias* Irajendirasingach-charuppedimangalam in Kilalai nadu of Gangapadi, "assembled without a vacancy" "in the temple of the god Jayangondasola-Vinnagar-alvar at Nigarilisolapuram, which was a portion of Manalur of this nadu, on the day the above god was set up" and made a grant of certain lands, to provide for a daily offering of 2 *nalis* of rice for the god. The members of the assembly bound themselves to plough and cultivate the lands themselves and to bring to the temple and measure out fully, with the *marakkal* named Jayangondasolan, a certain quantity of clean paddy; they also authorised *pujaris*

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to receive *suttukkadan* and a share of the produce of the above lands (EC, IV, CN, 128).

Similarly, the members of the assembly of Punganur *alias* Tirailokkiya-madevich-charuppedimangalam in Kilalai nadu of Gangapadi made, on the day the god Jayangondasola-Vinnagar-alvar was set up at Nigarilisolapuram, a grant of certain lands as a *devadana*, exempt from taxes, for daily offering of 2 *nalis* of rice for the above god. This order was written down as a *silasasanam* (order in stone) under the direction of the assembly by one Divakarayan Vasavayan, a *ganattan* (member of the assembly) of this village (EC, IV, CN, 130).

In like manner, the members of the assembly of Vandur *alias* Sola-madevich-charuppedimangalam in Kilalai nadu of Gangapadi met in the temple of Jayangondasola-Vinnagar-alvar on the day that the deity was set up at Nigarilisolapuram and made a grant of certain lands whose area, boundaries and other details were specified and gave a lithic order to that effect. They also mentioned that the tank and wells of their village could be used for irrigating these lands. This grant was made at the instance of the headman of Kilaru, Tamilpperiyan Gandaradittan, who was the settlement officer of Kilalai nadu and other *nadus* during the tenure of the local officer Nittavinoda Pallavaraiyar (EC, IV, CN, 132).

The citizens of Nigarilisolapuram made a grant for the god and a *sasanam* as well.

From these four inscriptions we gather that by the 23rd year of Rajaraja I (A.D. 1007) the Vishnu temple of Jayangondasola-Vinnagar-Alvar had come into being at the *nagaram* of Nigarilisolapuram, described as being a part of Manalur in Kilalai nadu and was named one of the many surnames of Rajaraja I.

Thus this temple is a foundation of the days of Rajaraja I and was named after one of his surnames *viz.*, Jayangondasolan.

In addition to these gifts, other benefactions were made a few years later, in A.D. 1014. Some inhabitants of Manalur gave permission to have the temple lands irrigated from the Manalur tank (EC, IV, CN, 127).

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Another record relating to the third year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1014) mentions that some members of the assembly of Vandur gave an undertaking that, having received from the treasury of this god 320 *kalams* of paddy measured by the *marakkal* called *Jayangondasolan,* they would deliver from that year onwards by way of interest, 100 *kalams* of clean paddy; they agreed that the entire supervision of this transaction would be entrusted to the *Sri Vaishnavas* and the Five hundred of *Tiraiyayiram* (*tisaiyayiram*). Another record which is incomplete also relates to the third regnal year of Rajendra I, and presumably deals with a similar undertaking by one of the other assemblies.

Finally, in an inscription (A.D. 1030) in the reign of Rajendra I, the members of the assembly of Kudalur *alias* Iraja-iraja-charuppedimangalam made a grant of certain lands to provide for a daily offering of two *nalis* of rice for the god Jayangonda-sola-Vinnagar-alvar (EC, IV, CN, 133).

Structurally of less significance to the art-historian than the Arkesvarar temple, Jayangondasola Vinnagar Alvar temple is a tiny piece of beauty, its walls covered over with meticulously engraved inscriptions of considerable significance in impeccable calligraphy, comparable with the Rajarajesvaram inscriptions of Tanjavur. Perhaps, in its own days, this was a more important temple than Arumolisvaram. It consists now of only the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa,* and the remains of the wall of enclosure, which would have given the *tiru-murram,* the campus of the temple, a greater dimension than that of Arumolisvaram (Pls 180 and 181).

The temple faces west and it being without the *griva* and *sikhara,* we could only hazard a guess that, like its sister shrine, it must have been *eka-tala*; the *garbhagriha* measures 4.50 ms in breadth and 4 ms in length along the axis of the temple; the *ardhamandapa* is 2.40 ms along the axis and 3.20 ms across. From the basement to the foot of the *griva,* the height is 2.18 ms. The walls of enclosure should have measured 19.90 ms in length and 14.55 ms in breadth as ascertained from the foundation of the walls, which is all that is left of them.

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MALUR

KAILASESVARAR (RAJENDRASIMHESVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE 53
APPRAMEYASVAMIN TEMPLE 54

The village of Malur, also called Dodda-Malur, is about 2.50 kms from Chennapatna, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Bangalore district. It is perched on the western bank of the meandering river Kanva, a tributary of the river Kaveri, at the point where it crosses the Bangalore-Mysore highway, about 64 kms south-west of Bangalore. Situated in picturesque surroundings amid dense coconut groves are two temples here dating back to the days of Chola hegemony over this region; Kailasesvarar, the Siva temple, is in a state of neglect; but the Vishnu temple of Apprameya is in a state of good preservation; they are only a few yards away from each other, the former being south of the latter.

Dodda-Malur, also called Mallur-agraharam, has a long history and tradition*; it is said that sage Yagnavalkya wrote his celebrated *Mithakshara* here; Kanva rishi is said to have worshipped the Lord Aprameyasvamy, and because of this association, even the river on whose banks this ancient township stands came to be called Kanva-*nadi*. It bore the alternate name of Jnana-mandapa-kshetram and Rajendra-simha-nagari; it is considered a *divya-kshetram*; in more recent times, the great saint-composer Purandhara Dasa who lived in the 16th century visited this temple and worshipped the Lord and Navanita Krishna, who was installed in the north-west corner of the temple; and it was here, overwhelmed with ecstatic joy when in communion with young Lord Krishna, that he composed the famous song in Kannada beginning with "*Aadi sidalu Yasodha Jagadoddharana*" which has been rendered into an incomparable visual *Bharata natyam* composition.

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*See Sri Apprameyasvamy Temple Renovation Committee brochure.

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53. Kailasesvarar temple

Bereft of any wall of enclosure, which must have been there in the past, the temple consists of the central shrine with a *garbha-griha* without any superstructure, an *antarala* and a *mahamandapa;* the entire complex is a unitary structure, with a *kalyana mandapa* in front, which is of a slightly later date; there is a massive gateway to the courtyard of the temple, which belongs to a much later date (the Vijayanagara period?) and is shorn of the upper storeys.

On the south wall of the central shrine, there is a highly obliterated inscription, datable to *circa* A.D. 1000, which mentions for the first time the existence of a temple dedicated to the deity called Rajendrasimha Isvaram Udaiyar at Periya Maluvur *alias* Rajendrasimha chaturvedimangalam in Kalikala-sola valanadu of Mudikondasola mandalam. It refers to the setting up of an image of god Gandaraditta Vitankar, by one Sivajnana Gandaraditta, who would appear to have been a general of the Chola army evidently stationed here. It mentions that he purchased some lands and granted them, with exemption from taxes, to this deity (EC, IV, CN, 92). The next record, datable to about A.D. 1010, is also highly obliterated; we learn that Maluvur was in Kilalai nadu of Rajendrasola valanadu (*Ibid.* 87). From a record of about A.D. 1010 also highly obliterated, we learn that Maluvur was in Kilalai nadu of Rajendrasola valanadu (*Ibid.* 87). A record of about A.D. 1014 is more informative. A Kramavittan (full name is not discernible) purchased from the assembly certain lands for maintaining a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the god Sri Kailasam Udaiyar. A similar grant of land, the boundaries of which are mentioned in detail, is made for providing the noon offerings of rice and for ghee for the god Appirameya-Vinnagar alvar of the same village. This charity was placed at the "holy feet of the Sri Vaishnavas" (*Ibid.* 88c). Another epigraph of the same date is recorded in the third year of the reign of Kop-Parakesarivanmar *alias* Sri Irajendrasola devar and relates to the grant of certain lands for the goddess Durgaiyar, on the bund of the pond which a local citizen caused to be dug, in order to provide for offerings of rice, oil for lamps and for the *pujari* (*Ibid.* 88). A record of A.D. 1024 relates to the 13th regnal year

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of Rajendra I and mentions that the members of the assembly of Irajendirasinga-saruppedimangalam sold 300 *kulis* of land to the temple, on receipt of money from the king (*Ibid.* 84). A full record dated in the 23rd year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1034) is found on the back of the north wall which after narrating the full *birudas* and *prasasti* of the king, mentions that the members of the great assembly of Rajendrasimha-chaturvedimangalam, having received gold from a servant of Sri Rajendrasola devar (the headman of Puliyur in Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu in Chola mandalam) gave certain lands free of all imposts in order to provide offerings of rice (specified), vegetables, ghee, betel leaves and areca nuts for the god Adavallan Rajendrasola-singar and His Consort set up in the temple of Rajendrasimha Isvaram Udaiyar of "our village" (*Ibid.* 83 and 84). There is a brief record of the fourth year of Kovirajakesarivanmar *alias* Sri Virarajendra devar, whose *prasasti* is given in full (*Ibid.* 85).

From the inscriptions in this temple, we come to know that the village of Periya Maluvur was rechristened Rajendrasimha-chaturvedimangalam after the conquest of this region by Rajaraja I; that it was located in the subdivision of Kilalai nadu in the district of Rajendra valanadu; the whole of the western and southern Mysore region was rechristened Mudigondasola mandalam, just as Gangavadi was renamed Nigarilisola mandalam, both after surnames of Rajaraja I. A Siva temple was built in the place and named Rajendrasimha-Isvaram after a surname of Rajaraja I. Evidently, a contingent of the occupation army was stationed here and one of its chief officers set up a sculpture called Gandaraditta Vitankar, named after himself. An image of the goddess Durga was set up on the bund of a tank dug in the village by a local citizen in the 3rd year of Rajendra I. Later on, in the reign of the same ruler, the headman of Puliyur (a servant of Rajendra I) donated and set up images of Adavallan Rajendrasola-singar and His Consort, evidently images of Nataraja and Sivakama sundari. The main deity continued to be called by its alternate name of Kayilasamudaiyar till the advent of the Hoysalas, when the name changed to Kailasesvarar, its present name.

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The *garbhagriha* is a square 5.80 ms to a side and the *antarala* projects 2.35 ms forward being narrower in width than the *garbhagriha* by .90 m. The *mahamandapa* is asymmetrically placed across the axis of the temple, the northern wing projecting to a greater extent than the southern; it measures 13.25 ms by 9.55 ms. The *kalyana-mandapa* is a beautiful open pavilion with finely carved pillars, three rows of four each, the foremost outer pillars being carved in a style different from others. The northern pillar bears an inscription in fine calligraphy proclaiming that the pavilion was erected by one Tillaikkuttan; it is datable to *circa* A.D. 1100 (Pls 182 and 183).

Unlike the temples in the heartland of the empire, the Kailasesvarar temple has no icons in the *garbhagriha* or *antarala* niches, which are mere shallow tokens, as in Chola temples in Pandi Nadu.

There are four structures which served as subsidiary shrines; one for Chandesvarar is at its appropriate place close to and north of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala*. The deity faces west. The other three structures, which are rectangular in section, are now empty and are all to the west of the *garbhagriha,* evidently having housed Ganesa in the south-west, Subrahmanyar in the west and Jyeshtha in the north-west. Thus, even in the conquered land, we notice the vogue of the homeland regarding the *ashta-parivara devatas* being adopted. We found the same practice in respect of the Chola temples of Rajaraja I's days in Pandi Nadu.

54. Apprameyasvamy temple

The earliest reference to the existence of this temple is contained in an inscription which may be dated in A.D. 1019; this is found inscribed on the north side of the basement of the shrine and is in Tamil. It mentions that the *mahajanas* of Malavur *alias* Rajendrasimha-chaturvedimangalam granted certain privileges to a person (whose name is obliterated) in connection with some houses of the village; and the order signed by the inhabitants of the village is in the name and on behalf of the deity, Sri Apprameya (EC, IV, CN, 96). Another record dated around A.D. 1034 mentions that the assembly of Malavur granted certain

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lands to provide for offerings of rice for the god Manavalalvar, who was pleased to take up his abode in the courtyard of the temple (*Ibid.* 95). Another record datable to around A.D. 1050 deals with a grant of land to god Appirameyapperumal (*Ibid.* 95 a). One Nilakanta devar gave liberally towards the replacement of the jewellery lost from where they were kept buried during the disturbed days prior to A.D. 1166. The same person, it is mentioned in a record found on the north basement, gave un-asked, a sum of money to the *mahajanas* for repairing a tank (*Ibid.* 97 a).

In all likelihood, the present structure of the Vishnu temple came into existence during the days of Rajaraja I on an earlier foundation. Even the Chola foundation of the Apprameya temple has had many accretions during its long history covering the days of the Hoysalas and later the Vijayanagara period and much that was Chola in it is no longer there; however the main shell of the temple, comprising the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mahamandapa,* is original (Pls 184 and 185).

The temple faces east and is only a few yards west of the Kailasesvarar temple. The *garbhagriha* measures 4.60 ms across and 3.40 ms along the axis of the temple. It is preceded by an *ardhamandapa* which is 6 ms along the axis and 10.10 ms broad. The *mahamandapa* in front of it has the same width as the *ardhamandapa* and projects 11.45 ms forward and is supported by two rows of three pillars each.

The peristyle is perhaps original as it has much in common with the typical peristyles of this period in the Chola mainland but its roof has been decorated at a later date.

TADI-MAALINGI
(Jananathapuram)

JANARDANA (RAVIKULA-MANIKKA-VINNAGAR) TEMPLE 55

The region in the present day Mysore state falling to the south and east of the river Tungabhadra came under the Chola hegemony even before the turn of the tenth century A.D. and continued

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to be under their control for more than a hundred years.

The erstwhile kingdom of Gangavadi with Talakkadu as the capital was rechristened Mudigondasola mandalam, after a name of Rajendra I, covering portions of the present day Salem district, the entire Mysore district, a sizable portion of the Bangalore district and the peripheral regions to the north and west of the latter two districts.

The capital of Gangavadi lay stretched on both sides of the Kaveri; the region on the southern bank of the river was called Ten-karai Idai nadu, and Mayilangai (Mavilangai?), now corrupted to Maalingi, was the southern quarters of the capital city of Talaikkadu, which was on the north bank. Tadi Maalingi is now a village in Tirumukkudlu-Narasipur taluk, in Mysore district.

There are a large number of temples at Talaikkadu and Tadi Maalingi, the ancient capital city of the Gangas, but we are mainly concerned with the Janardana temple at Tadi Maalingi dedicated to Vishnu; in the ancient days it was known as Ravikula-Manikka Vinnagar. In this temple, there are a few inscriptions belonging to the Middle and Later Chola periods (EC, MY, TN, 31 to 36). The earliest of them relates to the days of Rajaraja I, but the year is obliterated (EC, MY, TN, 35). It reveals the name of this temple, namely Ravikula-Manikka-Vinnagar. The relevant portion reads as follows:

"Svasti Sri tirumagal pola....udaiyar
sri Rajarajadevarkku yandu i...pandi ten
karai idainattu *mayilangai* Gamundan Vasava
Gamundan Sama Gamundan S....ngakonyanusa
Gamundan ullitta .. iv-vanaivom *Periya*
Kundavai Alvar Bhandarattil ninrum ivvur
Iravikulamanikka Vinnagar Alvarukku..."

Another record dated in the 10th year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1022) gives the new name of Jananathapuram for this place.

From yet another record relating to the period of the Mahamandalesvara Vira Ganga, the capturer of Talakkadu, Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavase, Panugal, Halasige and Beluvala, under Hoysala Vira Ballala deva, we gather that one Chibbila

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Heggade made a grant to provide for the illuminations in the temple of the god Janardana of Maalingi (*Ibid.* 31). From a fragmentary inscription (*Ibid.* 36) we gather that Idainadu was also called Periya nadu and was part of Madhurantaka (sola Valanadu?) (*Ibid.* 36).

Thus, a temple for Vishnu was built at this place which bore the name of Jananathapura, after a surname of Rajaraja I. The temple itself got the name of Ravikula-Manikka-Vinnagar after a surname of Rajaraja I. We saw that at Dadapuram, in South Arcot district, Kundavai, the sister of Rajaraja I, built among others a temple for Siva, named Ravikula-Manikkesvaram, named after her brother, Rajaraja I. It is interesting to note the association of Kundavai with this temple also (Pl 406).

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3

Rajendra I
(A.D. 1012 to 1044)

Rajaraja I was succeeded by his only son Rajendra I, born of his queen Vanavan Mahadevi "in the month of *Margali* under the natal star of *Tiruvadirai*". The Tiruvalangadu Plates of the sixth year of Rajendra I mention his early conquests (vide Appendix). For two years, Rajendra had been associated, as *yuvaraja*, with his father's administration (A.D. 1012–1014) and in turn, in A.D. 1018, he associated his eldest son, Rajadhiraja I, as co-regent and their joint rule lasted 26 years (A.D. 1018-44). He had played a vital role in the wars fought by his father; the earliest of them were against the Cheras and the Pandyas, followed by the campaign against Sri Lanka, after conquering which he took possession of the crown of Sundara Pandya and 'the necklace of Indra' deposited in the Sri Lanka capital by Rajasimha, the last of the Pandyan rulers of the First Empire, after his defeat at the hands of Parantaka I and his flight to the Chera country. In this effort he was successful where his predecessor Parantaka I had failed. Even in his father's days soon after the conquest of Madurai, Rajendra I was made the Viceroy of the Pandyan region, and given the designation of "Chola-Pandya". This institution of appointing the heir-apparent as the viceroy of the newly-conquered territory was responsible for the stability of the empire which Rajaraja had so sedulously built up. A standing army was also stationed at strategic points of the empire, like Kottaru, Brahmadesam etc. to strengthen the Government and enable it to maintain effective control over the far flung

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empire. A great palace was also built at Madurai for the residence of the Chola Pandya viceroy. This system, introduced by Rajaraja I with such great advantage, was continued till the accession of Kulottunga I, and its discontinuance thereafter led to the loosening of central control over the outlying provinces of the empire. Rajendra, as heir-apparent, was next engaged in a war with the Western Chalukyas under Satyasraya; he invaded the region called Rattapadi (modern Karnataka region falling within the Krishna-Godavari doab) and a pitched battle was fought at Hottur in *Saka* 929 (about A.D. 1007), described as the bloodiest battle ever fought in that region. The Chola Viceroy is said to have visited great destruction on the army, men, women and children of the country; after this victory, he came to be described as "Nurmudi Chola Rajendra Vidyadhara, son of Rajaraja Nittavinoda"; the whole of the Western Chalukya kingdom, extending to the Tungabhadra region, came into the Chola dominion as a result of this victory. He next turned his attention to the Vengi and Kalinga territories, penetrating as far north as the modern Ganjam district and setting up two pillars of victory on the Mahendragiri mountains commemorating his victory over one Vimaladitya, who may be taken to be a Kuluta chief* and not the Vengi ruler of the same name (ARE 396 and 397 of 1896). We are not sure whether this war was related to the question of the rulership of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom of Vengi. What we do know is that Vimaladitya, son of Vishnuvardhana, of the Eastern Chalukyas spent a few years at the royal court at Tanjavur and that Rajaraja I's daughter, Kundavai was given in marriage to him; this alliance established cordial relations between the two kingdoms, culminating in the accession, later on, of Kulottunga I as emperor of both the realms.

After his accession to the throne, Rajendra in his own right planned a *digvijaya* as far as the Ganga; his *prasasti* gives a full account of this expedition including details of the rulers and kingdoms subjugated by him; this account is corroborated

*Cf. *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* by B. Venkatakrishna Rao

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by contemporary records from the conquered lands, establishing the trustworthiness of the *prasasti*. The areas conquered were: Chakarak-kottam (in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh), Masuni Desam, Madurai Mandalam, Namanik-konam, Panchapalli, Adinagara in Odradesa (Orissa) under the rulership of Indra-ratha, Southern Kosala, Dandabhukti ruled by Dhanapala, Southern Lata under Rana-sura, Vangala (Bengal) under Govinda Chandra, Uttara Lata under Mahipala, and the Pala ruler of Bengal, described in the *prasasti* as the land of unceasing rainfall (*tangaada saaral vangaala desam*). After this great *digvijaya*, Rajendra I, who had deputed the Chola General on this expedition, received the victorious army on the banks of the Godavari and brought it to his new capital now called Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. The conquered rulers were made to bring water from the Ganga in pots to the capital, which were emptied into a new lake built there by Rajendra and described by the Tiruvalangadu Plates as the *Chola-gangam* and as a "pillar of victory in the form of water":

चोलगंगमिति ख्यात्या प्रथितन्निजमण्डले ।
गंगा जलमयन्देवः जयस्थम्भं व्यधत्त स ॥

After the Ganga expedition, Rajendra I conceived of an even greater one, this time beyond the seas. The Chola Navy built up by Rajaraja I had already proved its mettle during his days at Kandalur Salai and in the conquest of the 12,000 islands off the west coast of India. It was further strengthened in Rajendra's days and a naval expedition was undertaken against the powerful Sailendras of Sri Vijaya in the Indonesian archipelago; from the *prasasti* portion of an inscription of the fourteenth regnal year (A.D. 1026), we obtain many details of the cities and kingdoms taken during this expedition. His warships are said to have "plunged into the mid-rolling sea" ("*alai kadal naduvul pala kalam selutti*") and taken the city of Sri Vijaya (modern Palenbang) in the Sumatra island, Pannai ("bathing ghat") identified with Panei on the east coast of Sumatra, Malaiyur ("mountain principality") in the southern

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end of the Malay peninsula, Mayuridingam ("deep sea") identified with Ji Lo Ting mentioned by Chau Ju Kua in the region of Jaiya towards the centre of the Malay peninsula, Ilangasokam identified with Ling-ya-seu-kia of Chau Ju Kua's dependencies, south of Kedah in the Malay peninsula, Mapappalam in the region of the isthmus of Kra, Mevilimbangam, Valaippanduru, Talai-Takkolam which is probably the same as the Takola of *Milinda Panha* and the Takkola of Ptolemy (Takupa is in the south of the isthmus of Kra or slightly higher up on the west coast of the Malay peninsula), Ma-Damalingam, identifiable with Tan-ma-ling on the east coast of the Malay peninsula in Pahang District, Ilamuri Desam, a country in the northern part of the island of Sumatra (Lamuri of the Arab geographer and Lambri of Marco Polo), Ma-Nakkavaram identifiable with the Nicobar Islands, and finally Kadaram, referred to as Kataha in Sanskrit literature and as Kadaram or Kidaram in the Kalingattupparani and in the Leyden Grant (Tamil part).

While the trans-oceanic conquests were completed well before the end of the second decade of his rule, his other conquests continued well into the latter half of his reign. There was a revolt in the Pandyan region by three Pandyan Chiefs; in the 26th year of the reign, his eldest son and Crown Prince Rajadhiraja I suppressed the revolt; one of the Chiefs, Manabharana, was beheaded; the head of another, Vira Keralan, was trampled upon by an elephant, and Sundara Pandya, the third Chief, was driven out of the country.* The king of Ve-nadu was killed. Rajadhiraja I invaded also the Chera country and killed the Chera Chief Ramakudam of Elimali (Mt. d'Eli); he again destroyed the Chera fleet at Kandalur Salai and also subdued the king of the Kupakas (near Ve-nadu) in modern South Kerala.

A rebellion by the Ceylonese king aided by the king of Kannakuchchi (Kanyakubja or Kanauj) was ruthlessly put down, and both the rebel kings were beheaded.

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*See the Sivakasi Plates (*Ten Pandya Copper Plates*), Tamil History Academy, Madras, pp.177-206, relating to the period of Rajendra I; also SII, V, 520 (ARE 221 of 1894): *prasasti* of Rajadhiraja I.

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There was fresh trouble for the Chola throne from the Western Chalukyas. They had earlier invaded Vengi at the time of Jayasimha II and were defeated at the battle of Musangi in A.D. 1021. About A.D. 1022, Rajaraja Narendra of the Eastern Chalukyas became king of Vengi and ruled over it for nearly forty one years; the Chola princess Ammangadevi, daughter of Rajendra I, was married to that ruler. In about A.D. 1031, there was an invasion of Vengi by the Western Chalukyas and a bloody battle was fought at Kalidindi, with the Cholas fighting on the side of Vengi; it is recorded that three famous Chola Generals fought and fell in this battle, and the grateful ruler of Vengi erected three memorial temples in their honour. With the accession to the Western Chalukya throne of Trailokyamalla Ahavamalla Somesvara I in A.D. 1042, another attempt was made on Vengi, and in the battle of Dannada (Dhanyakataka), his army under the joint command of his two sons, Vikramaditya and Vijayaditya, was defeated by the Chola army, who later burnt and destroyed the city of Kollip-pakkai (modern Kulpak).

At the zenith of his power, Rajendra I's empire extended, as graphically described in an inscription at Tirumalavadi, from Gangai in the north to Ilangai (Sri Lanka) in the south, and from Mahodai (modern Cranganore) in the west to Kadaram (Kedah) in the Malay peninsula in the east.

In A.D. 1015 and A.D. 1033, two Chola embassies were sent to China to establish friendly, diplomatic and commercial ties with that country. The king of Kamboja (Cambodia), Suryavaraman I (A.D. 1000-1050), sent a war-chariot as a gesture of goodwill to Rajendra I.

Rajendra I's queens were: Tribhuvana Mahadevi *alias* Vanavan Mahadevi, the Chief Queen; Mukkok-kilan-adigal; Panchavan Mahadevi; and Vira Mahadevi.

He had two daughters, Arulmoli Nangaiyar *alias* Tiru Madevadigal, who is mentioned in connection with the presentation of a decorative umbrella studded with pearls to the deity at Tirumalavadi; and Ammangadevi, who was given in marriage to Rajaraja Narendra of the Eastern Chalukyas and who became the mother of the future Kulottunga I.

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Rajendra I assumed a number of titles, the leading ones among them being Gangaikonda Cholan, Madhurantakan, Vikrama Cholan, Mudikonda Cholan, Pandita Cholan, and Vira Rajendran.

Rajendra I was the builder of the new capital at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram which remained as such till the end of the Chola empire. However, there were secondary capitals at Palaiyarai, Chidambaram and Kanchi.

Like his father, he was also a great temple builder. The most important of them is the one at his capital, called Gangaikonda-Cholisvaram. Another temple, also of the same name, was built at Kulambandal in the present day North Arcot district. The ancient Adipurisvarar temple at Tiruvorriyur was rebuilt of stone in his days. Another magnificent temple built in his time is the Vachisvarar temple at Tiruppasur, in Chingleput district. The "Siva Devale No. 2" at Polannaruva in Sri Lanka was perhaps built during his viceroyalty there. Another important temple of his time is the Rajendrasola vinnagaram, now called Gopalasvamin temple, at Mannarkoyil in Tirunelveli district, built by his Chera feudatory, Rajasimha. It was also during his life time, that a great residential Sanskrit College was established at Ennayiram.

Rajendra I seems to have died in his thirty-second regnal year, corresponding to the 26th regnal year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1044), who had a long joint rule of 26 years with his father. There is an inscription at Brahmadesam, North Arcot district, dated in the 26th year and 120th day of Rajadhiraja I, where it is stated that the local Assembly met under a *tamarind* tree and sold land for a water-shed for "quenching the thirst" of the king Sri Udaiyar Rajendra Choladeva and his queen Vira Mahadeviyar who is said to have "entered the supreme feet of Brahma in the very same tomb in which the body of Rajendra Choladeva was interred." This gift was made by Senapati Madhurantakan *alias* Parakesari Velar, the brother of the queen. Thus we learn that the illustrious Rajendra, the conqueror of Gangai and Kadaram, died at Brahmadesam in A.D. 1044 and his queen Vira Mahadevi committed *sati* and

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the gift for a water-shed was in honour, and for the spiritual propitiation, of the illustrious royal couple.

We are not vouched how Rajendra I died. The mortal remains of many of his ancestors lie buried in this region; Aditya I died at Tondaiman-Arrur; Rajaditya, son of Parantaka I, fell at Takkolam fighting the Rashtrakutas. Arinjaya died at Melpadi. The son of Rajendra I, Rajadhiraja I, himself, was destined later on to die a heroic death on the elephant's back in the battle of Koppam (*anai-mer-runjiya*—"one who died on the back of an elephant"). We do not know if Rajendra I died of any natural cause, a sudden mortal disease, or as an aftermath of mortal wounds received in a frontier war. In the Varadaraja Perumal temple at Tribhuvani (in the Union Territory of Pondicherry), there is a record which gives rise to the speculation about the manner of his death; it is of the thirtieth regnal year of his son Rajadhiraja I and refers to a charity named Rajendrasolan *Uttamagram* instituted to secure the health of Rajendra I. The charity got executed four years after the death of Rajendra I. And it was a great charity indeed, providing for the recitation of *Tiruvaymoli* and for the maintenance of a Vedic college including a hostel for the pupils (ARE 176 of 1919).

Whatever be that, he was of a heroic mould and his death marked the eclipse of a glorious character. The Gangaikondacholisvaram and the Adipurisvarar temple at Tiruvorriyur are no doubt noble memorials to this hero; but such a hallowed spot as Brahmadesam deserves to be marked with a suitable memorial, for there lie the ashes of the great Chola who conquered Gangai and Kadaram and his heroic queen Vira Mahadevi who committed *sati*.

A personality of rare accomplishments and unequalled and many-sided achievements, Rajaraja I was the inspirer of grand ideas and dreams, and Rajendra I gave them fulfilment and completion. Both of them are not only the greatest of South Indian rulers, but rank among the noblest sons of India, nay, even of the world.

Editing Thucydides, John H.Finlay Jr. says:

"Athens is new, Sparta the established power; Athens'

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> strength is naval, Sparta's military. Naval power reflects a commercial economy; military power an agricultural economy. The former encourages enterprise and initiative; the latter tenacity and tradition. Hence one rests on democratic freedom; the other on oligarchic discipline."

It will be no exaggeration to state that the Chola empire under Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra I blends and reflects the spirit, discipline and virtues of both Athens and Sparta.

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Appendix

Tiruvalangadu Copper Plates

"85. To this ruler of men (Rajaraja I) was born a son, Madhurantaka, whose limbs bore all the (distinguishing) marks of earth-rulers, who resembled a different Manmatha (mind-born) who had defied the angry roar of Hara (Siva)".

× × ×

"89. (This) famous (and) heroic lord of men intent upon doing meritorious deeds with large quantities of money acquired by (the strength of) his own arm, turned his attention to the conquest of the quarters (*digvijaya*), backed by a powerful army.

90. Accordingly, he the unequalled king *Uttama Chola* first started to the (southern) quarter marked by (the asterism) Trisanku, with a desire to conquer the *Pandya king*, after having arranged for the protection of his own capital.

91. The commander of forces (*dandanatha*) of this crest-jewel of the Solar race (i.e., Madhurantaka) (Rajendra I) struck the Pandya king who had a powerful army. And the Pandya leaving his own country which was the residence of (the sage) *Agastya*, from fear (of Madhurantaka), sought refuge in the Malaya hill.

92. (Then) the politic son of Rajaraja took possession of the lustrous pure pearls which looked like the seeds (out of which grew) the spotless fame of the Pandya king.

93. Having placed there *his own son*, the glorious *Chola-Pandya*, for the protection of his (i.e. the Pandya's) country, the light of the Solar race started for the conquest of the western region.

94. Having heard of the humiliation which the rulers of the earth were subjected to by (the sage) *Bhargava* (i.e., *Parasurama*) on the battlefield, (and) not being able to meet him (i.e., Bhargava) (in battle) on earth, that proud king (Madhurantaka) set his mind upon conquering the country called after him."

× × ×

"96. Madhurantaka fearlessly crossed the Sahya (mountain) (and) immediately attacked the lord of the *Kerala* (country)together with his forces. Then a fierce battle took place which wrought ruin upon (several) kings.

97. Having conquered the Kerala king and having annihilated the country protected by the austerities of the chief of the Bhrigus, that prince, the abode of prosperity, turned towards his own capital (which looked) as if (it were) dancing (in joy) with (its upraised) hands, viz., brilliant fluttering flag-cloths and whispering welcome by (its) sweetly (jingling) waist-belts of (damsels) with unsteady eyes."

× × ×

"99. Having appointed his own son, the glorious *Chola-Pandya*, to protect the western country, he, the very god of Death (Kala) to the *Taila-family* (i.e., the Western Chalukyas), entered (the town of) Kanchi, which was like the waist-band (*kanchi*) of the goddess-earth.

100. Observing that the *lord of the Chalukyas*, king *Jayasimha*, was the seat of the (sinful) Kali (age), Rajendra-Chola—himself the destroyer of the Kali (age)—started first to conquer him (i.e., Jayasimha) alone.

101. It may be no wonder that the fire of his anger burst into flame as it came into contact with the descendant of Taila.

102. While this king with anger was engaged in vanquishing Jayasimharaja, very strangely (indeed), the fire of grief of the *Ratta* ladies burst into flame, washed by the tears (trickling) from (their) eyes."

× × ×

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"104. The forces of *Cholendrasimha* and *Jayasimha* fought an intensive battle, each (side) kindling the anger of the other, wherein the fire generated by the tusks of huge infuriated elephants dashing (against each other), burnt all the banners.

105. That lord of *Rattarashtra* (i.e., Jayasimha) in order to escape from the fire of the terrible rage of the ornament of the Solar race (i.e., Rajendra-Chola) took to his heels with fear, abandoning all (his) family, riches and reputation."

× × ×

107. The army of Rattaraja, hemmed in on all sides by the continuous downpour of arrows (and) beleaguered by the heroes of the army of the ornament of the Solar race, was (completely) destroyed just as a range of clouds tossed about by the force of furious winds.

108. Having defeated Rattaraja with (his) forces, the son of Rajaraja, well-versed in polity and attended by all his numerous virtues such as courage, prowess and victory, got (back) to (his) (capital) town.

109. This light of the Solar race, laughing at *Bhagiratha* who had brought down the *Ganga* (to the earth from heaven) by the power of (his) austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganga (i.e., the river Ganges) carried thither through the strength of (his) arm.

110. Accordingly (he) ordered the commander of the army who had powerful battalions (under his control), who was the resort of heroism (and) the foremost of diplomats, to subdue the enemy kings occupying (the country on) the banks of that (river).

111. Before him, as from the slopes of the Himalayas, marched a very large army like the tremendous volume of the waters of the Ganga with wavy rows of moving horses, causing all the quarters to resound with its confused clamour.

112. The van of his army crossed the rivers by way of *bridges formed by herds of elephants*. The rest of the army (crossed the same) on foot, (because) the waters in the meantime had dried up being used by elephants, horses and men.

113. The soldiers of *Vikrama-Chola* (Rajendra Chola I) having reached the points of the compass (first) by the dust raised by crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men, quickly entered (next) the country of hostile kings."

× × ×

"137. May Rajendra-Chola be victorious all over the earth, whose many gem(-like) virtues step beyond the bounds of the egg of the three worlds; (the number of) whose enemies is not sufficiently (large) for the (full) display of (his) splendid heroism; who (like) an ocean is the birth-place of all innumerable gem(-like) virtues; for (the grasp of) whose intelligence sciences (as they now exist) are limited (in number); who being solicited gives to the crowd of suppliants super-abundant wealth; and who is the birth-place of prosperity."

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4

Temples of Rajendra I's Time

GANGAIKONDASOLAPURAM

56 GANGAIKONDA-CHOLISVARAM

Gangaikondasolapuram, now an insignificant village in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk of Tiruchy district, lies on the road from Tiruchy to Chidambaram running almost parallel to and on the northern bank of the river Kollidam, and at a distance of 10 kms to the east of Jayangondasolapuram (which itself lies on one of the highways from Kumbakonam to Vriddhachalam). It is bounded on the west by the celebrated Cholagangam lake and on the east by the river Vadavaru. Out of an otherwise rather dreary and barren skyline for miles around, the lofty *srivimana* of the great temple of Gangaikonda-cholisvaram here lifts its stately head as if scanning the vast arena of the bygone empire. In the heyday of Chola rule, its *srivimana* possibly served as the tallest watch tower of the city. It is no ancient city sung by the *Devaram* hymnists, but a creation of the early eleventh century, and the only literary references to it are found in the *Tiru Isaippa* of Kuruvur devar, the *Kalingattup-parani* of Jayangondar, the *Muvar Ula* of Ottakkuttar (the court poet of Vikrama Chola and his two immediate successors), and the *Koyil Olugu* (a legendary history of the Srirangam temple). The *Vikramankadeva charita* of Bilhana, the court poet of Vikramaditya VI, the Western Chalukya ruler, refers to Gangapuri in

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the context of Vikramaditya's sojourn in the Chola capital in connection with his efforts to control its destiny during the troubled days of A.D. 1069-70.

The City

In A.D. 1014, Rajaraja I died and his son Rajendra I, till then Yuvaraja and Co-ruler, succeeded him. Rajendra I in turn associated his son Rajadhiraja I with his reign as Yuvaraja in A.D. 1018, in which capacity the latter served for 26 years (A.D. 1018–44) till the death of Rajendra I.

The earliest reference to the Ganga expedition of Rajendra I is found in a record of his eleventh regnal year (A.D. 1023). The earliest reference to Gangaikondasolapuram is found in an inscription of his seventeenth year (A.D. 1029). The city and the palace there must have come into existence between A.D. 1023 and 1029. How much earlier it was designed and its building begun is a matter of conjecture. He might have conceived of the scheme of a new capital even during the last years of his father. His total dedication to the new temple is illustrated by the following sequence of events. In the nineteenth year, 242nd day of his reign, he made a gift of 2,000 *kalams* of paddy per year as *acharya bhogam* to the chief priest Sarva Siva Pandita Saivacharya of the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur and his descendants (A.D. 1031-32). Four years later, he himself transferred these land gifts, made earlier in perpetuity to the Rajarajesvaram, to his newly built temple of Gangaikonda-cholisvaram (twenty-third year, A.D. 1035). Nine years later, he died at Brahmadesam (A.D. 1044). These transfers are recorded 25 years later in an inscription of Vira Rajendra. There is no record of Rajendra I himself of this transaction (on the walls of this temple or elsewhere). In fact, the total absence of any inscriptions of his in this temple remains an enigma.

The city had the advantage of being built from scratch; it was carefully planned and laid out according to the injunctions of treatises on architecture and town-planning; the city would appear to have had an inner and an outer wall of fortification, identifiable with the *utpadaivittu madil* and the Rajendra-

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solan *madil* respectively. From the debris, it is clear that the walls were built of large-sized burnt bricks. The palace also would appear to have been built of brick, with many of the buildings in it being multi-storeyed. Flat tiles were used for the roofs and polished wood for pillars and panelling. Granite stumps which presumably supported wooden pillars have been recovered from the debris. We have inscriptional references to a palace-building called Chola-Keralan *tirumaligai* (after a surname of Rajendra I), and to a throne in it called Mavali Vanadhirajan. An inscription of the 49th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1119) as well as later inscriptions make reference to a palace-building called Gangaikondasolan *maligai*. We hear of another wall of enclosure called Kulottungasolan *tirumadil*; and of highways and roads called Kulottungasolan *tirumadil peruvali*, Vilangudaiyan *peruvali* and *Kulayanai-pona peruvali*; Rajarajan *peruvali* and Rajendra *peruvali* were evidently laid out even at the time of the creation of the city. We also get the names of a few suburbs of the city such as Virasolapuram, Kollapuram, Meykavalputtur, Vanavanallur, Virabhoga and others.

Vastu and *Agama* requirements of town-planning were implicitly followed as regards the disposition of the various temples in the diverse corners of the city; thus, the Siva temple is to the north-east (*isana*) of the city, and the Sasta (Ayyanar) temple to the south-east; and, according to the local population, an image of Vishnu with Consort was found till recently in its original place to the west of the site of the palace ruins.

But, of all the remains, the one most certainly worth a visit is the magnificent temple of Gangaikonda-cholisvaram, dedicated to Siva and built in close imitation of the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. The *Linga* in the sanctum rises to a height of 3.96 ms (13′) and is said to be the largest such in any South Indian temple. The temple-campus, whose courtyard is 172.82 ms (567′) long and 96.93 ms (318′) wide, consists of the main shrine in the middle, two subsidiary shrines to its north and south called the Vada Kailasam and Ten Kailasam respectively, a shrine for Chandesvarar, one for Mahishasuramardini, a rather large step-well called the Simhakkeni (lion-well), a massive stucco Nandi, a *bali-pitham* east of the Nandi, and an *alankara*

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mandapa (in ruins), a much later construction. All these are encompassed by a vestigial wall of enclosure* in whose eastern wing there was a *gopuram*; the superstructure of the latter has fallen, and only the basal portion is left.

The Main Shrine

In its structural constituents, the main shrine closely resembles its Tanjavur counterpart. It consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa* and a *mahamandapa*. They share a common massive *adhishthanam*, mounted on an equally massive *upapitham*. Projecting horizontally along the dividing line between these two is a narrow running platform, going the full round, and imparting a light-and-shade effect to the structure. The *upapitham* is decorated by a series of mythical and other animals, mostly lions and leogriffs, interspersed with low relief panels of floral design. A portion of the *upapitham* is possibly embedded in the ground, the level of the latter having risen in course of time. The sides of the *adhishthanam* contain many of the formal mouldings such as the *padmam, kumudam, varimanam* (here, an ornate frieze of *yalis* carrying riders) and *vari,* though some, like the *kantham* and the *kapotam,* are absent. The *upapitham* is 103.63 ms (340′) long and 30.48 ms (100′) wide. The *garbhagriha* and *mahamandapa* are also of the same width, and respectively 30.48 ms (100′) and 53.34 ms (175′) long. The *ardhamandapa* is shaped like a constricted square neck between the two, of side 19.81 ms (65′).

THE SRIVIMANA

The dominating element of the temple is of course the *srivimana*. The *garbhagriha* walls rise to a height of 10.67 ms (35′)

*Extract from a local publication of A.D. 1855, reproduced in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, p.274: "When the lower Kolerun *anikut* was built, the structure (of Gangaikonda cholisvaram) was dismantled of a large part of the splendid granite sculptures which adorned it, and the enclosing wall was almost wholly destroyed in order to obtain materials for the work. The poor people did their utmost to prevent this destruction and spoliation of a venerated edifice by the servants of a Government that could show no title to it, but of course without success. They were also punished for contempt. A promise was made that a wall of brick should be built in place of the stone wall that was pulled down; but unhappily it must be recorded that this promise has never been redeemed."

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over the *adhishthanam,* and are divided into two (equal) horizontal courses, as in the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur, by a massive cornice going all around. The lower and upper courses each have five bays on each of the three free sides (i.e., other than the eastern). Of the five bays, the central bay is the widest, the end bays are square, while the intermediate bays are oblong, with the vertical side longer than the horizontal. Each bay is terminated at its flanks by a canton in the form of a pilaster; in the central bay, the wide expanse of its facade is relieved by two more pilasters (of the same size as the cantons) framing the central and main niche (of that course and that side), instead of the diminutive pilasters that frame the niches in the remaining bays. There are thus twelve large and beautiful pilasters on each side of each course. Above the intervening cornice, the design and pattern are replicas of the lower course, only the niche figures varying. The pilasters are massive, square in cross-section, and have all the constituent elements including a rather massive abacus *(palagai)* etching a discontinuous line along the upper reaches of each course, below the cornice. An interesting feature, found here as well as at Tanjavur, is the indulgence in cameos wherever there was space between the pilasters and the niche, as is the case with the central and the end bays. The cameos in the central bay are in four horizontal rows of anecdotal panels relating to some *Puranic* story centering round the niche figure. The space between the *vari,* and *varimanam* mouldings below the central and the end bays carries some fine dancing figures; there is no such (or other) embellishment under the intermediate bays. In the treatment of the recesses between the bays, there is a difference between the lower and the upper courses; each recess of the lower course has a *kumbha-panjara,* and of the upper, a niche with a figure. The mid-level cornice is supported on a beam (*uttiram*) resting on a three-pronged corbel with a bevelled edge and a tenon. The cornice is segmented into five lengths corresponding to the bays below (and above) and has floral designs in cameo over the corners and decorative *kudus,* each with a semi-circular niche in the centre and a *simha-mukha* (lion-face) crowning it; the central segment has two such *kudus* and the others one each. There is

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a *yali* frieze above the cornice and a *bhutagana* frieze (overshadowed by the heavy inward curve of the cornice) below it. There is a *hara* over the *prastara*.

The *srivimana* comprises nine *talas* including the ground *tala* (as against thirteen at Tanjavur). The upper *talas* are gradually diminishing replicas of the lowest. The ornamentation consists of square and oblong pavilions; the central and intermediate ones on each side project forward beyond the alignment of the corner *kutas*; this planned, symmetrical unevenness of surface treatment lends a sinuousness to the tower that we do not have at Tanjavur. The *griva* is embellished with niches in the four cardinal directions and, at the four corners of the square platform supporting it, there are four *nandis*. The *griva*-niches are crowned with *kirtimukhas*. The *sikhara* is not of one stone, despite local belief, and is draped on the top with lotus petal designs. It is (even in proportion to the rest of the structure) smaller than that at Tanjavur. The gold-coated *stupi* is of metal, with a lotus-bud design at the top. It is said to bear an inscriptional reference to Nallakka-tola Udaiyar, a *poligar* of Udaiyarpalayam; he might have gifted a new *stupi* or re-gilded the original.

The *srivimana* rises to a height of only 48.77 ms (160′) as compared to the 63.40 ms (208′) of the Rajarajesvaram; even so, it dominates the vicinity. The base of the *srivimana* in both the cases being virtually of the same dimensions, the reduced height, the smaller number of *talas* and the concavity imparted to the superstructure here in contrast to the severely straight pyramidal form of the Tanjavur counterpart, all add up to present an entirely different image here from what obtains at Tanjavur. To quote Percy Brown (JISOA, Vol. II): "In spite of its almost cloying richness viewed as a whole, there is a fine fully matured beauty in this Chola masterpiece." In fine, he terms it "the feminine counterpart of Tanjore".*

*'These measurements are based on those found in the standard published books. Our plan records slightly different data furnished by our Surveyor.

See also Tables I and II showing the height of the superstructure in relation to that of sanctum, and of the proportion of the plinth of the temple in relation to its height in respect of some South Indians Temples in the scholarly publication 'The Kampaharesvara Temple' by H. Sarkar, brought out by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamilnadu.

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THE ARDHAMANDAPA

The *ardhamandapa* connects the *garbhagriha* and the *mahamandapa* and is approachable from the north and the south by flights of steps located between the east wall of the *garbhagriha* and the west wall of the *mahamandapa*. The steps are in two stages as at Tanjavur, the first stage taking us to a landing on a level with the top of the *upapitham*, and the second stage to the threshold of the doorway to the *ardhamandapa* (on a level with the top of the *adhishthanam*). These doorways are guarded by massive *dvarapalas*. The *mandapa* is supported by plain, square and heavy pillars. On the eastern wall of the *ardhamandapa* (and facing west), there are series of thematic panels depicting *puranic* episodes (on either side of the entrance to the *mahamandapa)*. One set of three panels illustrates Siva humbling Ravana's pride; another depicts Vishnu in the act of pulling out one of His eyes on finding that He was one short of the 1,008 lotuses intended to be offered to Siva in worship, and Siva bestowing grace on Him (*Vishnu-anugraha*). Uma's marriage to Siva is the theme of a panel close to the doorway. Vishnu is the *kanya-data* (giving away the bride)

Comparative Statement of the Height of a Few Temples

(H. Sarkar)

	Place	Temple	Total Height	Height of Sanctum	Height of Superstructure
1	Kanchipuram	Kailasanathar	20.28 ms 66.33′	5.49 ms 18.00′	14.79 ms 48.33′
2	Kanchipuram	Vaikuntha Perumal	22.30 ms 72.75′	6.60 ms 21.42′	15.70 ms 51.33′
3	Mamallapuram	Shore Temple	16.96 ms 55.42′	4.06 ms 13.20′	12.90 ms 42.22′
4	Tanjavur	Rajarajesvaram	59.98 ms 196.50′	15.85 ms 52.00′	44.13 ms 144.50′
5	Gangaikonda-Cholapuram	Gangaikonda-Solisvaram	54.86 ms 180.00′	14.78 ms 48.50′	40.08 ms 131.50′
6	Darasuram	Airavatesvarar	25.17 ms 83.00′	5.82 ms 19.50′	19.35 ms 63.50′
7	Tribhuvanam	Kampaharesvarar	38.45 ms 126.00′	10.79 ms 35.25′	27.66 ms 90.75′

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and Brahma the chief priest. Close to and north of the doorway is a panel dealing with the Kirata-Arjuna episode. At the northern extreme, there are two panels; one depicts the Markandeyar episode (Kalantaka) and the other the Chandesvarar episode. The quality of these sculptures is not to be compared to that of the massive and exquisite sculptures on the *garbhagriha* walls.

NICHE SCULPTURES

What may place Gangaikonda-cholisvaram on a higher pedestal than even Rajarajesvaram is a delectable set of sculptures found on the *garbhagriha* walls, numbering as many as fifty. They are boldly conceived and executed with consummate skill and dedication. The very soul of the craftsman would seem to have been poured out into these forms in stone. Of all these products of the Dravidian ateliers, three stand out as superb specimens: Chandesanugraha-murti, Nataraja and Sarasvati, which have luckily not been touched by the hand of time or of the vandal. The two-tiered *garbhagriha* offered the sculptor two separate "canvases" to work on. The niche-figures in the cardinal directions are the traditional ones: Dakshinamurti in the south and Brahma in the north, in both tiers; and, in the west (rear), Vishnu in the lower tier and Lingodbhavar in the upper. There being four bay-niches and four recess-niches in the upper tier and four bay-niches in the lower, other than the central niches already covered above, we get as many more niche-figures—four in the lower tier and eight in the upper tier of each free side. On the east wall of the *garbhagriha,* there are two niche-figures in the first tier and four in the second tier. Being a *mahaprasada,* the temple gave full scope to the artists to follow the *Agamic* specifications, and thus we have both Lingodbhavar and Vishnu as niche figures in the west (rear), in the lower tier; Subrahmanyar occupies another such niche, yet another special feature. Chandesanugraha-murti in the northern lower-tier niche of the eastern wall has precedents in the Pallava temples of Airavatesvara, Muktesvarar and Matangesvarar at Kanchipuram. The (clockwise) disposition of the images on the free sides, in both tiers, is given below:

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LOWER TIER

South	*West*	*North*
Ganapati	Gangadharar	Kalantaka
Ardhanari	Lingodbhavar	Durga
Dakshinamurti	Mahavishnu	Brahma
Hariharar	Subrahmanyar	Bhairavar
Nataraja	Vishnu Anugraha-murti	Kamantakar

UPPER TIER

South	*West*	*North*
Kalantakar	Bhikshatanar	Gauri Prasada
A four-armed standing deity	A three-headed figure	A four-armed deity
–do–	Varuna (?)	–do–
Yama	Vishnu	Soma
Dakshinamurti	Lingodbhavar	Brahma
A four-armed deity	Brahma	A four-armed deity
–do–	Vayu	Isana
–do–	A four-armed deity	Bhuvarahar
Nirutti	–do–	Subrahmanyar

In the first tier of the east wall of the *garbhagriha,* there are images of Chandesanugrahamurti on the north and Kankaladharar on the south, overlooking the flights of steps leading to the *ardha-mandapa* on the north and south sides respectively. Facing them, on the west wall of the *mahamandapa,* are images of Sarasvati and Lakshmi, respectively. In the second tier of the east wall of the *garbhagriha,* there are images of Gajasamharamurti and Chandra in the north (above the Chandesanugrahamurti image of the first tier) and Surya and Agni in the south (above the Kankala-dharar image of the first tier).

A chart showing the positions of these icons in the temple walls will be found among the illustrations.

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The figures in the upper tier may be grouped into: the normal niche figures found in the cardinal points; the eight guardian deities or *dikpalas* (listed clockwise from the south-east, these are: Agni, Yama, Nirutti, Varuna, Vayu, Soma, Isana and Indra—the last not represented here; and the *Ekadasa* (Eleven) Rudras (Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha, Isana, Mrityunjaya, Vijaya, Kiranaksha, Aghorastra, Srikantha and Mahadeva), who, according to the Agamic texts, are to be shown standing, with four arms, holding the *parasu* and the *mriga* in the upper hands while the lower ones are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses; besides these figures, Kalantakar, Bhikshatanar, Vishnu, Brahma, Gauri Prasada, Bhuvarahar and Subrahmanyar are also depicted.

THE DVARAPALAS

There are guardian deities here in all the places where we have them in the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur, except for three pairs which are found only in the latter flanking the big doorways on the three sides of the *garbhagriha*: in fact, even these openings are not there at Gangaikonda-cholisvaram. We have one pair in front of the *gopuram*. Victims of the ravages of time and man, they now lie face down in front of the *gopuram,* which is itself in ruins. A second pair stands majestically at the entrance to the *mahamandapa* which must once have been grand and imposing. There are a pair each at the entrance from the *mahamandapa* to the *ardhamandapa* and again from the latter to the *garbhagriha,* and flanking the flights of steps leading to the *ardhamandapa* from the courtyard in the north as well as south.

THE MAHAMANDAPA

The plinth, consisting of the *upapitham* and the *adhishthanam* supporting the *garbhagriha, ardhamandapa* and *mahamandapa,* also supports a pavilion akin to a *manimandapa* in front of the last-mentioned. The *mahamandapa* and this pavilion are separated by the flight of steps from the courtyard leading to either of them. The continuity of the mouldings on the *adhishthanam* indicates that the plinth has remained intact and that the main structure

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of the temple-complex comprised these four units. The original *mahamandapa* must have been an imposing structure of twice the present height, in keeping with the rest of the structure of this *mahaprasada*. As it now stands, only the plinth and remnants of its walls at the western extremity are original, the side walls, pillars and roof having been reconstructed. From the surviving portion, it is clear that the *prastara* of the *mahamandapa* must have been on a level with that of the *srivimana,* and that the cornice which divides the *garbhagriha* walls into two courses must have continued on to the *mahamandapa* walls as well. There must have been niches in the two courses so created on the latter walls, of which only one in the upper course and a few in the lower course have survived. They must have housed various subsidiary deities, such as the Vidyesvaras, Vasus and Adityas.

There is a central passage leading from the main entrance to the *garbhagriha* through the *ardhamandapa*; the size of the *dvarapalas* at the main entrance suggests that there was no ceiling above this passage except the original roof (at twice the height of the present roof); over the two platforms created by, and on either side of, this passage, there must have been a pavilion in two tiers, the roof of the first tier being at the level of the present roof (equivalently, at the level of the cornice which divided the outer wall into two courses).

THE SAURA-PITHA

In the north-east corner of the *mahamandapa*, there is a delicately carved representation of the Sun and the eight other planets of Hindu astrology, on an altar. It is in the form of a full-blown lotus on a square pedestal, in two tiers. The upper tier has the eight planets in the eight principal directions, and the lotus stands for the Sun, thus making up the nine *grahas*. The lower tier of the pedestal is crafted as a wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses, representing the seven days of the week. The wheels are ornamented with twelve petals each, representing the twelve months of the year. At the corners of the chariot are representations of celestial beings carrying flower-garlands.

The style, workmanship and even the sculptural theme of

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this piece bespeak its Chalukyan origin and it might have been brought here as a war trophy.

LOOSE STONE SCULPTURES

Notice should be taken of a fine set of loose sculptures found in the courtyard of the temple. Assembled together on a platform by the side of the northern entrance to the temple are sculptures of Bhikshatanar, Lingodbhavar, Ganapati, Subrahmanyar, Devi, Virabhadrar, Brahma, Durga, Chandrasekharar, Vrshabhantikar, Vinadharar and four of the lesser divinities. In the southern wing of the courtyard, close to the Ten Kailasam, images of Ardhanari, Gajalakshmi and Surya (two) are found partially buried in the ground. Near the lion-well is an icon of Vishnu with Sridevi. Many of these icons evidently occupied the niches of the *maha-mandapa* walls once.

BRONZES

It is surprising that the bronzes of this temple should have survived nearly a thousand years, particularly as the hand of the enemy must have fallen heavily on the palace and the city which was the capital of the Cholas. The Tanjavur temple has not shared this good fortune, for hardly any are left of the vast array of metals gifted to it by the king, his sister, his queens and his nobles. Perhaps even here, only a few of the original gifts has survived. Among them are two pieces of outstanding beauty and grandeur: the Somaskandar group and Karttikeya. The images of Siva and Uma in the former are giant-sized (Skanda is missing), forming perhaps the biggest set among such icons of the Chola or of any other period; datable definitely to the age of Rajendra I, this set must have been used as the processional deity-set. The Karttikeya image, measuring 107 cms in height, stands on a *padmapitham*, of which the lotus is realistic and not stylised; it has four arms: the right upper hand holds the *sakti* (partially broken), the right lower, the sword, of which only the handle remains, the left upper, a cock and the left lower, a shield. Among the others, also of remarkable workmanship, are the images of Bhogesvari, Durga, Adhikara-Nandi and

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Vrishabhavahanar. The Bhogesvari image, stationed as usual near the threshold of the sanctum, is two-armed and has an arresting smile and a perfect torso. The four-armed, standing image of Durga is in the *samabhanga* (erect) posture; the upper hands hold the *sankha* and the *chakra,* while the lower arms are in the *varada* and *kati-avalambita* poses* (Pls 204 to 231).

The Subsidiary Shrines

(A) *VADA KAILASAM*

(B) *TEN KAILASAM*

As already mentioned, there are two subsidiary shrines, one on either side of the main shrine, called the *Vada* (northern) and the *Ten* (southern) *Kailasams.*** Both shrines were originally dedicated to Siva; the *Vada Kailasam* has since been converted into an Amman shrine, most probably in the early years of the Later Chola period, when separate Amman shrines came into being for the first time. Both face east, and are alike in most respects.

The *Vada Kailasam* comprises a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa,* and a *mahamandapa* (which appears to be a later addition). It has a *dvi-tala srivimana* with a *griva,* curvilinear *sikhara* and *stupi.* The *garbhagriha* walls contain three niches with the usual images installed in them: Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the west (rear) and Brahma (bearded) in the north. The *ardhamandapa* niche-figures are: Ganapati, Nataraja, Bhikshatanar and Subrahmanyar in the south, and Gauri Prasada, Durga,

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*Two other bronzes of the period of Rajendra I found elsewhere deserve mention. These are the *urdhva tandava* form of Nataraja housed in the temple at Tiruvalangadu, and the *ananda tandava* form, a treasure trove unearthed at Tiruvalangadu, now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras.

**We recall that two subshrines with these selfsame names exist at the Panchanadisvarar temple at Tiruvaiyaru also. The Vada Kailasam there is a creation of Logamahadevi, a queen of Rajaraja I, and the Ten Kailasam, of Rajendra I. These twin shrines appear to have provided the prototype for their counterparts here. It is noteworthy, however, that at Tiruvaiyaru they have *remained* as Siva shrines.

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Ardhanari and Bhairavar in the north. At the entrance from the *mahamandapa* to the *ardhamandapa,* there is a pair of *dvarapalas,* and, facing them, on the west wall of the *mahamandapa,* are images of Sarasvati to the north and Gajalakshmi to the south.

The *mahamandapa* of the *Ten Kailasam* has collapsed; and the niche figures in the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* walls are the same as in the two shrines above, except that the northern *garbhagriha* niche here is empty. The sanctum is empty, and in ruins.

(*C*) There is a small shrine for Ganapati to the south-west of the main shrine. It is perhaps a later structure.

(*D*) To the south-east of the palace remains, there is a small shrine housing Ayyanar and His Consorts, Purna and Pushkala. The image of the main deity is a beautiful piece of sculpture and of the same quality as the sculptures of the main temple.

(*E*) The Vishnu temple, about 1.5 kms to the west of the main temple, is associated with the lives of the Vaishnava saints Nadamuni, who breathed his last here, and his grandson Alavandar, who, failing to reach the place in time to see his grandfather alive, built a memorial temple at the spot where the latter died. Local tradition has it that this memorial temple is the Vishnu temple here called the Kurugai Kavalappar (corrupted into Kuruvalappar) temple. The main deity is called Viranarayanap-Perumal.

(*F*) To the north-east of the main shrine and close to the lion-well is the Mahishasuramardini shrine, a later structure. The main deity has the characteristics of a Chalukyan piece and was probably brought here as a war trophy.

CHALUKYAN AND KALINGAN SCULPTURES

In addition to the *Saura pitha* and the Mahishasuramardini images above, there are a few images which may be taken to be of Chalukyan origin, judging from the general treatment, features and disposition of weapons (if any): the Durga image found in

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the Vira Reddi street here; the four-armed image of Ganapati called Kanakkup-Pillaiyar installed in a small shrine a few hundred metres to the south-west of the big temple; and possibly the sculptures of Surya and an eight-armed Durga, installed near the *Saura pitha*.

The Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu Government, recently unearthed from a mound called Kalaichanga medu, close to the village of Meykavalputtur and about 2 kms east of the main temple, some sculptures of Kalingan origin. One is of Kali or Durga*, eight-armed and seated on a pedestal. There are three red-stone sculptures typical of Kalingan art of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., namely, a standing Bhairavar, a fragmentary Bhairavar with only the upper portion intact, and a Bhairavi. These were presumably brought as trophies of the Gangetic campaign in the days of Rajendra I.

THE CHOLAGANGAM LAKE

To consider briefly the lake now called Ponneri. It was brought into being by Rajendra I as a "water pillar of victory" (*jalamayam ana jayastambham*) and named Cholagangam, according to the Tiruvalangadu Plates of his. It has a bund of considerable height and a length of more than 5 kms. At full water-level, it has a water spread of nearly 130 sq. kms. It once had a surplus weir, and input channels from the Kollidam river and other sources, and must have been connected to the palace-moat. It has been allowed to go to seed, and a road now cuts through the bund in the middle, dividing the lake into two parts.

Inscriptions:

A surprising feature of this temple is the total absence of any inscriptions here of the (days of the) founder, Rajendra I. (It is likely that he had intended to set up ultimately a comprehensive

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*Durga images are usually found enshrined in the four cardinal directions in the periphery of a city, protecting it from evil. At Gangaikondasolapuram, such images have been found at Palli Odai in the north, at Meykavalputtur in the east (a majestic seven-foot figure) and on the Vira Reddi street in the south (the Chalukyan image already mentioned). An image was found in the west, on the bund of the great lake, and recently re-located close to the palace remains.

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record giving the foundation details and the list of endowments made to the temple by himself and others, following the example of his illustrious father in respect of the Tanjavur temple who set up such a record in the last year of his life; but, as we know, death came to Rajendra I at Brahmadesam, far from his capital. His two immediate successors also did not apparently find the time to record his endowments or theirs. Whatever be the causes, the earliest, and incidentally the longest, inscription in the temple is of the reign of Vira Rajendra (ARE 82 of 1892; SII, IV, 529). Running to 216 lines, it records in fact a compendium of six different orders, issued over the years by Rajendra I and his sons: the earliest order is of the twenty-third regnal year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1035), followed by two of Rajadhiraja I of his twenty-sixth and thirtieth regnal years (A.D. 1044 and 1048). For the most part, the contents of this inscription form a repetition of the foundation inscription of Rajaraja I at the Tanjavur temple, and appear to transfer in effect to the (local) temple most of the benefactions made to the Tanjavur temple by Rajaraja I. The first mention of the name of Gangaikonda-cholisvaram for the temple is to be found in this inscription. Vira Rajendra refers to his father as the conqueror of Purvadesam, Ganga (region) and Kadaram (*Purvadesamum, Gangaiyum, Kadaramum kondarulina Ayyar*), to Rajadhiraja I as the victor at Kalyanapuram and Kollapuram who died on the back of an elephant as a hero in the battlefield (*Kalyanapuramum Kollapuramum kondu anai mel tunjina Annal*), and goes on to narrate his own victories (against the Western Chalukyas and in the reconquest of Vengi). The inscription tells us that altogether 340 *kalanjus* of gold and 1,10,000 *kalams* of paddy were to be given to the temple treasury annually by various villages named in it (with precise details of the individual contributions to be made).

An inscription which has suffered fragmentation apparently due to a later shoddy reconstruction of the steps and the landing is of the forty-first year of Kulottunga I; it is the record of a Gahadavala king, with whose dynasty the Cholas, particularly in the days of Kulottunga I, kept up close contacts. It gives the Gahadavala *prasasti* almost completely, but stops short of the

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name of the king and the purpose of the inscription. The Gahadavalas were great patrons of Sun worship and their influence may be read into the setting up, during the reign of Kulottunga I, of the only known Sun temple in the Chola country, at Suryanar-Koyil.

We have a few fragmentary inscriptions of Kulottunga III (by the side of the flight of steps leading to the *mahamandapa* entrance), referring to his victories over the Pandyas, Sri Lanka and Karuvur and to the erection of a commemorative pillar of victory.

There are four Pandyan inscriptions. One is of the second year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, who proved to be the nemesis of the Cholas; it records the institution by him of a daily service in the temple in his name, called the Sundara Pandyan *sandhi* and the grant of lands for the purpose. An inscription of the sixth year of his brother Vikrama Pandya records the establishment by him of a service in his name called the Rajakkal Nayan *sandhi* and the grant of 20 *velis* of land for the purpose. The other two are of the fourth and fifth years of Maravarman Kulasekhara (the latter an incomplete one).*

UTTATTUR (URRATTUR)

57 SIDDHARATNESVARAR (TOGUMAMANI NAYANAR) TEMPLE

Uttattur, whose ancient name was Urrattur, is about 3.20 kms (2 miles) to the south-east of Padalur, which is 34 kms (21 miles) from Tiruchy on the Tiruchy-Madras trunk road. It has an Early Chola temple, whose deity is now called Siddharatnesvarar, but was known in olden days by the name of Togumamani Nayanar; in spite of its antiquity, it is not one of those temples celebrated in song by the Nayanmars; Appar has, however, mentioned this temple in his *Kshetrak Kovai* (stanza 10) and *Adaivut-tirut-tandagam* as one of the celebrated Siva temples of his time.

*An authentic guide-book on this temple is published by R. Nagaswamy, Director of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu.

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The temple comprises the main shrine locally called Andavar temple, a *yaga-mandapa,* a hall known as the Uttamasolan *mandapa,* and two *gopuras*. To the north of the main shrine is the Amman shrine dedicated to Akhilandesvari.

The presiding deity has undergone considerable changes in its name: starting off as the Mahadevar of Urrattur in the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, it is called Urrattur Peruman-adigal in the days of Rajadhiraja I; Togumamani Andar, in the days of the Later Cholas beginning with Vikrama Chola; Togumamani Nayakar or Nayanar in the days of Rajadhiraja II and for over two centuries thereafter; and finally, Tuyya Mamani Nayanar in the days of Achyuta Raya of the Vijayanagara rulers.

The temple abounds in inscriptions. On the west side of the base of the *yaga-mandapa,* there is an incomplete record of the 24th year of Rajaraja I: all that we can gather from it is the association of a Muttaraiyar with the temple (ARE 514 of 1912). The next record belongs to the third year of Rajendra I and is of some historical importance. It refers to a gift made to the Mahadevar at Urrattur for the merit of one Srutiman Nakkan Chandiran *alias* Rajamalla Muttaraiyan of the elephant corps who met with a hero's death while carrying out the orders of the king to pierce the enemy's elephant, in the battle of Hottur (A.D. 1007: Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 433) fought between Rajendra I and the Western Chalukya ruler Irivabedanga Satyasraya (ARE 515 of 1912).

Again on the west side of the base of the *yaga-mandapa,* there are two inscriptions of the days of Rajadhiraja I. One, of his twenty-eighth year, refers to a sale of land to the temple of Urrattur Peruman-adigal (ARE 513 of 1912). The other is incomplete and its date unknown; it records the gift of a lamp to the Mahadevar of Urrattur for the merit of a woman residing at Tirani (ARE 516 of 1912).

There are no inscriptions relating to the reigns of his successors till the days of Vikrama Chola.

The temple faces east. The oldest parts of the temple are the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa;* the former is a square of side 2.44 ms (8′), and the *ardhamandapa* projects 1.88 ms (6′) forward

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from it. Ahead of the *ardhamandapa* is the *snapana mandapa,* in one corner of which the old Nandi of the temple is kept; it is reached from the north or the south by a small flight of steps. The *garbhagriha* has three *devakoshtas* containing Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north; the two *ardhamandapa* niches also contain the usual figures: Ganapati in the south and Durga in the north.

The *griva, sikhara* and *stupi* are modern. The Later Chola *gopuram* at the entrance to the temple is seven-storeyed and well-preserved; it was in existence even by the days of Kulottunga II.

The temple must have been a foundation of the days of Aditya I and has a continuous history of royal benefactions till well into the Vijayanagara days. Though it is an utterly neglected one today, it had played a significant role in the history of the region over the centuries: a longstanding dispute between certain communities in this region was settled at a meeting in the local Uttamasolan *mandapa* and the rights of the so-called Idangai community were finalised and recorded in an inscription, in the fortieth year of Kulottunga III (ARE 489 of 1912).

The Amman shrine* has an unusual and unique set of *devakoshta* figures, namely, the three *Saktis*: Jnana, Ichcha and Kriya, and besides Durga and Brahmi (Pls 232 to 247).

The Cholisvaram temple:

In the outskirts of the village, atop a low hillock, there is a dilapidated Later Chola temple. There are two inscriptions on

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**The Akhilandesvari shrine*: Alongside and to the north of the main shrine is the Amman shrine, the two having a common wall of enclosure. The Amman shrine has a foundation inscription on the south side of its base, and records the consecration of the presiding deity by one Umai Alvi *alias* Sivakamasundari Manikkam, one of the dancing girls of the temple of Togumamani Nayanar (the main shrine); the date of this record is not available. However, there is another (incomplete) record found in the same location, of the days of Kulottunga III, referring to a gift to a *Siva-brahmana* attached to the Amman shrine; the date is lost (ARE 505 and 504 of 1912). On the west wall of the first *prakara*, there is a record of the sixteenth year of Kulottunga III, relating to an exchange of land given to a dancing girl of the temple of Togumamani Nayanar of Urrattur for the maintenance of a shrine for *Umai* Isvaram udaiya Nayanar which she had constructed in one of the *devadana* villages (ARE 503 of 1912). If we hazard the reasonable conjecture that the last-mentioned shrine was built by the same girl Umai Alvi, as the name of that shrine would indicate, then the Akhilandesvari shrine may be concluded to have come into existence about the same time, namely, early in the reign of Kulottunga III.

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the south wall of the temple, one on either side of the entrance. One is of the thirteenth year, 194th day of Kulottunga II (A.D. 1146–47), and records that the temple (of Cholisvaram) was built by a certain Vana Vichchadira Nadalvan, a younger brother of Brahmadaraya Muttaraiyar, and that the income from the village of Siruvalaippur in Kannak-Kiliyur nadu was assigned to that temple (ARE 531 of 1912). The other is of the fourth year, 226th day of Rajaraja II (A.D. 1150–51), and records that the village of Ulattambadi in the same *nadu* was gifted as a *devadana* to the temple of Kulottungasola Isvaram Udaiyar of Urrattur; the grant is recorded and attested by the royal secretary (*tiru mandira olai*) named Rajasraya Pallavaraiyan (ARE 530 of 1912).

This temple is thus a foundation of the days of Kulottunga II (Anapaya) and was named after him. It is now in utter ruins, and urgent steps are needed to conserve what is left of it.

TIRUPPATTUR (TIRUPPIDAVUR)

TIRUMANDAPAM UDAIYA NAYANAR (AYYANAR) TEMPLE 58

The village of Tiruppattur (to be distinguished from its better-known namesakes in the North Arcot and Ramanathapuram districts) is about 30.50 kms (19 miles) from the town of Tiruchy and 5 kms (3 miles) from Siruganur to the left of the trunk road from Tiruchy to Madras. It is referred to as Tirup-Pidavur in ancient Tamil literature and in local inscriptions. There are a number of temples in this locality: (1) The Kailasanathar temple; (2) The Tirumandapam udaiya Nayanar (Ayyanar) temple; (3) The Purushottama Emperumanar (Vishnu) temple; (4) The Brahmapurisvarar temple; and (5) The Kasi Visvanathar temple. The following temples are mentioned in inscriptions to have existed in the locality: the Siva temple of Tiru-Veppan-terri udaiya Nayanar; the Anbichchuram udaiya Nayanar temple; and the temple of Subrahmanyar (or Kunram-erinda) Pillaiyar.

The Kailasanathar temple, built of stone, seems to have been

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erected in the 8th century A.D., between the reigns of Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II and Nandivarman II, and bears a close resemblance to its namesake at Kanchipuram in style and features except for the absence here of the Somaskandar panel in the rear wall of the *garbhagriha*.

Next to the above temple is the Ayyanar temple called in inscriptions that of Tirumandapam udaiya Nayanar. We shall revert to this important temple below. It seems probable that the Siva temple (shrine) called that of Tiru-Veppan-terri udaiya Nayanar in local inscriptions, was located on a platform in the *prakara* of this temple. The other two temples, of Anbichchuram udaiya Nayanar and Subrahmanya Pillaiyar, mentioned in inscriptions, are not traceable.

The Brahmapurisvarar temple is a big one of the Middle Chola period. We are, however, unable to trace its evolution in time because of the total absence of inscriptions on its walls. Two interesting temple-cars with metal attachments are worthy of notice here.

Half a mile (800 ms) north of the preceding temple, there is a Vishnu temple, which must be that of Purushottama Emperuman referred to in an inscription of Jatavarman Vira Pandya (of about A.D. 1277). It must have been an ancient Pallava temple, reconstructed later. In the western *prakara* of this temple, there is a huge stone image of Vishnu, 1.96 ms (6′ 5″) high and 0.79 m (2′ 7″) wide, of good workmanship and assignable to the Pallava period.

To the far west of the village is a Siva temple called that of Kasi Visvanathar. It is of the Later Chola or possibly Vijayanagara period.

Historically, and especially from the point of view of Saiva hagiology, the Ayyanar temple here is important. Appar mentions the temple of Tiruppidavur in his *Kshetra tiruttandagam*. In the last section of his *Periyapuranam* (twelfth century A.D.), called the *Vellanaich-charukkam* (The canto of the white elephant), Sekkilar describes graphically the last journey, to Mount Kailasa, of Sundarar and Cheraman Perumal. When the former, seated on the white elephant sent by Lord Siva, set off for Kailasa, the

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latter got on to a horse and merely whispered the *Siva-mantra* (*panchaksharam*) into its ears, to find himself in Kailasa even ahead of Sundarar. Both of them were blessed with a vision of Siva with His Consort in Kailasa, well-adorned and attended by Brahma, Vishnu, Kama and Rati, Murugan, Vinayaka, Kari (Ayyanar), the *devas, vidyadharas, yakshas, kinnaras, nagas, dvara-palas, dikpalas, dik-gajas* and others. This divine "procession" is described by Cheraman Perumal in his swan-song called the *Tiruk Kailaya Jnana Ula*; this is the first instance of this form of Tamil poetry and is hence also called the *Adi Ula*. This *Ula* of Cheraman Perumal is held by tradition to have been expounded by Varuna to Siva's devotees at Tiruvanjaikkalam (Mahodai or Kodungolur, modern Cranganore), the home-town of Cheraman Perumal, and by Sattanar (Ayyanar) in the temple at Tirup-pidavur.

The inscriptional name of Tirumandapam udaiya Nayanar temple for this temple would appear to be in commemoration of this legendary final episode in the life of Cheraman Perumal. An earlier version of the present stone *mandapa* in front of the Ayyanar shrine must have existed from the days of Sundarar and Cheraman Perumal (ninth century A.D.). The present shrine and *mandapa* seem assignable to the Middle Chola period. The earliest Chola inscriptions here are two, of the days of Rajendra I; one, of the second regnal year, is on the east wall of the *mandapa,* and the other, of the sixth year, on the stone pedestal on which the images of Ayyanar and His two Consorts are placed. The first mentions that the residents of Tiruppidavur *nadu* and two other *nadus* granted the lease of some fallow land to a servant of the temple of Anbichchuram udaiya Nayanar at Tiruppidavur. The second is fragmentary and mentions a gift by one Uttama-sola Muvendavelan.

In the north-east corner of the *prakara* of the Ayyanar temple and to the north of the (main) *mandapa,* there are a shrine and a *mandapa,* both in ruins. On the pillars of the ruined *mandapa* there are two inscriptions of the days of Rajadhiraja I. One is fragmentary and contains only the historical introduction. The other, of his thirty-first year, refers to a gift of cows for a lamp

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to the temple of Pillaiyar Veppan-terri udaiyar at Tiruppidavur (described as situated in Rajaraja valanadu) by a native of Mechchumangalam, a hamlet of Perumpaluvur (Melappaluvur), the headquarters of the Paluvettaraiyars. In this connection, it may also be mentioned that an inscription of the sixth regnal year of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (I?) found on the north wall of the main *mandapa* records a gift of the income of two villages to the temples of Tirumandapam udaiya Nayanar and Tiru Veppan-terri udaiya Nayanar here; also the residents of Urrattur Malavi nadu gave gifts for offerings and repairs to the temple of Subrahmanya Pillaiyar in the same village (ARE 594 of 1908). The Veppan-terri udaiyar shrine might have been located within the premises of the Ayyanar temple: could it have been the shrine in ruins (in the *prakara*) already referred to? The Subrahmanyar temple is referred to as that of Kunram-erinda Pillaiyar in a record of the fourth year of Rajaraja III (ARE 595 of 1908). There are several other Later Chola inscriptions in this temple, as well as of the Hoysalas (Vira Ramanatha) and of the Pandyas of the Second Empire.

As already stated, the main shrine is of stone and consists of a *garbhagriha,* housing the images of Ayyanar and His two Consorts (later additions?), and the *mandapa* in front. There is a *prakara* with a few shrines in it, enclosed by a *madil* with a three-storeyed *gopuram* built in the thirteenth century A.D. which bears an inscription of its builder. There is a unique stone sculpture of an elephant (the *vahana* of Ayyanar) in front of the temple.

The importance given to the *mandapa,* to the extent of naming the deity after it (so to speak), is of interest. An analogous situation exists at Uttaramerur, where the big *mandapa* in the Vaikuntha Perumal temple apparently first served as the meeting place of the *mahasabha* of the *chaturvedimangalam* (probably with a Vishnu image as the presiding deity) and later on the present Vishnu temple was erected adjoining it, in the days of Kulottunga I.

As far as our knowledge goes, this is the only important stone temple for Ayyanar, not to speak of the huge elephant vehicle in stone sculpture in front of it. The Abhiramesvarar

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temple at Ayyur-Agaram (in the vicinity of Villupuram, South Arcot district) is, in spite of the name given to it, a Sasta temple. The central deity is still Sasta, while in recent times a Linga has been installed in the *prakara*, perhaps justifying the new name of Abhiramesvarar (Pls 248 to 250).

MAHADANAPURAM

CHOLISVARAM TEMPLE 59

The village of Mahadanapuram is on the south bank of the Kaveri, 54 kms west of Tiruchy on the Tiruchy-Karur road. The Cholisvaram temple is located in the wilderness about three kms from Mahadanapuram in a southerly direction. On the south wall of the central shrine is an incomplete inscription of the 5th year of Rajendra Chola deva (II), from which we get the fragmentary information that certain gifts were possibly made for the worship of a deity called Rajendra Vitankar, presumably a metallic processional image, set up in the temple of Sri Kailasam Udaiyar *alias* Sri Madhurantaka Isvaram Udaiyar, located in Cholakulamanikka chaturvedimangalam (Mahadanapuram) of Adanur nadu in Abhimanajiva valanadu, a *brahmadeyam* administered by a committee of elders called *Perunguri perumakkal sabhai*. An inscription in the same location of the fourth year of Kulottunga I, relating to a gift of tax-free land to the temple, also mentions the above two names for the temple (ARE 386 A and 386 of 1903: SII, VIII, 702 and 701). An inscription of the fifth year of Rajaraja III, registering a land-gift by a Hoysala military officer for the deity of Subrahmanya Pillaiyar set up by a local Chief in the temple, also refers to the temple by the name of Madhurantaka Cholisvaram Udaiyar koyil (ARE 387 of 1930: SII, VIII, 703).

From the fact that the earliest inscription here is of the days of Rajendra II and that the temple has throughout been known as Madhurantaka Cholisvaram, we may attribute the temple to the days of Rajendra I (one of whose surnames was Madhurantaka).

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TIRU-NALLAR(U)

60 DARBHARANYESVARAR TEMPLE

Tirunallaru is a railway station situated on the Peralam-Karaikkal branch line of the Southern Railway. It was formerly a French settlement, now included in the Union Territory of Pondicherry. It is situated on the southern bank of the Kaveri and the river Arisil flows close by. Its other names are Adipuri, Natesvaram and Nagavitankapuram (as one of the Sapta-Vitanka temples); it is a celebrated centre of Saivism.

In modern times, Tirunallaru is famous as the home of Sani-Bhagavan (Lord Saturn) and it attracts a large number of pilgrims from all over the Tamil Nadu. It is sanctified by its legendary association with Nala and its glorification by Sambandar in his historical encounters with Jainism at Madurai in the court of Kun Pandyan who became Ninra Seer Nedumaran. The three Tamil saints have sung the glory of this Lord.

Sambandar:

This Saiva saint has four hymns on the Lord of Tiru-Nallaru. There are two hymns which seem to have been sung during his visit to this place from Dharmapuram accompanied by Tiru Nilakantha Yalpanar, the first hymn beginning with *Bhogamartha*. In a disputation over the merit of his hymns with the Jainas, held in the court of the Pandyan king, the palm leaf containing this hymn was thrown into the fire, in the test by fire-ordeal; and since it remained unconsumed, it acquired the name of *Pachchaip-padigam* (the hymn that was unburnt). In this hymn, the Lord of Tirunallaru is described as Ardhanarisvarar, the master of the Rishabha mount, with the attributes of the deer, the axe, the snake, the trident, the *jata*, the crescent, the Ganga and the Rishabha flag, the dancer in the cremation ground, the overthrower of the Tripura *asuras*, the poison-throated, the one inaccessible to Brahma and Vishnu, the wandering mendicant with a skull for his bowl and the suppressor of the heretical Buddhists and Jainas. After this victorious contest

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with the Jainas, Sambandar has sung another hymn in which he glorifies together (both) the Lord of Tirunallaru and Sundaresvarar, the Lord of Kudal Tiruvalavay, i.e. Madurai. This will prove the celebrity obtained by Tirunallaru in Saivite hagiology in the Tamil land.

In another hymn, there is a vivid description of the natural beauty of the temple campus, as full of trees, flowering plants and rice fields, where the Lord was worshipped by the Nagas, Vidyadharas, Devas and the *brahmanas* well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas and in the practice of sacrifices, and whose Lord was the saviour of Markandeya from Yama.

Special mention is made of the devotion and salvation of the Puranic Nala *maharaja* who is said to have got rid of his mortal ailments after he worshipped and gained the grace of Saturn and Darbharanyesvarar in this temple (stanza 3—*Nalan keluvi nalum valipadu-sey Nallarey*).

Appar:

Appar has sung two hymns concerning Tirunallaru. In one hymn he proclaims that one who utters once the name of the Lord of Tirunallaru will have all his sins washed away. In addition to Siva's usual attributes, He is described as the destroyer of Gajasura, the Lord worshipped by Vishnu (Naranan) perhaps for the gift of the *chakra*, the destroyer of the Tripura *asuras* and of Yama, the one who assumed the role of the hunter (*kirata*) to help Arjuna, the one who asserted and established his supremacy over Vishnu and Brahma (Lingodbhavar) and the one who humbled the pride of Ravana.

Appar's other hymn is in the *Tiruttandagam*, in which he describes Siva as the one who cut off the fifth head of Brahma, the one who gave the Pasupata-*astra* to Arjuna, the destroyer of Manmatha, the bearer of *khadvanga* and the wearer of the garland of skulls, the Lord of the Rishabha mount, Kankaladevar carrying the bones of Brahma and Vishnu, the bestower of grace on the devotee spider (Jambunatha temple) and the Lord of the hill of Tiruchy, the remover of the evil influences of the planets and the destroyer of Daksha.

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Incidentally, other important Saiva temples mentioned in these hymns are those of Tiruppainjili, Tiruppurambiyam, Tiruppugalur, Tiruvalisvaram and Vedaranyam (Tirumaraikkadu).

Sundaramurti:

The Saint Sundaramurti in his hymn mentions how the Lord of Tiruvennainallur won him over to a new life of divine service even in the course of the celebration of his wedding. He also mentions how Siva, his Friend, saved him as his love messenger.

The central shrine at Tirunallaru is dedicated to Darbharanyesvarar. The antiquity of the temple itself is brought out by its association with the Puranic king Nala who, long pestered by Saturn, found his radical cure by his devotion to the deity of Saturn in this temple, which is situated in a cella on the right of the inner gateway without a spire. There is also a tank in front named after Nala, and held sacred by devotees. As all the three Tamil Nayanmars have celebrated the Lord of this temple in their hymns, its existence as early as the seventh century A.D. is definite; but the present stone structure has to be ascribed to the Middle Chola period. Tirunallaru is said to have been a *brahmadeyam* situated in Mulaiyur nadu in Uyyakkondan valanadu, and in the days of Rajaraja I came to be renamed Cholendrasimha chaturvedimangalam, after a title of his. The earliest inscription is of Rajadhiraja I, which incidentally refers to gifts by his illustrious father Rajendra I. By the 34th regnal year of Rajadhiraja I, Uyyakkondan valanadu was renamed Jayangondasola valanadu after a surname of the ruler (ARE 437 of 1965-66) and in an inscription of Rajendra deva II it is called Adhirajendra valanadu (ARE 440 of 1965-66).*

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*In the 34th year of the reign of Rajadhiraja I, an interesting reference is made to the arrangements for enacting a drama (*aryakkuttu*) in five acts (*angams*) during certain festivals in the temple. Certain actors headed by Srikanthan Kamban (*alias* Abhimanameru Natakap-Peraraiyan), among whom were the sons of Srikanthan Arangan, who were already in the enjoyment of the right of *ariyakkuttu* in the temple, were given tax-free land as gift for enacting the five-act drama on the occasions of Masi-Makham and Vaikasi Visakham festivals in the temple of Tirunallar Udaiyar of Tirunallaru; the gift included a provision of 20 *kalams* of paddy as *tiruvilakkorru* to the same donees and their troupe for their make-up at the rate of one *nali* of oil for the face and one *nali* of rice for the face-power for each *anga* (act). Cf. the provision made to a *Santi-Kuttan* for enacting the drama of *Rajarajesvara-Natakam* in the Tanjavur temple (SII, II, pp.306-7).

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In the Later Chola period, in the days of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola, Tirunallaru is described as Virudarajabhayankara chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* in Mulaiyur nadu, situated in Rajanarayana valanadu, perhaps named after a title of Kulottunga I (ARE 459 and 442 of 1965-66). The latest inscriptions belong to two Pandyan rulers of the first quarter of the fourteenth century (Pls 251 and 252).

Thyagaraja shrine:

The temple of Tirunallaru has three *prakaras*; the outermost has a *gopuram* of five storeys. North-west of the middle wall of enclosure, there is a shrine of Thyagaraja; it seems to be a Later Chola structure, as we find on its walls inscriptions only of the later Pallava king Kopperunjinga and of Rajendra III, the last member of the Chola line.

Nala-Narayanap-Perumal Koyil:

North-west of the Siva temple is the shrine now called that of Nala-Narayanap-Perumal. From a third year inscription assigned by the Government Epigraphist to Rajendra II, we learn of the existence of a temple called the Rajendrasola Vinnagar where a meeting of the *mahasabha* of Arumolideva chaturvedimangalam took place, in the course of which the *sabha* received 80 *kasus* from the temple of Mahadevar of Tirunallaru (ARE 440 of 1965-66). Similarly, in a record dated in A.D. 1126, there is a reference to a temple by the name of Kulottungasola Vinnagar, in whose premises the *sabhaiyar* of Virudarajabhayankara chaturvedimangalam met and sold land for mid-day offerings (ARE 448 of 1965-66, found on the south wall of the *mandapa*). Is the present Vishnu temple the same as the Rajendrasola Vinnagar (ARE 440 of 1965-66) and the Kulottungasola vinnagar (Vikrama Chola, ARE 448 of 1965-66)?

TIRUMALAVADI

VAIDYANATHASWAMI TEMPLE 61

Tirumalavadi lies on the north bank of the river Kollidam

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(the Coleroon) opposite Tiruvaiyaru. It is 18 kilometres from Pullampadi, which lies on the Tiruchy-Ariyalur road. This village was a settlement of Malavars and hence acquired its name. The main temple of the village is dedicated to Vaidyanathasvami. In the inscriptions the deity of this temple was called the Mahadevar of Tirumaluvadi and the village was called Tirumaluvadi. It has a long and continuous history, with which we have briefly dealt in the *Early Chola Art, Part I* (pp. 131-2). This temple as it originally stood dates back to the days of Aditya I and has associations with the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II and later on with Parantaka I and Sundara Chola.

On the south wall of the central shrine as it stands to-day there is a record of the twenty-eighth year, thirty-ninth day of Rajaraja I which mentions that the king ordered that the *srivimana* of the temple be pulled down and a new *srivimana* built. In this record, the village is described as a *devadana*, in Poygai nadu, a sub-division of Vadagarai Rajendrasimha valanadu. The order further observed that all the inscriptions on the walls of the *srivimana* should, before it was dismantled, be transcribed in the books with a view to re-inscribing them on the walls of the new structure. The record reads as follows:

"*Tirumagal pola ..... kovirajarajakesaripanmarana Udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevarkku yandu* 28-*avadu nal* 39-*nal Vadagarai Rajendrasimha Valanattu, Poygai nattu devadanam Tirumaluvadi Udaiyar sri vimanam vaangi tirukkarrali yedukka venru Udaiyar Sri Rajarajadevar arulichcheya tirukkarrali eduttu sri vimanam vaangi i srivimanattulla kalvettupadi pottagattil sorpikka venru adhikarigal Irumudisola Muvendavelar Niyogamum Mummudisola Brahmadhirayar Niyogamum....*" (SII, V, 652; ARE 92 of 1895).

From another record relating to the fourteenth year, seventieth day of Rajendra I found on the same wall (ARE 91 of 1895), we get to know that these inscriptions were re-inscribed on the walls of the new *srivimana*, which would mean that the reconstruction was completed latest by that year. The inscription mentions that the order (*olai*) to re-inscribe was conveyed by Narakkan Raman Arumoli Uttamachola Brahmamarayan, the *Dandanayaka* who belonged to the *brahmadeyam* of Keralantaka-

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chaturvedimangalam in Vennadu in Uyyakkondan valanadu, to Kulavan Solan, who was in charge of the temple (*srikaryam seykinra*), Pichchan, the *Devakanmis* of the temple, the *Sabha* of Sri-Gandaraditta chaturvedimangalam and the *Sabha* of Perumpuliyur; and the record further says that the earlier inscriptions were re-inscribed according to the books ("*kalvettu vidippadi munbu kalvettu sortta pottagappadi*"—SII, V, 651; ARE 91 of 1895).

Such was the care and regard for past charitable endowments and such was the historical sense displayed by the Chola rulers. The temple of Aditya I's days should have been reconstructed between A.D. 1013 and 1026. Unfortunately the structure has undergone further renovation at a later date with the result that some of the features of the Rajaraja I and Rajendra I's days have been lost.

RAMANATHANKOYIL

SIVA (MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE (PANCHAVAN MADEVI ISVARAM) 62

The hamlet of Ramanathankoyil is about 2 kms south-west of the village of Pattisvaram and falls within the revenue jurisdiction of that village. The local name for the site where the temple of Mahadevar is located is *kolait-tidal*. Pattisvaram, Ramanathankoyil, Palaiyarai, Tiruchchattimurram and Darasuram were important Chola centres lying close to one another, having formed an integral part of the ancient secondary Chola capital of Palaiyarai (now called Palaiyaru). In this capital, many a Chola monarch got himself anointed. Today, the village of Palaiyarai is an insignificant place, with no remnants of its past glory. It is referred to in a record of Kundavai Pirattiyar (ARE 639 of 1909) as the royal home of her nephew Rajendra I. We learn from another record, of an order issued from the palace here by the king (ARE 463 of 1908). Intimately associated with the Cholas as it was, it now contains no inscriptions of theirs; the only record found there (ARE 254 of 1927) states that the big *mandapa* and the *sopana* (flight of steps) in the

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Somanathadevar temple there were constructed by Vanadarayan Narasingadevan of Poruvanur in Saka 1375 (A.D. 1453). The village of Pattisvaram is within five kms due north-west of Palaiyaru, and that of Ramanathankoyil is close to the latter.

There is a Siva (Mahadevar) temple at Ramanathankoyil with a dilapidated, three-storeyed *gopuram* in front. The temple faces east. On either side of the entrance to the central shrine, there is a fine *dvarapala* sculpture. The south wall of the central shrine contains fine sculptures of Bhikshatanar, Ganesa, and Dakshinamurti; Brahma, Durga, Ardhanari and Gangadharar are on the north wall, and Lingodbhavar is in the west . There are loose sculptures of Chandesvarar, Bhairavar and Chandrasekharar lying in the *mandapa*. The *lingam* in the *sanctum* is fluted, reminiscent of the Pallava Rajasimha tradition.

An inscription of the seventh year of Rajendra I (ARE 271 of 1927) found here, mentions a gift of land for worship and offerings, by the king and a queen of his (*Nambirattiyar*) made to "the Mahadevar of Panchavan Mahadevi Isvaram, built as a *pallippadai* at Palaiyaru *alias* Mudikonda Cholapuram": provision is made for offerings on the days of *Tiruvadirai*, the natal star of Rajendra I, and *Revati*, stated there to be that of the (unnamed) queen.

During the Middle Chola period, two Chola queens bore the name Panchavan Mahadevi (Madevi): one of them was a queen of Rajaraja I, and the other of Rajendra I. Parakesari Uttama Chola also had a queen of that name (ARE 491 of 1925). While Rajendra I's queen of that name finds mention in only one record (ARE 464 of 1918), Rajaraja I's queen is associated with several acts of piety, extending in time over practically the whole reign of Rajaraja I. Thus, an inscription of the third year of Rajaraja I at Tirumalpuram describes her as "Chola Mahadevi *alias* Panchavan Mahadeviyar, queen of Mummudi Chola" and mentions that she made a gift of a lamp to the local temple (ARE 294 of 1906). In the ninth regnal year of Rajaraja I, a servant of hers made a gift of an ornament to Uma-Bhattaraki at Tiruvidaimarudur (ARE 278 of 1907). In the tenth year of Rajaraja I, this queen set up a gold image

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of Uma-sahita at Tiruvidaimarudur (ARE 254 of 1907). An inscription of his 16th year at Tiruppugalur mentions a tax-free gift of land by "Nakkan Tillai Alagiyar *alias* Panchavan Mahadeviyar, queen of Rajaraja I" for festivals and offerings on the day of *Sadaiyam* every month, this star being both the king's and her own natal star (ARE 47 of 1928). An inscription of his 21st year at the same place mentions that the assembly of Karoduchcheri received 15 *kasus* and granted remission of taxes on lands granted to the temple by the king and this queen for special worship on the day of *Sadaiyam* every month (ARE 54 of 1928). Again, an inscription of his 23rd year at the same place mentions that a servant of this queen's presented nine flowers of gold to Konapiran, the lord of Tiruppugalur (ARE 62 of 1928). Finally, from an inscription of the 27th year of Rajaraja I at Melappaluvur (ARE 385 of 1924), we learn that Nakkan Panchavan Mahadevi was the daughter of Avani-Kandarppa-purathu-devanar of Paluvur, and that, at her request, the king provided for offerings and worship in the local temple by granting an additional income of 900 *kalams* of paddy (derived from an enhancement of rents) following a re-survey and re-assessment of lands.

In the Rajarajesvaram temple, she set up two images (as already seen), namely of (1) Tanjai Alagar (Siva dancing on Muyalakan) with Uma Paramesvari and Ganapati, and (2) Patanjali-devar with five hoods mounted on a single crowned head, two arms, a human body above the waist and three coils below it. She also made a large number of gifts to both of them (SII, II, 51 and 53).*

In view of the many acts of devotion attributed to Queen Panchavan Madevi of Rajaraja I, it is highly probable that the *pallippadai* was erected over *her* mortal remains (though Uttama Chola and Rajendra I had queens of the same name). Though there is no foundation inscription revealing its date

*As already seen in our chapter on Rajaraja I, section on gifts of icons to Rajarajesvaram by his queens, if indeed Panchavan Mahadevi and Chola Mahadevi were one and the same person, then this list of benefactions is further enhanced.

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or builder, it is likely that it was erected by Rajendra I himself in homage to the saintly character of his step-mother.

In any event, this temple is unique as the only *pallippadai* known to be erected in honour of a *queen*. The ARE for 1926–27 states that "some interested hand has attempted to erase the word *pallippadai*; nevertheless, the word can be clearly traced in the inscription". We have already seen (*Early Chola Temples*, pp 215–7) that Rajaraja I built a sepulchral temple over the mortal remains of his grandfather Arinjaya at Melpadi, calling it *Arinjigai Isvaram*.

The above inscription of Rajendra I's found on the north, west and south sections of the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* walls, also makes mention of the *mathadhipati Lakulisvara Pandita* who supervised the affairs of the temple in collaboration with "Venkatan Kovandai of Maruthur in Serrur kurram, a division of Kshatriyasikhamani valanadu". We will see, when discussing Tiruvorriyur, the hold which the *Lakulisa* and *Soma Siddhanta* cults had over the Cholas in general, and over Rajendra I in particular (Pls 253 to 261).

TIRUVAIYARU

63 TEN KAILASAM UDAIYAR (DAKSHINA KAILASAM) TEMPLE

In my *Early Chola Art Part I*, I have dealt with the Panchanadisvarar temple and its art and architectural features (pp. 149–152). In the campus of this big temple there are a number of smaller temples or shrines among which the more important are Uttara Kailasam, Dakshina Kailasam and Dharmambika shrines. Uttara Kailasam (or Vada Kailasam) temple has been dealt with in the chapter on Rajaraja I's temples.

The shrine of Ten Kailasam is in the southern outer *prakara* of the Panchanadisvarar temple. It is associated with the life of the Tamil saint Appar of the seventh century A.D. He is said to have been tirelessly wending his way to the north to reach Kailasa. Even after losing his legs in the strenuous journey,

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he struggled on to reach his goal. Siva was pleased with his devotion and desired to reward his labours. He ordered the saint to bathe in the nearby tank and promised him divine grace after he emerged from the holy tank at Tiruvaiyaru. The miracle happened. Appar, rising from the holy tank, saw the beatific vision of Siva and Parvati; and the saint poured forth a hymn of ecstasy on seeing "the divine vision that no mortal eyes had seen before" (*kandariyadana kanden*). Ever since this episode, there has existed this shrine of Ten Kailasam at Tiruvaiyaru. (*See Four Chola Temples*).

It was this celebrated shrine that was rebuilt of stone in the days of Rajendra I. It bears on its east wall an inscription mentioning his full regnal title and name as given in his copper plate grants. It reads thus:

"*Svasti Sri*: *Rajad rajanya makuta sreni ratneshu sasanam*
Etad Rajendra Cholasya Parakesarivarmanah".

An undated inscription of the same ruler found on the eastern base records in detail the various ornaments given to the temple (ARE 148 of 1918). A detailed record found on the east wall relates to Rajendra II and enumerates the list of ornaments gifted to Adavallar by a servant of Nampirattiyar Trailokyam Udaiyar, a queen of Rajendra II (ARE 213 of 1894, SII, V, 512).

The shrine consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa*. The peristyle round this main shrine is supported by 44 Nolamba pillars brought here perhaps as trophies of war from Hemavati, the Nolamba capital, by king Rajendra I, to beautify his temple. Some important sculptures on the walls of this shrine are Subrahmanyar, Durga and Brahma, all belonging to the age of Rajendra I (Pls 262 to 265).

TIRUVARUR

THYAGARAJASVAMIN TEMPLE 64

In my *Early Chola Temples* (A.D. 907–985), I have dealt with

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the importance of Tiruvarur as a cultural and religious centre of South India during the period of the early Cholas (pp.192–7). In particular we have dealt with the Achalesvarar shrine (otherwise called Tiru-Ara-Neri-Alvar temple) in detail. Briefly, this shrine was a foundation of Sembiyan Mahadevi, the generous royal benefactress, who built numerous temples during her long and dedicated life of piety.

The heart of the township is occupied by the expansive campus of the Thyagarajasvamin temple and the sacred tank of Kamalalaya to its west. A brief description is given of the temple complex which occupies an area of about twenty acres. The core of the temple consists of the twin shrines of Valmikinathar and Thyagaraja. There are three *prakaras* and including the area of habitation of the temple servants and the local residents, five *prakaras*. The Valmikinathar shrine is the hub of the entire complex and the gateways on the inner, middle and outer *prakaras* on the eastern side are along the axis of this shrine. Besides, it is also the most ancient shrine. The Thyagaraja shrine lies parallel to the former and to its south. These two shrines, independent of each other otherwise, share a common *mahamandapa*. Obviously as a result of the addition of this shrine at a later date, the symmetry of the temple has been lost and so the circumambulatory passage round the two shrines is narrow in the south and wide (as originally intended) in the north. There is a double-storyed *tiruch-churru-maligai* running all round the twin shrines hugging the wall of enclosure. The passage between the shrines and the peristyle is now covered excepting round the portions adjoining the *srivimanas* of the two shrines. The *gopuram* over the inner gateway is three-storeyed with a *griva* and a *sala*-type *sikhara* with five *kalasas* on top.

In the second *prakara* lies the Achalesvarar shrine, in the south-eastern side. While both the (twin) shrines face east, the Achalesvarar shrine faces west; it is one of the four important shrines in this complex, dedicated to Siva leaving out the twin shrines, the other three being the Atakesvarar shrine, the Anandesvarar shrine and the Siddhisvarar shrine which are located respectively in the south-west, north-west and north-east corners

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of the second *prakara;* these are, however, very small shrines constructed during later periods, the Anandesvarar being an all-brick structure. Another structure of note in this *prakara* is the big hall known as the *Rajanarayanan Tirumandapam* (named after a surname of Kulottunga I) which lies between the eastern *gopurams* of the first and the second *prakaras*. It spreads longitudinally in the east-west direction, measuring 47.24 ms (155′) by 17.37 ms (57′), and is symmetrical about the axis of the Valmikinathar shrine and of the two *gopurams*. This *mandapa* has a low basement of 0.91 m (three feet) height. The Amman shrine dedicated to Nilotpalambal is situated in the northern *prakara* facing south, its axis running between the inner *gopuram* and the *Rajanarayana tirumandapam*. It consists of a rectangular *garbhagriha* with an *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa*. All these edifices lie in the space within the second wall of enclosure. The *gopuram* in the east on this wall of enclosure is stocky and short with three storeys, with the *griva* and the *sala*-type *sikhara* crowned with nine *kalasas*.

In the third *prakara,* there are two noteworthy monuments, both *mandapas;* one of them, the *Devasrayan mandapam,* is a hundred-pillared hall (though erroneously generally described as a thousand-pillared hall), covering an area of 64.01 ms (210′) by 42.67 ms (140′). It has a low plinth, the height being only 0.76 m (two feet and a half). This hall has original association with Sundarar's *Tiruttondat-togai*. A modest structure, this was rebuilt in stone in the Later Chola period. The other is another big *mandapam* known as Nataraja *mandapam* at the rear of the temple-complex close to the outer western *gopuram*; it stands on a high and massive basement of 1.83 ms (six feet) over the ground level. Close to the north-east corner of the third wall of enclosure is the chariot-temple depicting the Manu-niti Chola episode. It is a modern structure except for the basement, wheels and some of the pillars.

The third wall of enclosure is dominated by four tall *gopurams* over the four openings (*tiru-vasal*) in it in the east, south, west and north. The *gopuram* in the east in the tallest and the largest of them all and measures 33.52 ms (110′) by 18.29 ms (60′) at the base and is 36.58 ms (120′) tall. It is an *elu-nilai* (seven-

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storeyed) *gopuram* and has eleven *kalasas* over its *sala*-type *sikhara*. Like the Chidambaram *gopurams*, its gateway portion comprises two tiers. This *gopuram* is attributable to Kulottunga III.

Of all these buildings which accrued over nearly six hundred years, the earliest is the Valmikinathar shrine, followed by the Thyagaraja shrine which, however, was re-built during the days of Rajendra I. Then comes the Achalesvarar shrine built during the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi and Rajaraja I. The two *mandapas* of Devasrayan and Rajanarayanan also are noteworthy structures.

We are here concerned only with the Thyagaraja shrine.

Thyagaraja Shrine

On the walls of this shrine there are seven inscriptions of Rajendra I covering a span of 17 years of his reign (from the third to his twentieth year). In the third year record which begins with the short introduction *irattaipadi elarai ilakkamum*, the details of the quantity of gold which was used for plating and gilding the various parts of a golden pavilion are given *(ponnin tirumandapam)*. From an eighth year record, we learn that a gift of a necklace of precious stones was made for the goddess, the consort of Udaiyar Vidi-Vitanka devar by Perumakkalur Udaiyan Veydan Seyyapadam of Gangaikondasolapuram. Two other records of the same year relate to provisions for feeding twelve *Sivayogins* in the temple and for making two gold ear-ornaments to the god and for providing offerings and oil for the bath of the god and further gifts of gold for supplying clothes to the images and fees to temple singers and servants. Another incomplete record of this king mentions a royal order to *Velalakuttan alias* Sembiyan Muvendavelan to cover with gold plates certain portions of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* of the temple (ARE 675 of 1919). The inscription, dated in the twentieth regnal year, gives a list of gifts made by the king and a noble lady Anukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar for plating and gilding certain portions of the temple. It also includes a number of jewels and lamps given to the god Vidi-Vitanka-devar. There is a reference to a standard unit of weight for measuring gold

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termed *Rajarajan kasu-nirai-kal.* What is of significance to us is that it also mentions that the temple of Thyagaraja was built of stone in the eighteenth regnal year of the king by Anukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar. Besides, the inscription goes on to say that between the thirty-eighth and the 199th days of the eighteenth regnal year, the pious woman also made liberal endowments for gold-plating and gilding parts of the *vimana,* the entrance and the four sides of the shrine (ARE 680 of 1919—*"udaiyar vidivitanka devar koyilil koodattilum vaimadaiyilum nalu nasiyilum ul koottattilum.."*). Mention is also made of the donation of copper for plating the doors, and the corbels of the pillars of the *mandapa* in front of the shrine. It further says that in his (the king's) twentieth regnal year, the king accompanied by Anukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar arrived at the temple by chariot and offered worship at the shrine. And it adds that a *kuttu-vilakku* (a standing lamp) was donated to the shrine for being lighted at the same spot where the two stood and offered worship. In brief, therefore, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth years of Rajendra I the earlier brick structure was converted into a stone structure; and between the thirty-eighth and 199th days of the eighteenth year, the finishing touches were given to the shrine, including gilding and gold plating; and finally in the twentieth regnal year, the shrine was honoured with a visit by the king and Anukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar. The inscription further says that all these gifts were not taken into the temple books and the temple treasury till the twentieth year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1032).

The same lady raised a *mandapa* known as *"Rajendrachola-devan"* and made provision for offerings to the images of Rajendra Chola and Paravai, according to a twenty-seventh year record of Rajadhiraja I (ARE 679 of 1919). Another record of the same king dated in his thirty-first year mentions that in compliance with the orders of the king, Venkatan Tirunila-kanthan *alias* Adhikari Irumudisola Muvendavelan utilised certain gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury for the erection of a golden pavilion for the god Udaiyar Vidi-Vitanka devar of Tiruvarur. Among the inscriptions of Rajendra II, one is significant; in a royal order, the king directed Velala-kuttan

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alias Sembiyan Muvendavelan to cover with gold certain portions of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* of the adjoining Valmikinathar shrine. During the days of Kulottunga I there were two significant developments; on the south wall of the second *prakara*, which should have been built in the early years of Kulottunga I, we have two inscriptions; one (ARE 561 of 1904) mentions for the first time the *Devasrayan mandapam* (the so called thousand-pillared hall); as this inscription is dated in the forty-ninth year of the king, we may presume that the present structure of this hall was built during his time. From the other inscription (ARE 541 of 1904) dated in his forty-fourth year, we come to know of the existence of a shrine for the Amman called Ulaguyyakonda-Kamakkottam. We may conclude that this Amman shrine was also a foundation of the days of Kulottunga I. Thus by the end of the reign of Kulottunga I, the campus of the temple had expanded considerably, and the buildings within the second wall of enclosure including the wall itself, the *gopuram* thereon and the Amman shrine had all come into existence. Covering the remaining rulers briefly, we observe that according to the Tribhuvanam inscriptions of Kulottunga III, the *sabhapati-mandapa* in the rear third *prakara* and also the massive eastern *gopuram* (the tallest of all) on the third wall of enclosure were built by him. A later Vijayanagara record dated in Saka 1362 (A.D. 1440) mentions that the western *gopuram* over the second *prakara* wall was built by Nagarasar, son of Siddharaja for the merit of the Minister Lakkhana Dannayaka Udaiyar (ARE 566 and 567 of 1904). Finally during the Maratha king Sarfoji's days certain repairs were made and a *kumbhabhishekam* performed on a date equivalent to *kali* 4818 and Saka 1639 (A.D. 1717).

Like the Valmikinathar shrine, its northern neighbour, this shrine faces east; it consists of a *garbhagriha* which measures 5.47 ms (18′) square; the *ardhamandapa* projects 6.10 ms (20′) forward; the latter is almost a square; there is a *mahamandapa* in front which has an entrance in the southern side; this is reached by a flight of steps from the floor level of the *prakara*. Ahead of this is the *mukhamandapa*, which, as mentioned already, bestrides both this and the Valmikinathar shrine providing a common

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front; this hall measures 19.51 ms (64′) by 18.29 ms (60′). The two shrines have a common *prakara* and there is the *tiruch-churru-maligai* which runs the entire length of the rectangular wall of enclosure. It is double-storeyed and has a number of cells in the ground floor housing a variety of deities. On the southern side, there are two sets of icons of the 63 Tamil saints—one set in metal and the other in stone. In the south-west and the north-west corners, improvised cells have been provided for housing Ganapati and Karttikeya respectively. In between are a set of bronzes. Among them are those of Nataraja and Chandrasekharar which are noteworthy. They are housed in a later *mandapa* merging with the peristyle (Pls 267 to 274).

The *garbhagriha* has three *devakoshtas* in its outer faces, housing Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north. The *adhishthanam* consists of the usual mouldings of *padmam, kumudam,* the *yali* frieze and the *varimanam**.

BRAHMADESAM (S.A.)

PATALISVARAR TEMPLE 65

The temple of Patalisvarar is situated within the village of Brahmadesam, whereas the Brahmapurisvarar temple already dealt with under Rajaraja I's temples is outside the village limits.

The earliest inscription in this temple belongs to the twenty-fourth year, 230th day of Rajendra I. It relates to a gift of land for worship and offerings to this deity by one Parantakan Suttamalliyar *alias* Mukkokilanadigal for the success of the king's arms (*bhujam vardhikka*). The inscription adds that at the time of the grant, the king was residing in the temple of Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar, perhaps the Brahmapurisvarar temple itself in the neighbourhood (ARE 188 of 1918). A gift of land was made in the twenty-ninth year, 342nd day during the reign of Rajadhiraja (I) (ARE 194 of 1918). The next is an inscription of the fourth

*A good survey of Sri Thyagaraja temple, Tiruvarur by S. Ponnusamy is published by the Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.

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year of Vira Rajendra which also refers to a gift of paddy (ARE 195 of 1918). There are two inscriptions of Kulottunga Chola I; the first, of the seventh regnal year, mentions that a certain shepherd of Eydar (the old name for Esalam, a southern hamlet of Rajaraja chaturvedimangalam) received 32 cows and agreed to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirup-patalisvaram (ARE 190 of 1918). The other one of the eighteenth year is incomplete. During Vikrama Chola's period there are two records relating to gifts to the temple (ARE 187 and 193 of 1918). There is the usual donation by one Alagan, in the shape of 16 cows for a lamp in expiation of the sin of accidentally killing a friend in a hunting expedition. This inscription is dated in the thirteenth year of Kulottunga II (ARE 185 of 1918). The next one is a 14th year record of Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajaraja deva (II) which quotes a twenty-first year record of Kulottunga Chola deva (I or II?) and refers to a gift of land by the assembly for worship of the image of Aludai Nachchiyar set up in the temple, by one Irungolar on the day of the consecration and the celebration of the marriage festival (ARE 192 of 1918). There are two inscriptions of Kulottunga III belonging to his sixteenth and twenty-sixth years. The former is about a gift of two she-buffaloes, an ox and two calves for the purpose of burning a lamp in the temple of Patalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar by one Sengeni Mangalamittan Ammaiyappan Mittan Appan *alias* Cholendrasinga Sambuvarayan. The other is with regard to a gift of a gold diadem to Patalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar (at Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* and *taniyur* in Panaiyur nadu, a sub-division of Rajaraja valanadu), by a merchant of Ulogamadevipuram, a *nagaram* in Oyma nadu (ARE 189 and 186 of 1918). The last of the inscriptions is one of Kampana Udaiyar, son of Vira Bukkana Udaiyar dated in Saka 1256 (A.D. 1334). It mentions the remission of taxes by Goppanangal on the lands in Kulottungasola-nallur *alias* Brahmesvaram belonging to the temples of Brahmesvaram Udaiya Nayanar and Tirup-Patalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar of Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeyam* and *taniyur*.

The temple faces east. It is an *eka-tala* temple with a

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garbhagriha, an *ardhamandapa,* an *antarala* and a *mukhamandapa.* In addition, there is a detached hall in front of the temple which may belong to a later date. The *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa,* the *antarala,* the *adhishthanam* and the walls are of stone but the *griva* and the *sikhara* portions are of brick—perhaps a later renovation. In the case of the *mukhamandapa,* only the *adhishthanam* is of stone, the walls and the entablature being of brick. There is no *hara* over the walls in the *garbhagriha* and like many other earlier structures, the superstructure starts off straightaway with the *griva* and the *sikhara.* There are four *grivakoshtas* which are now empty.

Certain special features of this temple bring to mind the lay-out of the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur and the Gangaikonda-cholisvaram at Gangaikondasolapuram. We have already noticed that the main entrance to the *sanctum sanctorum* of these temples is not provided in the axis of the building but in the flanks; thus there are two doorways reached by a flight of steps flanked by low and sinuous balustrades from the northern and the southern *prakaras.* The peculiar feature of the *mukhamandapa* is that it is in the form of a massive cross with the northern and the eastern sides completely walled up, while on the southern side there are two sets of steps from the sides leading up to the projecting portion of the hall. The *ardhamandapa* has six very finely carved pillars in the typical style of the Rajaraja-Rajendra period, massive, attractive and graceful. Between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa,* there is a small *antarala* into which the two gates from the sides open. On either side of the entrance to the *ardha-mandapa,* there are two Rajaraja-type *dvarapalas.* The detached structure in front of the *mukhamandapa* must have presented a graceful and fine facade to the entire temple, but now it is in ruins. There is a collapsed hall in the south-eastern corner of what was once the *prakara* of the temple; it might have served as a *madam* (*matha*) with a kitchen. The entire structure is in a state of utter disrepair.

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PANAYAVARAM

66 NETRODDHARAKASVAMIN (PARAVAI ISVARAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE

The village of Panayavaram, which has rich historical association, lies in the belt of great temples on the ancient route from Vriddhachalam to Kanchipuram, covering centres like Esalam, Ennayiram, Brahmadesam, Emapperur and Dadapuram: it is to the north-west of Villupuram town. In this village there is a temple dedicated to Netroddharakasvamin.

Among the inscriptions found on the walls of the central shrine of this temple, the earliest would appear to be one belonging to Parakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Rajendra Chola deva I; it is found on the south, east and north walls of the shrine and the stones on which it is engraved are in disorder; undated, it seems to record a gift of land and money for worship and offerings, to the temple (ARE 317 of 1917). On the south wall, there is an undated inscription, whose king is also not known, which provides for offerings and lamps to Rajendrasola devar and Paravai nangaiyar, evidently metallic icons set up in the temple (ARE 320 of 1917). There are two dated inscriptions both belonging to the sixth regnal year of Rajendrasola deva; one of them, found on the south wall, begins with the introduction *tirumagal maruviya* and is therefore attributable to Rajendradeva II; it mentions a gift of paddy for a lamp to the temple of Paravai Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, by a native of Tandalam in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 318 of 1917). Thus, for the first time, we get to have the name of the temple, which confirms the association of Paravai Nangai with it. On the same wall is the other inscription of the sixth year of Rajendra Chola deva, which bears close similarity to the characters of the earlier inscription of Rajendra II, referred to; thus attributable to the same king, it mentions a gift of paddy for the purpose of keeping a lamp burning in the temple, whose deity is again named Paravai Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar, in the city of Paravaipuram in Puraiyur nadu, a sub-division of Panaiyur

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nadu in Rajendrasola valanadu (ARE 319 of 1917)*.

There is a stray and fragmentary inscription on the south wall of the first *prakara* which provides for various requirements of the temple of Madurantaka Isvaram Udaiyar at Paravaipuram in Puraiyur nadu, a subdivision of Panaiyur nadu which was a district of Rajendrasola valanadu. This is immediately above a later inscription of the Vijayanagara period (ARE 327 of 1917). This inscription cannot be far removed in date from the others found on the walls of the central shrine and in all probability is attributable to the reign of Rajendradeva itself (Pls 275 to 277).

Here is mention made for the first time of the Madurantaka Isvaram Udaiyar temple; since this record is a fragment, it is not possible to ascertain to which temple the record originally belonged. Perhaps there was another temple, named after a surname of Rajendra Chola I.

The remaining inscriptions are all found on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine or on the *prakara* walls. One of them on the south wall of the *mandapa* provides for offerings and worship, reading of the *Sivadharma*, recitation of the *Tirup-padiyam* hymns and musical performances on the *vinai* in the temple (ARE 321 of 1917).

An epigraph on the east wall of the same *mandapa* belongs to to the third year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Sri Adhirajendra deva and mentions a gift of land by purchase to the temple, by a native of Punganjeri in Milalai *kurram*, a district of Rajaraja Pandi Nadu (ARE 322 of 1917).

A fragmentary record (ARE 323 of 1917) found on the same wall mentions the temples of Paravai-Isvaramudaiyar and Rajendrasola vinnagar Alvar; unfortunately neither the name of the king nor the year of the record is available from the fragments; however, it provides for maintaining a teacher in a free school (*dhanma-palli*) and for three water-sheds, one each in front of the two temples of Paravai Isvaram Udaiyar and

*Ennayiram *alias* Rajaraja-chaturvedimangalam was a *taniyur* in Panaiyur nadu, a subdivision of Rajendrasola valanadu in Jayangondasola mandalam (Ennayiram: ARE 330 of 1917).

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Rajendrasola vinnagar and the third in front of the *mandapa* called "Rajendrasolan"; provision was also made for the maintenance of one who supervised the *devadana, salabhoga* and the temples. A feeding house was also attached to the temple, like the one at Ennayiram, though smaller in size; provision was made for conducting a hostel (*salai*) which fed daily 50 *brahmanas* and 10 *Sivayogins* who were also given oil for bathing (Also see Appendix under section on Ennayiram in Chapter 2).

For the first time, we come to hear of the temple (or shrine) of Rajendrasola vinnagar Alvar, in evident reference to a Vishnu temple named after Rajendra Chola I. This temple requires to be identified.

On the south wall of the first *prakara* there is a much damaged fifth year inscription of Maravarman *alias* Vikrama Pandya deva which refers to the temple of Kannamanda Nayanar in Puravar Panangattur in Panaiyur (ARE 324 of 1917). On the same wall is another epigraph also belonging to Vikrama Pandya deva; dated in his sixth regnal year, it records a gift of offerings and other requirements to the same temple (ARE 325 of 1917).

An inscription on the same wall belonging to Kampana Udaiyar, son of Bokkana Udaiyar, seems to record a gift of land; in it we get references to Puravur Panaingattur and Sembai in Vanagoppadi nadu on the northern banks of the Pennai (Pennar) (ARE 327 of 1917).

The Amman shrine in the same temple complex belongs to a much later period. The Consort is called Satyambika. On the south wall of this shrine there is an inscription that belongs to Viruppana Udaiyar, son of Ariyana Udaiyar (Harihara II) dated in Saka 1312; it records a tax-free gift of the village of Kunralur in Koliyapuranallur-parru for worship, festivals and repairs to the temple of Udaiyar Kannamanda Nayanar at Tiruppuravur Panaingattur *alias* Paravaipuram in Poraiyur nadu, a sub-division of Panaiyur *nadu* which was a district of Rajaraja valanadu (ARE 328 of 1917).

Panaiyavaram was the headquarters of the *nadu* of the same name; and Paravaipuram was perhaps a part of the township where the temple was situated; evidently the latter derived

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its name of Paravaipuram from Paravai Nanagaiyar, who was a great favourite of king Rajendra I (See section on Tiruvarur), The name of this Lady is reminiscent of Paravai Nachchiyar one of the two wives of the Tamil saint Sundaramurti Nayanar.

KAVANTANDALAM

CHOLISVARAM (RAJENDRASOLA-ISVARAMUDAIYA MAHADEVAR) 67

Kavantandalam is a village in Kanchipuram taluk in Chingleput district; it is on the north bank of the river Cheyyar and is approached by a 5 km long road along the Cheyyar bank from a point about 19 kms south of Kanchipuram on the Kanchipuram-Uttaramerur road. The ancient town of Magaral is on the way.

There are two temples in this village, one dedicated to Vishnu and the other to Siva.

(1) Lakshminarayana Perumal temple

Much older than Cholisvaram, this temple, dedicated to Vishnu, was built by Manasarpan of Kunnoor in Vengai *nadu* and completed in the fourteenth year of the king Kampavarman as known from an inscription (ARE 207 of 1901), on the south wall of the central shrine of this temple; in this inscription, the *Sabha* of the Chaturvedimangalam records that it sold for gold two *pattis* of land and a flower-garden to the same Manasarpan who erected the temple; the deity of the temple is called Vishnugrihattu-perumanadigal. From another record, also found on the south wall and dated in the eighteenth year of Kampavarman, we learn of the provision made for the annual celebration of the *Chittirai Tiruvonam* festival for the *Perumanadigal* of the Manasarpa Vishnugriham in the Chaturvedimangalam, in Damanur *nadu* in Urrukkattuk-kottam (ARE 208 of 1901 & SII, VII, 421). The building of the temple by Manasarpan is formally recorded in a *Grantha* inscription found on the west wall of the central shrine (ARE 209 of 1901). This temple is thus a foundation of the days of the Pallava king Kampavarman and a dated one.

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(2) Cholisvaram

A reference to this temple is made in an inscription found on the north and west walls of the Lakshminarayana temple. Immediately after the Sanskrit introduction in the *prasasti*, the Tamil portion reads as follows:

> *"Kopparakesari varmarana sri Rajendra sola devarkku yandu 4-vadu...Jayangondasola mandalattu Urrukkattuk-kottattut Tamanoor nattuk Kaaivantandalamana Chaturvedimangalattu sabhaiyom irrainal pagal emmur brahmasthnattey kuttak-kuraivara kudi irundu ivvandu innaduvagaiseykinra Vaidoor udaiyan vallan Gandan Pichchan sri Rajendra solan ennum tiru nammattal eduppitta sri Rajendra sola isvaram udaiya mahadevarkku sabhaiyom irai-ili devadanamaga vaitta nilangalil..."*

After this the inscription proceeds to indicate the allocation of these lands to the *Sivabrahmanas* doing the *tiru aradhanai* (workship) and the cook *(maani)* who does the *paricharakam* and then lays down the break-up of the rice for the morning, noon and other services for the Udaiyar. The record further deals in detail with the provisions made for rice, vegetables, curds, arecanuts and others and also for bathing of the deity during certain festivals like the *Uttarayanam, Dakshinayanam, Aippasi-visu, Chittirai-visu* and so on. The provision included gold gifts. The record is incomplete (ARE 210 of 1901).

From this record we come to know that the temple of Cholisvaram was a foundation of the days of Rajendra I and should have come into existence immediately before the fourth year of his reign. There are a number of records on the walls of the central shrine of this temple (ARE 203, 204, 204-A, 205 of 1901). An inscription dated in the sixth year of Vikrama Chola deva refers to a gift of six *kasus* of money by the *mahasabhai* of the *brahmadeyam, viz.*, Kaaivaan-tandalam *alias* Chaturvedimangalam (ARE 205 of 1901). The record mentions a gift of land for food offerings, *archanai* and maintenance. There are two more records of Vikrama Chola's period; one of his fifth year (ARE 204 of 1901) refers to a gift of land by a lady, Punkamala selvi, the wife of Devan *alias* Kuruchcha Udaiyan of Kiliyur *nadu* in Chola *mandalam*; here the name of the deity is partially damaged;

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we however get the portion "..durai al-udaiyar" in the *brahmadeyam* of Kavantandalam in Damanur *nadu* in Urrukkattukkottam in Jayangondasola *mandalam*; and the other of his fifth and sixth years (ARE 204-A of 1901) records an order of the *Sabha* accepting money on behalf of the *Sivabrahmanas* of the temple from three ladies, Punkamala Selvi, her sister Pillai Nangai, and Tiruvarangasani, for burning three *sandhi* lamps (twilight lamps). We get the full name of the deity in this inscription, *viz.*, *brahmadeyam Kaaivaan-tandalattu-Tiruvaraichchandurai Aludaiyar*.

A record of Kulottunga Chola deva III relating to his twenty-sixth year calls the village Sri-karana-chaturvedimangalam, the other administrative divisions being the same as in the days of Vikrama Chola. This refers to a gift of land made to the temple and entrusted for management to the *Sabha* of the village by some donees including one Tiruvalanjuli Udaiyan, the *karanan* of Kavantandalam, and two brothers Isanadevan and Periya Pillai, both *kaikolars* of Irukkundar-koyil of Tirupputtur in Chola *mandalam*.

The temple faces east. It has a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and a *mukhamandapa*. To the north of the *mukhamandapa* is the cella containing the Amman, who is known by the name of Sundarambal. The walls of the *garbhagriha* are rectangular, while the superstructure above the *prastara* including the *griva* and the *sikhara* is in the apsidal form. The *devakoshta* figures are Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma and Durga in the north. The temple has undergone radical change in structure during some distant renovation.

This is a dated temple relating to the fourth year of Rajendra I (i.e., A.D. 1016).

KUVAM

TRIPURANTAKESVARAM (TIRUVIRTKOLAM) 68

Kuvam, a small village in the Tiruvallur taluk of Chingleput

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district, is reached by proceeding 34 kms on the Madras-Sriperumbudur road and branching off to a district road to the right on which 22 kms are traversed before reaching a bifurcation, one road to the right going to Perumbakkam and the other to the left going to Kuvam, a distance of 1 km from the junction. The village is on the Chingleput-North Arcot district border. It is situated not far from the famous Vaishnavite centre of Sriperumbudur, associated with Acharya Ramanuja and the the celebrated Saivite centre of Takkolam, where is situated the temple of Tiruvural Mahadevar. Kuvam was called Kuham in ancient days, and the Siva temple, now known as the Tripurantakesvaram, was called the temple of Tiruvirtkolam Udaiya Nayanar. The deity of Tripurantakar holds a bow in his hand poised to destroy the Tripura *asuras*.

Sambandar (seventh century A.D.) has a decad of verses on the Lord of Tiruvirtkolam installed at Kuham. The deity of Tiruvirtkolam is variously described, as the Lord combined with Uma in one person (Ardhanarisvarar), one who with one arrow destroyed the Tripura *asuras*, one whose throat is black with poison, one who overthrew Yama (Kalan), one who founded the *Vedas*, the *Vedangas* and the *Agamas*, one who wore the Ganga and the crescent on his spread-out locks of hair, one who humbled the Lord of Lanka (Ravana) and one who defied the search of Brahma and Vishnu and thereby established his supremacy over them.

The earliest epigraph found in this temple is inscribed on the north and west walls of the central shrine (ARE 328 of 1909); it begins with the historical introduction of *Tiru-madar-puviyenum* and relates to the fifth regnal year of Parakesari Rajendra Chola deva (II) (A.D. 1057). It registers the sale of land for 160 *kasus* by the assembly of Kottur *alias* Chola-vidyadhara-chaturvedi-mangalam in Manavil kottam of Jayangondasola *mandalam*. The land was meant to dig a feeder channel to Tribhuvana Madevip-*per-peri* at Kuvam *alias* Madurantaka-nallur. Madhurantaka was a title of Rajendra I and Tribhuvana Ma(ha)devi was one of his queens. Hence it seems reasonable to assume that the present temple built of stone might have come into existence even during the period of Rajendra I.

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The next inscription of the Middle Chola period is one of the second regnal year of Udaiyar Vira Rajendra deva (A.D. 1065). It concerns a sale of certain lands in four villages to a person who later made a gift of them to this temple in the twentieth year of Kulottunga I (ARE 338 of 1909). It is stated that in respect of these lands each of the four adjoining assemblies claimed them as their own. They met together to resolve this tangle and decided that the disputed land should be made over to the temple of Tiruvirtkolam Udaiyar at Madurantakanallur (Kuvam). At this stage, a certain Akkalibhattan, a devotee of the temple, came forward to purchase the land on condition that the residents of the four villages agreed to fixing the boundaries of the lands. This was done, Akkalibhattan bought the lands and presented them to the temple in the twentieth regnal year of Kulottunga I.

An inscription (ARE 345 of 1909) of the third regnal year of Tribhuvana chakravartin to be identified with Kulottunga I concerns a gift of money for a lamp by a native of Tiruvilimilalai. Another inscription of this king dated in his fifteenth year refers to a gift of 20 *kasus* for a lamp by a native of Palaiyanur near Tiruvalangadu in Tondai Nadu (ARE 336 of 1909). An inscription, in prose and verse, on the west wall of the central shrine, relating to his forty-second year, refers to a gift of paddy and fishing rights (*min-pattam*) for repairs and maintenance of the Tribhuvana-madevip-*per-eri* at Kuvam *alias* Madurantakanallur (ARE 326 of 1909). An inscription of his forty-eighth year found on the north wall of the central shrine mentions a gift of land for offerings to the deity of Vrishabhavahana devar in the temple (ARE 330 of 1909).

In the days of Vikrama Chola, Kuvam (*alias* Madurantakanallur) was renamed Tyagasamudra-nallur, after a surname of this ruler. This new name is found in an inscription of the eighth year of Kulottungasola deva II, which records a gift of money for a lamp to Tiruvirtkolam Udaiyar (ARE 329 of 1909).

This region was ruled temporarily by Vijaya Gandagopala deva but was soon conquered by the Pandyas (ARE 322 of 1909). There is a gift for a festival called Kulasekhara-*sandhi* in the

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twenty-seventh regnal year of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan (A.D. 1295), who is to be identified with Maravarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1268 to 1308).

There are two inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers. One of these, relating to the time of Venkatapati Raya of Anegundi, mentions a gift of land in Tribhuvanamadevi mangalam (a part of Kuvam) evidently to the local temple (ARE 327 of 1909). The other one, dated in Saka 1532 (A.D. 1610), provides for special worship in the month of *Margali* (December) to Tiruvirtkolisvarar by Mahamandalesvara Goppuni Obaraya deva Maharaya (ARE 332 of 1909).

This region passed into the hands of the Sultan of Golkonda shortly thereafter; a certain person is said to have planted a grove of trees at Kuvam for the merit of Timmappa Nayudu and presented it to the local temple. Another gift of a grove for maintaining a lamp to be burnt before Tripurantakasvamin was made in A.D. 1855.

This temple was perhaps a brick structure in the seventh century A.D. (the days of Sambandar). The earliest inscription in the newly-built stone temple belongs to the period of Rajendradeva II, but its construction might have been begun even in the days of his father, Rajendra I.

The original temple of Rajendra I's period seems to have consisted of the *garbhagriha* (6.69 ms across the axis and 8.36 ms along its length) and the *ardhamandapa*. The *mukhamandapa* is of a later age. The *garbhagriha* is square, and the part of the *vimana* over it is apsidal. In this respect, it resembles the Pallava temple of Virattanesvarar at Tiruttani. It has three *talas* like the Adipurisvarar temple at Tiruvorriyur, which was built in the days of Rajendra I. The *adhishthanam,* 110 cms high, is adorned with many mouldings (Pls 278 to 282).

The *devakoshta* sculptures are Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south, Lingodbhavar in the rear and Brahma and Durga in the north.

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AGARAM (CH.)

KAILASANATHAR TEMPLE 69

Agaram, a village in the Chingleput taluk of the same district, is 42 kms from Madras city from where it is reached by proceeding on the coastal road to Kelambakkam and Tirupporur, from where a district road proceeding in a south-westerly direction is taken to reach Manamadi; Agaram is closeby, having in fact had Manamadi as a part of the larger town of Agaram in the Chola days.

In Agaram and Manamadi there are the following temples:

1) Kailasanathar temple, Agaram;
2) Sri Tirukkarisvarar temple, Manamadi, and
3) Vaikuntha perumal temple, Manamadi.

Agaram was a thriving locality during the days of the Middle Cholas and was known as Vanavan Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam. It was situated in Kumili *nadu*, a subdivision of Amur kottam in Jayangondasola *mandalam*. Manamadi was part of this chaturvedimangalam.

From an inscription dated in the eighth regnal year of Rajendra I found on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Siva temple at Agaram called presently Kailasanathar temple, we gather that the king founded the village of Vanamangai and settled in it four thousand *brahmanas*. The king is variously described as Sengol-valavan, the king who established just rule, Ponni-nadan, the ruler of the Kaveri basin, Pumpuhar-talaivan, the Lord of the celebrated sea-port of Pumpuhar *alias* Kaverip-pum-pattinam and the Supreme power who established the Chola tiger crest on Mount Meru (the Himalayas). In the same inscription, there is a reference to god Adirai-Vitankar, evidently a processional deity taken out during the Tiruvadirai festival and to the quarter named Adirai-vilagam, attached to the temple (ARE 232 of 1930-31). Another inscription found on the same wall also belongs to the reign of Rajendra I and contains a *Tamil* verse on the king; it mentions the completion of the stone temple of Tirukayilayar (Tirukkailasar)

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at Vanavan Mahadevi by a king's subordinate named Dippattaraiyan (ARE 231 of 1930–31). An inscription of the 40th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1110) records a gift of land by purchase from the assembly of Vanavan Mahadevi chaturvedimangalam in Kumili nadu, a sub-division of Amur kottam, a district of Jayangondasola *mandalam* by a resident of Kalanivayil in Tiruvalundur *nadu*, a sub-division of Rajaraja *valanadu*, in Chola *mandalam* (ARE 233 of 1930–31). In an inscription dated in Kali 4,500 (a mistake for 4,503) is mentioned a gift of land for repairs to the temple of Kailasanathar which is described as being situated at Kailasamulai-agaram. Hence the modern name of Agaram for the village (ARE 234 of 1930–31). This new name is also confirmed by a Vijayanagara inscription dated in Saka 1569 (A.D. 1647) which records the gift of the village of Kailasamulai *alias* Agaram in Panaimulai sirmai in Tirukkalukkunrap-parru, to the temple of Kandasvamin at Seyyur (ARE 236 of 1930–31, found on a slab set up in the village).

Thus, on the basis of the inscriptional material available, we come to know that in the eighth year of Rajendra I, a colony of 4,000 *Vedic* scholars was established in this village and its neighbourhood, which was named Vanavan Mahadevi agaram or chaturvedimangalam, after the name of the king's mother, and that a structural stone temple, called that of Kailasamudaiyar, was built here.

The temple faces east and consists of a square *ardhamandapa*, having a central *bhadra* projection on each of the three sides, a pillared *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa*. Externally, the *garbhagriha* measures 6.44 ms along the axis of the temple by 6.55 ms across and the *ardhamandapa* projects 6.20 ms forward. The *mukhamandapa* measures 11.40 ms by 10.60 ms. The *garbhagriha* evidently stands on a high *upapitham*, which however is now submerged in the ground; the *adhishthanam* measures 1.46 ms above the *upapitham*, and consists of the *padmam*, *jagati*, *tri-patta kumudam* and the *kandam* on top.

Over the *garbhagriha* there is no superstructure but obviously, on the basis of the massiveness of the *garbhagriha* that now survives and the size of the *adhishthanam* and its height, the super-

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structure including the entablature should have been a grand one, worthy of the temples built by Rajendra I.

In the niche on each of the three sides of the *garbhagriha* are the usual *devakoshtas,* Vishnu in the rear and Dakshinamurti and Brahma in the south and north; perhaps replacements over the walls of the *ardhamandapa* are the icons of Durga in the north and Ganesa in the south.

This glorious foundation of Rajendra I is now bereft of all its glory.

TIRUPPASUR

VACHISVARAM (TIRUP-PASUR UDAIYAR) TEMPLE 70

Tiruppasur lies about 48 kms north-west of the city of Madras and about 6.50 kms north of Kadambattur railway station. This centre has an ancient temple dedicated to Siva dating back to the days of Appar and Sambandar. According to local tradition, the Lord of this temple emanated from a clump of bamboos (*pasu*), and the temple came up later at the site. The tradition goes on to say that a local Kurumba Chief, inimically disposed towards Karikala, the famous Chola king of the Sangam age, sent him a pot with a coiled snake hidden in it, at the prompting of the *Jainas.* Siva, Lord of Pasur, intercepted the evil pot and rendered the snake innocuous, thus saving his devotee.

Appar has two hymns on the Lord of this temple. In his *Tiruppasur Tiruttandagam,* the Lord is called the Divine Light of Pasur (*Pasur meviya param sudar*), Ardhanarisvarar (*padiyor-madinan*), the embodiment of the five elements, the Divine Dancer, one who subdued the hooded snake, the poison-throated, one who fought with Arjuna (Vijaya) in a hunter's disguise (Pasupata *astra* episode), one who danced with Kali, one versed in the *Vedas* and the *Vedangas,* one who helped Kochchenganan (the Chola king reputed to have been a spider-devotee of the Lord of Tiruvanaikka in his previous birth), an adept in the *Panduranga* dance, one who defied the search high and low of

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Brahma and Vishnu (Lingodbhavar), one who speared Andhakasura to death, one who spurned with his feet and destroyed Kala to save His devotee (Markandeya), one who crushed with his toe the ten-headed Ravana who attempted to lift Mount Kailasa and who gained the Lord's grace only after chanting the *Sama Veda*. In his *Tiruppasur Tirukkuruntogai*, Appar has described the Lord as one who destroyed the castles of the Tripura *asuras*, Ardhanarisvarar, the destroyer of Kala (Yama), one who danced with the snake in his hand, one who begged for his food with a skull (Brahma's) in his hand, one who was inaccessible to Brahma and Vishnu (Lingodbhavar), one who sat under the banyan tree and discoursed on *dharma* (as Dakshinamurti), and the subduer of Ravana's pride.*

In his hymns, Sambandar calls the deity Pasurnathar, and describes the temple as surrounded by groves with ponds and fields, and with cuckoos cooing and honey-bees humming sweet hymns. Pasur is described as full of tall mansions reaching up to the very moon.**

In their age (seventh century A.D.), the temple would have been either a structure of brick or a *misra* temple of brick and stone. Like the Adipurisvarar temple at Tiruvorriyur, this is a temple in the Tondaimandalam region which was reconstructed of stone in the days of Rajendra I.

The main shrine has a square *garbhagriha* and an apsidal *sikhara*, resembling in this the Pallava temple of Virattanesvarar at Tiruttani (*Early Chola Temples*, pp.343–4) and the Tripurantakesvaram at Kuvam discussed in a preceding section.

Most of the inscriptions† found on the walls of the main shrine belong to the days of Kulottunga I; but some belong to the final days of the Middle Chola period. The earliest inscriptions in the temple are of the days of Rajaraja I. On a broken slab lying near the entrance to the hundred-pillared *mandapa* in the temple is an inscription of his twelfth year, which refers to the

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*Vide p.471 and p.203 of *Tirunavukkarasu Devaram*, Saiva Siddhanta Samajam edition.

**Vide p.649 of *Sambandar Devaram*, same edition.

†Inscriptions, ARE 107 to 133 of 1929-30, are found on the walls of the main shrine, and 134 to 150 on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of it.

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receipt of some money by the *sabha* of Nallarrur in Kilsengai *nadu*, a subdivision of Sengattu kottam, from the Tiruppasur temple (ARE 156 of 1929–30). There is another record of his days on a slab built into the floor of the west verandah in the first *prakara* of the temple, dated in his twenty-ninth year. It registers a sale of land made tax-free by the *uravar* of Serumani Karanai to a certain . . . sola sundarar (ARE 151 of 1929–30).

Evidently, the earlier structure of the temple, as it existed in the days of Rajaraja I, was replaced after his twenty-ninth regnal year—most probably in the reign of Rajendra I. The earliest Chola record on the main shrine is on its north wall and belongs to the third year of Adhirajendra deva; it states that, while the king was seated in the palace, *Gangaikondasolan maligai*, at Gangaikondasolapuram, he remitted certain taxes leviable on the village of Selai in Kakkalur *nadu*, a sub-division of Ikkattu *kottam*, in Jayangondasola *mandalam*, as a *devadana* in favour of the temple of *Vey Idangondarulina Mahadevar* (the Lord residing amidst bamboo clumps) at Tiruppasur. (In an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajendra (III? : ARE 127 of 1929–30), the Lord of the temple is called *Purridam-kondar*: Resident of an ant-hill). The above remission seems to have been made at the request of an officer called Araiyan Rajarajan *alias* Pandyan for the conduct of certain services (*dharmam*) instituted by his mother Rajasekharan Ramadevi in the temple. Mention is also made of the names of several officers including those of the *Udan-kuttam* (ARE 113 of 1929–30).

The Central Shrine

The main shrine of the temple faces east, and consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala* and a *mukhamandapa*, conceived in a grand fashion as one unitary composition. The *garbhagriha* measures (9.66 ms) 31′ 8″ long and (7.92 ms) 26′ wide. The *antarala* projects forward by (3.35 ms) 10′ 1″ and is (7.54 ms) 24′ 9″ wide. The *mukhamandapa* measures (7.77 ms) 25′ 6″ along the axis of the temple and (8.83 ms) 29′ in width; the internal measurements are (6.40 ms) 21′ 1″ by (7.09 ms) 23′ 3″. Inside, the *garbhagriha* is a square. At the entrance from the *antarala* to

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the *garbhagriha* as well as at the entrance from the *mukhamandapa* to the *antarala*, there are flanking pilasters, (empty) niches for *dvarapalas* and a *bhutagana* frieze above. The *mukhamandapa* is supported by twelve round pillars, four each in three north-south rows.

The *dvi-tala srivimana* is massive and tall and in a good state of preservation. The walls of the *garbhagriha* are high, measuring 4.48 ms (14′ 8″) from the ground level to the top of the cornice, the *adhishthanam* itself measuring 1.07 ms (3′ 6″). The *garbhagriha* is one-tiered. The *griva* and *sikhara* are in brick and mortar and apsidal-shaped; the *sikhara* is crowned by five *stupis* and its front face has the usual *kirtimukha* motif; the rest of the *srivimana* is entirely of stone, except for some stucco work in the upper *tala*. In addition to the fine set of stone sculptures in the niches of the *garbhagriha* and *antarala*, there are beautifully carved stone sculptures covered with stucco or figures wholly of stucco in the *haras* and *griva*. We list them below (in clockwise order):

Sculptures on the walls of the *garbhagriha* and *antarala* are:

South: Ganapati, Dakshinamurti (later)

West: Lingodbhavar

North: Brahma, Durga

The *hara* over the first *tala* has two rows of sculptures.

Row I:

South: (1) Ardhanari; (2) Brahma; (3) Dakshinamurti; (4) Vishnu; (5) Sankaranarayana.

West: (1) Vrishabhantikar; (2) Vishnu; (3) Vishnu, seated on a serpent with its five-headed hood over His head (*Adinatha*).

North: (1) Kalantakar; (2) Sankaranarayana, standing; (3) Brahma, standing; (4) Bhairavar; (5) Chandrasekharar.

East: (1) Bhairavar; (2) Subrahmanyar; (3) A seated figure, unidentified.

Row II:

South: (1) Ganapati; (2) This *nidha* is vacant, but in a small niche to its left is a Kali figure, and a small niche to it right is empty; (3) Siva, seated, four-armed, with two attendants, one on either side; (4) Vyakhyana Dakshinamurti; (5) Siva, seated flanked by attendants on the left and by a devotee on the right;

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(6) A standing female figure, not identified, with an attendant *rishi*; (7) Unidentified.

West: (1) A male figure with uplifted arms (not identified); (2) Two unidentified figures, perhaps images of benefactors; (3) Yoga Narasimha; (4) Govardhanagiri-dhari; (5) Lakshmi-narayana (There is a Bhuvaraha image between the figures of Yoga Narasimha and Govardhanadhari).

North: (1) A saint; (2) A saint, standing; (3) An unidentified deity; (4) Brahma, standing; (5) A saint; (6) Durga, standing; (7) Mahesvari, seated, with a *linga* to the left.

East: (1) Surya (?) with lotuses in both hands; (2) Karttikeya; (3) Indra on elephant, and devotees; (4) Devotees; (5) A two-armed, seated figure, not identified.

Sculptures in the niches of the second *tala* are:

South: (1) Siva, with *sula* and *damaru* in two hands, the other two arms being in the *abhaya* and *kati-avalambita* poses; (2) Siva, seated, with *parasu* and *mriga* in two hands, the other two being broken; (3) Dakshinamurti, standing; (4) A standing four-armed figure, unidentified: weapons in and postures of arms not discernible; (5) Siva, standing, with *parasu* and *mriga* in two hands, the other two arms being in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses.

West: (1) Dikpala (?); (2) Vishnu, standing; (3) Kaliya Krishna.

North: (1) Dikpala; (2) Chandrasekharar (Siva, standing); (3) Brahma, standing; (4) Siva (Bhairavar?) standing, with *sula* and *damaru* in two hands, the other two being in the *abhaya* and *katihasta* (?) poses; (5) Isana.

East: (1) Surya, two-armed, holding lotuses; (2) Subrahmanyar, standing, holding *akshamala* and *kundikai*; (3) Chandra.

Sculptures in the *grivakoshtas*: There are three niches each in the northern, western (rear, apsidal) and southern faces of the *griva* and one in the front face. The sculptures in them are as follows (listed as usual in the clockwise sense):

South: (1) Vrishabhantikar, standing, with Parvati to the right and a sage to the left; (2) Vyakhyana Dakshinamurti; (3) Alingina Chandrasekharar. Between Nos. (2) and (3) there is a seated, two-armed figure of Siva (?).

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West: (1) A seated saint, with a '*pandaram*' type of turban; (2) Vishnu, seated, with two *devis*; (3) A standing figure of a saint.

North: (1) Bhikshatanar (arms broken) with the *rishipatnis*; (2) Brahma, beardless, seated in *padmasana*, with *akshamala* and *kundika* in two hands, the other arms being in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses, and flanked by his consorts, Savitri and Sarasvati: we recall a similar sculpture in the great temple at Gangaikondasolapuram; (3) An excellent figure of Mahishasuramardini, eight-armed, the lion shown tearing into the flesh of the buffalo-demon. Between Nos. (2) and (3), there is a beautiful female figure, unidentified.

East: In the only niche here, there is a fine seated figure of Uma Mahesvarar, flanked by *dvarapalas*. Mahesvarar holds the *parasu* and the *mriga* in two hands, while the other two are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Uma holds a lotus in one hand and the other rests on the pedestal; the left leg hangs down, while the right leg is folded and tucked underneath the left leg over the pedestal.

The *garbhagriha* and the two tiers above it are certainly original, and even the *griva* and the *sikhara* would appear to be original, excepting that the surface of the *sikhara* might have been plastered over later (Colour Pl 17, and Pls 283 to 299).

In front of the *mukhamandapa*, there are two fine specimens of *dvarapalas* in the Rajaraja I style, one on either side of the entrance; they are massive, powerful of limb, almost fierce of mein and well-proportioned.

Amman Shrine :

To the south of the Siva temple and almost identical with it in size is the Amman shrine, of a later date and dedicated to Svayam Mohanambika. From the architectural and sculptural features we could attribute this temple to the period of Kulottunga I.

Both the Siva and Amman temples are encompassed within a common wall of enclosure, on the southern wing of which is the main *gopuram* providing access to both the temples.

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A common hall put up later links the front portions of the Siva and Amman temples; there is a *mandapa* at the northern end of this hall in which are housed some good and some indifferent bronzes; of them, the Somaskandar and Tani Amman images are worthy of note, the former having probably been the *utsava murti*.

Embedded in the floor of the *sopana mandapa* in front of the main shrine is a stray stone containing a royal edict with the Chola royal crest, similar to what we find in their copper plate grants.

The present structure is a temple of the days of Rajendra I and is a fine specimen of this period in the Tondaimandalam idiom. The hundred-pillared hall in the temple may be attributed to Naralokaviran (the General under Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola), who also constructed similar halls at Chidambaram and Tiruvadigai (near Cuddalore). The Amman shrine may be attributed to the period of Kulottunga I. The wall of enclosure in the outermost *prakara* along with the *gopuram* was built in the days of Kulottunga III.

TIRUVORRIYUR

ADIPURISVARAR TEMPLE 71

Tiruvorriyur, which is about 18 kms from Madras, is an ancient town, whose annals can be gleaned from the large number of inscriptions found on the walls of the temple here dedicated to Adipurisvarar. It dates back to the days of Sambandar and Sundarar. The former saint has sung the praises of the Lord of Orriyur in eleven verses. The latter has sung a *padigam* in anguish when he discovered that he was losing his eyesight—the punishment he received for forgetting his promise to his wife Sangiliyar that he would never leave her. Tradition has it that when he was engrossed in the pleasures of married life, he was suddenly put in mind of the fact that he had not had the *darsana* of Vithi-Vitanka Peruman of Tiruvarur for a long time; forgetting his promise to his wife, he set off from Tiruvorriyur for Tiruvarur;

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he had hardly left the outskirts of the town when he began to lose his sight.

This temple has grown in size over the centuries; by the end of the fourteenth century, there were as many as five shrines, five *mathas* and five *mandapams* in the campus, namely, the

Adipurisvarar (the main), Nataraja, Chamunda, Gaulisar and Subrahmanyar shrines;

Rajendrasolan, Kulottungasolan, Tirujnana Sambandar, Nandikesvarar and Angarayan *mathas*; and

Rajarajan, Rajendrasolan, Vyakarana-dana, Mannaikonda solan, and Vakkanikkum *mandapams*.

The early history of the temple has been traced in my *Early Chola Temples* (pp. 97—99).

There are as many as 149 inscriptions recorded on the walls of the central shrine, on the *mandapa* in front of it, on the pillars of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*, and on the walls of the sub-shrines, the *prakara* and the *gopuram*.

As noted in *Early Chola Temples*, the central shrine was built in the days of Rajendra I at the bidding of the Saivite religious leader Chaturanana Pandita by the architect Ravi *alias* Virasola Takshan, "of black granite without the least flaw, in three tiers decorated with *charanas*, *toranas*, *kutas*, *nidhas* (big and small), *simhamukhas* and *makaras*" (ARE 126 of 1912: SII, IV, 553). This record is in *Grantha*, undated, and is found on the southern side of the central shrine. The king appears to have held in great respect this *guru* Chaturanana Pandita, who was his contemporary in the line of succession of Niranjana Guravar (who flourished in about the ninth century A.D.).

In the records of the temple, there is reference to the following (twelve) deities in the temple campus:

Karanai Vitanka devar, Padampakka devar, Vattapirai Amman (Pidariyar), Kshetrapala devar, Pillai Subrahmanyar (Kumarasvami devar), Surya, Arinjisvaram Udaiyar, Kampisvaram Udaiyar, Videlvidugu Isvarar, Durgaiyar, Anukka Pillaiyar, and Vira Narasimhesvaram Udaiya Nayanar.

A large number of gifts and donations were made to the temple

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and its adjuncts during the reign of Rajendra I. Chaturana Pandita himself made a gift of 150 *kasus* for conducting the ceremonial bathing of Mahadevar with *ghee* on the festival day coinciding with the birthday of the king—the *nakshatra* (star) of *Tiruvadirai* in the month of *Margali* (ARE 104 of 1912). A gift of 90 sheep for a lamp was made by Gangaikondasolan *alias* Uttamasola-marayan of Tiruvarur for the merit of one Ganavadi Idumban, who stabbed himself to death in order to relieve the distress of the donor (ARE 138 of 1912): this record also covers another gift of 90 sheep for a lamp, by one Nimbala devi, wife of Indala deva of Talaigrama in Virata desa (country round Hangal, itself called Viratanagari or Viratankote in inscriptions). One Nakkan Kodai *alias* Kanchipura Nangai, a *magal* (maid-servant?) of Tiruvegambam Udaiya Mahadevar of the *nagaram* of Kanchi-puram, deposited a gift of money with the inhabitants of Iganai-yur on interest to be paid as paddy for providing offerings every year at the festival of *pudiyidu* (the first crop?: ARE 139 of 1912). A twenty-ninth year inscription relates to a gift of money de-posited with the *nagarattar* (merchant-guild) of Tiruvorriyur and others, on interest to be given as paddy, for celebrating the festival of *Margali Tiruvadirai* and for feeding three men learned in the *Vedas*. The money was in units of *tulai nirai pon* and *Madhurantaka devan madai* (ARE 140 of 1912). A gift of one Rajarajan *kasu* was deposited with the same *nagarattar* on interest payable in paddy, for feeding a *brahmana*, by one Kuttan Ganavadi *alias* Uttamasola Marayan, a military officer of Gangaikondan (ARE 141 of 1912); the same record also makes reference to a money gift by one Ariyammai. A record of the twenty-sixth year mentions that a royal officer, Rajendrasinga Muvendavelan, made enquiries into the temple affairs in the hall called *Vakkanik-kum mandapam*, and fixed the details of the services to be main-tained out of the *kurra-dandam* (fines) and "excess paddy" collected from the temple servants and the tenants of the *devadanam* village: the items of expenditure covered included *ghee*, camphor, food and clothes for the garland-makers, food and clothes for the *brahmanas* who recited the *Vedas*, rice, sugar, *dal*, vegetables, curds, pepper, betel leaves and nuts. Such of these items as were

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not locally available were imported and paid for in gold, and the local items in paddy (ARE 146 of 1912). Another inscription of the twenty-sixth year, found in one of the pillars of the verandah round the central shrine, mentions that twelve *devaradiyars* (women-servants of the temple) were dedicated for the service of the Goddess Gauri, and the proceeds of the sale of some lands by the villagers of the *devadanam* village of Iganaiyur to one Sattan Ramadeviyar, described as an *anukkiyar* of the king, were earmarked for their maintenance (ARE 153 of 1912).

The inscriptions of the days of Rajadhiraja I are equally numerous. On the south side of the base of the central shrine, we have his earliest record, dated in his third year (ARE 127 of 1912). It refers to a sale of land by the residents of Veshasharu-padiyur to a *brahmana* lady called Ariyavammai, wife of Prabhakara Bhatta of Megalapura in Arya desa, for the purpose of feeding the *mahesvaras* at the Rajendrasolan, evidently a *matha*, built by her in the temple premises. An inscription of his sixth year, found on the south wall of the central shrine, relates to a gift of 32 cows for a lamp by a devotee called Periyanayan *alias* Manikkavasagan (ARE 107 of 1912). There is a twenty-second year inscription on a pillar of the *prakara*; It records a gift of money for providing daily a bundle of grass to a cow and for other services (ARE 151 of 1912). A record of his twenty-sixth year, found on the south wall of the central shrine, registers an enquiry into the temple affairs by the *adhikaris* (officers), Valavan Muvendavelan and Vik(ki)ramasinga Muvendavelan, in the Mannai-kondasolan *mandapa*, obviously so named in commemoration of a Chola victory over the Western Chalukyas in A.D. 1044 (Mannai = Manyakheta: ARE 103 of 1912). There are two inscriptions of the 27th year; one of them is incomplete and contains merely a part of the *prasasti* beginning with *tingaler taru*; the other relates to a gift of money by the members of the assembly of Manali *alias* Singavishnu chaturvedimangalam, for the conduct of the *Masi-maham* festival (ARE 142 and 144 of 1912). On the north side of the base of the central shrine is a twenty-eighth year inscription recording a gift of money for special offerings on the day following the *Panguni Uttiram* festival.

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The Assembly of Kavanur *alias* Kamala-narayana chaturvedi-mangalam received 30 *kasus* and agreed to contribute 75 *kalams* of paddy as interest every year for the expenses on that day (ARE 137 of 1912): this record also mentions *pattarkal-tirumeni* (images of the *nayanmar*). A record of his twenty-eight year, 134th day is of interest in that it gives details of the administrative units of the Tondaimandalam region (ARE 102 of 1912): It registers a sale of land by certain members of the assembly of Manali *alias* Singavishnu chaturvedimangalam, a *devadana* village of the temple of Tiruvorriyur Udaiyar, to a military officer. A thirty-first year record, found on one of the *prakara* pillars, deals with a gift of 95 sheep for a perpetual lamp to the temple by Chatural Chaturi, wife (*agamudaiyal*) of Nagan Perungadan, and a woman-servant of the temple (*devaradiyal*), showing incidentally that a *devaradiyal* could lead a normal married life (ARE 147 of 1912). Another record of his thirty-first year registers a sale of land by the Assembly of Sundarasola chaturvedi-mangalam, a *brahmadeya* village to Nagalavaichchani *alias* Ariya-vammai, wife of Prabhakara Bhatta, a resident of Megalapuram in Arya desa, and a devotee of this temple: we have already met with this lady in the third year record. This land was also given to the Rajendrasolan *matha* founded by her. This record also mentions other land-sales, one by the *nagaram* of Tiruvorri-yur in the twenty-seventh year of the king (ARE 132 of 1912). A record of the thirty-third year refers to the king as Rajakesari Vijaya-rajendra, and relates to a gift of 92 sheep for a lamp by one Sundara Chola-Pandya Villuparaiyan, a *panimagan* (servant) of the temple and resident of Kanchipuram (ARE 149 of 1912). Finally, we have a record of the thirty-eighth year referring to a sale of land by the assembly of Kurattur in Ambattur *nadu*, a sub-division of Pular kottam, for conducting the daily services in the temple of Tiruvorriyur udaiyar Karanai Vitanka devar (ARE 129 of 1912). This name evidently applied to a processional image (of Siva): we revert to this subject in our discussion of the Nataraja shrine below.

References to gifts to temples in the Chola domain by donors from outside it are rather uncommon. Tiruvorriyur seems to have

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attracted the attention of people of the north country, as the references to Nimbala devi from Viratadesa and Ariyavammai from Aryadesa show; the latter also made a gift of 4,000 *kulis* of land, from the produce of which a flower garden was to be maintained and four garlands supplied daily to the temple; the land so purchased included house sites for the cultivating tenants, who were also exempted from payment of taxes of any kind (ARE 155 of 1912).

There are some interesting inscriptions of the short reign of Vira Rajendra (A.D. 1063–69). Two of them are on the walls of the Gaulisa shrine, one in the Nataraja shrine, and two others in the central shrine. From one of the last-mentioned, we learn that 60 *velis* of waste land in Simhavishnu chaturvedimangalam (Manali) were brought under cultivation, and designated Virarajendra *vilagam*. Its income in paddy, gold and *kasus* was allotted under various items of expenditure "for the health of the Chakravartin Virarajendradeva, for the increase of his race, for the prosperity of the *tirumangalyam* (ornament worn by women as a symbol of their married state) of the queen and for the growing health of their children". The items included: the pay of two priests engaged in the duties of worship of the Lord and of the musician who performed at the ceremonial occasion of "waking up the Lord from sleep"; the conduct of the Tiruvadirai *tirunal*, when the image of Karana Vitanka devar was taken in procession and the *Tiruvembavai* of Manikkavasagar was recited before it; and the maintenance of 22 *taliyilar* who danced and sang, their dancing master, four cooks, and 16 *devaradiyar* (women temple-servants) who recited the *Tiruppadiyam* (*Devaram*) in a low pitch called *ahamargam* (ARE 128 of 1912). From the other inscription in the central shrine (of this reign), we learn that the weavers of the Jayasinga-kulakala *perunteru* made a gift of 120 *kasus* towards the celebration each month of the *Aslesha* asterism, the king's natal star. This record also refers to two officers who held an enquiry into the temple affairs at the Vakkanikkum *mandapa* (ARE 128 of 1912). We deal with the inscription on the Nataraja shrine in our discussion of this shrine.

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There are a number of inscriptions of the Later Cholas and subsequent ruling dynasties.†

The Central Shrine

The central shrine, dedicated to Adipurisvarar, is apsidal in shape (from the *upanam* to the *stupi*) and is *tri-tala*. It faces east, and consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala*. It is built of black granite, fine-grained and of excellent quality. The five *devakoshtas* of the shrine contain images of Ganesa and Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north. There is a colonnaded verandah with a low platform surrounding the shrine (*tiruch-churru-maligai*); its pillars are in two rows, and most of them bear inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I.

There are a number of subsidiary shrines in the temple.

NATARAJA SHRINE

This shrine, facing south, is to the north-east of the main shrine, the two having a common *mukhamandapa*. The *devakoshta*

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†*Some Later Chola Inscriptions :* One, of the reign of Kulottunga I, refers to Tiruvorriyur as Adipura. Another, of the same reign, refers to a revenue division called Kalyanapurangondasola *valanadu*. Yet another refers to a *matha* named after Kulottunga, in the temple campus. An inscription of the days of Kulottunga III refers to a breed of cows called *asangada-gandan-surabhi*. Yet another reveals the practice of donating lamp-stands shaped like and named after the donor. A third refers to the god Vyakarana-dana Perumal, the king himself being referred to as Ulaguyya Nayanar. Finally, we learn that the Vyakarana-dana-vyakhyana *mandapa* was built around the thirty-fifth year of this king, by one Durgaiyandi Nayakan.

Panini's *Vyakarana* (Sanskrit grammar) seems to have received considerable attention in this place. According to tradition, the first 14 aphorisms of that grammar were produced by Siva from His *damaru* (kettle-drum), and made a gift of to Panini. Hence the name of Vyakaranadana Perumal, applied to Siva. The name of a local temple-priest is given as Vyakaranandana Bhatta. The above hall was presumably set up for the purpose of expounding this grammar.

An inscription of Rajaraja III mentions the "gift" of five women and their descendants for husking paddy in the temple, by one Vayalurk-kilavan Tiruvegambam udaiyan Sentamaraikkannan. According to another, the king had occasion to listen to the singing in a low, deep voice (a style called *ahamargam*) by one Uravakkina Talaik-koli, one of the *padiyilar* (women-singers in a temple), in the Rajarajan *tirumandapam*, on the night of the eighth day of the *Avanit-tirunal* festival. He was so enchanted with it that he passed orders that 60 *velis* of land be detached from Manali and be renamed Uravakkina-nallur, as suggested by the temple trustees (ARE 211 to 1912).

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figures consist of a beautiful and rare image known as Ekapada-murti (in the north), Brahma and Vishnu. On the base of this shrine, there is an inscription of the twenty-eighth year of Raja-dhiraja I (ARE 220 of 1912), which refers to a sale of land for offerings in the temple of Karanai Vitanka devar at Tiruvorriyur by the assemblies of Sundarasola and Vanavan Madevi-chatur-vedimangalams. On the base of the stone pedestal of the Nata-raja image in the shrine, there is an inscription which records that the pedestal, called Vira Rajendra, was set up by one Sivaloka-nathan of Tiruvenkadu (ARE 217 of 1912). An inscription of the third year of Adhirajendra records a sale of land by the assembly of Sundarasola chaturvedimangalam to the temple of Tiruvorriyur Udaiyar (ARE 219 of 1912). On the base of the shrine again, there are two inscriptions of Kulottunga I, one of them referring to the shrine of Kumarasvami devar (Subrah-manyar) in the temple complex (ARE 221 and 222 of 1912).

It thus appears that the present Nataraja shrine is the same as the Karanai Vitankar shrine of the inscriptions, and came into existence in the days of Rajadhiraja I, if not earlier; possi-bly, it received finishing touches in the days of Vira Rajendra. Was it a Siva shrine converted in later days into a Nataraja shrine?

GAULISA (PADAMPAKKA NAYAKAR) SHRINE

This is a small, square, stone structure, situated in the second *prakara* of the main shrine and to the south of it. It faces east, and comprises a *garbhagriha* and an *antarala* in front of it. The presiding deity (or image), now called Gaulisa (or Gaulisvara), is in the *yoga* posture, and is four-armed: the lower right arm is in the *chin-mudra* pose, the lower left hand is held parallel to the ground and close to the torso, with the palm open upwards, the upper right hand holds a trident (apparently, the upper part is missing), and the upper left hand holds a bowl. The *devakoshta* in the rear (west) houses a fine Vishnu image, and that in the north, one of Brahma.

The superstructure over the sanctum is modern. Two of the inscriptions in this shrine belong to the fifth year of Vira Rajendra.

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According to one of them (ARE 232 of 1912), this shrine was built of stone for Padampakka Nayaka deva by one Pasupati Tiruvaranga devan *alias* Rajendra Muvendavelan of Manakkudi. A sale of land to the shrine of Tiruvorriyur udaiya Padampakka Nayakar by the assemblies of Sundarasola and Vanavan Madevi-chaturvedimangalams is recorded by the other (ARE 226 of 1912). A record of the sixth year of the same ruler is inscribed in continuation of the above, and relates to a sale of land by the assembly of Singavishnu chaturvedimangalam to the builder of the shrine, Pasupati Tiruvaranga devan, for establishing a garden named after Vira Rajendra. There are two inscriptions of Kulottunga I as well, in this shrine.

The Cholas of the Middle and Later periods seem to have been deeply interested in the Saiva cult called the Lakulisa cult; it is likely that Tiruvorriyur was a strong centre of this cult during these periods, and that this shrine was dedicated to to Lakulisa (corrupted in course of time into Gaulisa). In this connection, we may quote the Government Epigraphist, writing in the ARE for 1913 (p.103):

"The stone image of Padampakka devar is apparently the same as that of the present Gaulisvara. It cannot be explained why Padampakka came to be called Gaulisvara or what Padampakka actually meant ... (The deity/image) does not correspond to any of the forms of Siva known to me so far, and leaves it doubtful whether the image may not be one of Lakulisa of Karohana (Karvan), with whom the temple of Tiruvorriyur may have been intimately connected."

Rajadhiraja II is said to have attended a festival in the shrine; two *gurus*, Chaturanana Pandita and Vagisvara Pandita, were also present on the occasion, and the latter expounded the *Soma Siddhanta* (the philosophy of the *Kapalika* sect of Saivism) in the royal presence; later, all the three listened to a discourse on the life of Sundarar (Aludaiya Nambi).

The Gaulisa shrine also houses a fine image in black granite of Adi Sankara, shown seated on high pedestal, and his four disciples, shown sitting cross-legged and in the *anjali* pose, at his feet. We have no indication as to where and by whom this

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was originally installed.

VATTAPIRAI AMMAN SHRINE

This small stone shrine for the Saptamatrika group, complete with the guardian deities of Ganesa and Virabhadra, is located in the first *prakara* of the main shrine, immediately to the north of the apsidal (rear) portion of the *garbhagriha*. The image of Chamunda here is considerably bigger than that of any of the others of the group, the latter being all of one size. Presumably, the name "Vattapirai Amman" refers to Chamunda here.

SUBRAHMANYAR SHRINE

This lies east of the *mukhamandapa* of the central shrine (and of the Nataraja shrine), and also faces east. It is of no great artistic merit. The only inscription in this shrine is on the south side of the base and relates to the ninth year of Rajaraja III (ARE 227 of 1912): it is not a foundation inscription. We do not know what, if any, the connection is between the present Subrahmanyar shrine and the shrine of Kumarasvami devar mentioned in the inscriptions of the temple.

These five shrines constitute the hard core of the temple. Of the adjuncts, the shrine for Bhairavar is noteworthy: the Bhairavar image bears a *sula* in the upper right hand and a bowl in the upper left—features similar to the Gaulisa image. (See my *Four Chola Temples*, p. 31). The shrine is in the second *prakara*, to the north-east of the main shrine.

The *kalyana-mandapa* to the east of the sacred tank, and the five-storeyed *gopuram* on the outer wall of enclosure are later structures.

There are some fine Pallava and Chola sculptures lying loose in the temple. One of them is a half-buried or broken image of Kali, now kept in a small, low-roofed modern chamber abutting on the south wall of the second *prakara*. It is a fine specimen of the Middle Chola period, delicately chiselled in black stone. It has a skull on top of the head, flanked by two snakes rearing their hoods. A skull-garland draped over the head falls down to the ears on either side; there is an outsized *preta-kundala*

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(corpse-shaped ear-ornament) on the right ear. The upper left arm carries a *kapala* in its palm, and the upper right hand carries a trident. The lower right hand is in the *abhaya* pose, and the lower left hangs down, almost unbent, in what is perhaps the *kati-avalambita* pose. There is a skull-garland across the torso in the *yajnopavita* style, and a *kucha-bandha*.

Also of the same period are the image of Chandesvarar found in the front *mandapa* of the central shrine, the two massive and magnificent *dvarapalas* at the entrance from the *mukhamandapa* to the first *prakara* of the main shrine and the Kshetrapalar image lying loose, all of excellent workmanship.

The temple of Adipurisvarar should be considered one of the finest specimens built in the days of Rajendra I in Tondaimandalam with the distinguishing feature of an apsidal, *tritala vimana* (Pls 300 to 314).

KULAMBANDAL

JAGANNATHESVARAR TEMPLE (GANGAIKONDA-CHOLISVARAM) 72

Kulambandal, also sometimes called Kulamandal, is a small village, 18 kms from Kanchipuram towards the south, on the Kanchipuram-Vandavasi road. Arpakkam, Kavantandalam, Magaral, Mamandur and Uttaramerur are all within a few kilometres from it. Apart from the Siva temple here, there are also the remains of a Vishnu temple in the west, a Mahavira image *in situ* in the south-west, and a Durga image *in situ* in the south. The positioning of these temples accords with the requirements of the *Agamas* and *vastu sastra*, indicating that, in all probability, the township was newly laid out in conformity with those texts.

The Siva temple, now called the Jagannathesvarar temple, was in a state of disrepair till recently (see the coverage of the temple in my *Four Chola Temples* Pl 30). It has since undergone scientific renovation under the direction of R. Nagaswamy of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu.

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An inscription on its walls, of the twenty-second year of Rajendra I, reveals that it was built by one Guru Isana Siva Pandita and was called Gangaikonda-cholisvaram (ARE 414 of 1902: SII, VII, 1047). It is likely that this *guru* came of the distinguished lineage of the Saiva *acharyas* associated with the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur. Its construction must have taken place between the eleventh and twenty-second years of Rajendra I. For some reason, the temple does not appear to have received the final finishing touches, as the sculptures of Dakshinamurti and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the third and second *talas* indicate.

The temple faces east and consists of an all-stone, *tri-tala srivimana*, with an *ardhamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa* in front. There must once have been a wall of enclosure, but only its basement remains. The *garbhagriha* is square, and is supported by an *upapitham* as well as an *adhishthanam*, the latter comprising the *padmam* and *kumudam* mouldings, topped by a *yali* frieze. The walls of the *garbhagriha* have six pilasters to a side, massive and hexagonal, and similar in appearance to the pillars of the *mukhamandapa*; above the pilasters are the cornice and a *yali* frieze. The walls contain inscriptions of the Chola and Vijaya-nagara periods. Each of the three free sides contains three *devakoshtas*. These niches contain (reckoned in clockwise order) the following images: Bhikshatanar, Dakshinamurti and Hariharar in the south; Vishnu, Lingodbhavar and (again) Hariharar in the west; and Subrahmanyar and Brahma in the north, the third northern niche being empty; the *ardhamandapa* niches contain Durga in the north and a standing Ganapati in the south (See *Damilica*, Vol. 1, 1970).

The entablature of the second *tala* of the *srivimana* is crowned by *karna-kutas* in the four corners and *salas* in the four cardinal directions. In the third *tala*, again, there are *karna-kutas* in the four corners, with a pair of *Nandis*, one on either side of each of them. The circular *griva* is decorated with four niche figures in the cardinal directions. The *sikhara* is almost spherical with a concave depression in the lower half running all around. The tapering upper half of the *sikhara* is decorated on top with a

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mahapadma. There is no *stupi*.

There are remnants of the *mahamandapa*, ahead (to the east) of the *mukhamandapa*. It has entrances to the south and east, flanked by *dvarapalas* typical of this period. The roof is missing, but, in the recent restoration, the walls which had partially collapsed, have been effectively restored up to the *vyalavari* above the cornice; the floor of the *mandapa* is about a metre above the ground level, and there are flights of steps and landings at the two entrances, the entire configuration being reminiscent somewhat of those at the great temples at Tanjavur and Gangaikondasolapuram (Pls 315 to 324).

To the east of the *mahamandapa* was a dislodged *nandi*, which has now been restored to its proper position. Further to the east of the *nandi* is a big 16-pillared *mandapa*, of which only a few pillars and the basement were traceable before the renovation; the pillars have now been set upright and the platform cleared of all debris, but there is (still) no roof.

All the other temples and shrines have disappeared without a trace, except for the debris of a brick *garbhagriha* which still contains the magnificent sculptures of Vishnu, Bhudevi and Sridevi, benign of aspect and of great artistic merit. The man-sized Vishnu image measures 175.26 cms (5′ 9″) in height, and the pedestal thereof, 30.48 cms (1′); the corresponding measurements for either *devi* image are: 162.56 cms (5′ 4″) and 22.86 cms (9″). Immediate steps need to be taken to preserve these images for posterity, representing as they do the high water-mark of stone sculpture even within the Chola period itself.

A Durga image was found embedded in a platform and has been restored. A sculpture of Mahavira is now being taken care of by the State Department of Archaeology.

The planned disposition here of the Siva, Vishnu and Jina temples is reminiscent of Olagapuram and Dadapuram, associated with Logamahadevi and Kundavai respectively. In particular, there is considerable similarity between the Vishnu triad here and that at Olagapuram.

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MANNARKOYIL

73 GOPALASVAMIN TEMPLE (RAJENDRASOLA VINNAGARAM)

The village of Mannarkoyil is at a distance of about 6.50 kms (four miles) north of Ambasamudram the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Tirunelveli district. There is a huge Vishnu temple here, currently called the Rajagopalasvamin temple. During the period of Chola rule over this part of the country, however, it bore the name of Rajendrasola Vinnagaram (after Rajendra I). The principal deity is called Vedanarayanar, and the consorts Vedavalli and Bhuvanavalli. The *utsava-murti* is known as Rajagopalasvamin, whence the temple derives its present name.

As many as nine inscriptions have been recorded from the walls of the central shrine of this temple (ARE 106 to 114 of 1905). Five of these relate to the Chola viceroy in the Pandya country named Jatavarman Sundara Chola-Pandya, a son of Rajendra I; four of them are of his fourth, thirteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth years, and the date of the fifth one is lost. In the fourth year record itself, the temple is referred to as Rajendrasola Vinnagar. In the other records, as well as in one of a Maravarman Vikrama Chola-Pandya, two Chera princes, Rajaraja deva and Rajasimha, are mentioned. These two princes probably owed allegiance to the Imperial Cholas, confirming the claims of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I to having conquered the Chera country. Yet again, in an inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Rajendra I (ARE 112 of 1905), the temple is called Rajendrasola Vinnagar, and is stated to have been built by Rajasimha, the Chera feudatory, and named after the overlord: the king makes a grant of land to the temple to take effect from that year (A.D. 1036), also referred to as the fifteenth year of the Chola-Pandya viceroy; this fixes the date of accession of the latter (to this viceroyalty) at A.D. 1021. Thus this temple is a foundation of the days of Rajendra I and must have been completed in or before the fourth year of this viceroy, namely, A.D. 1025.

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The temple, which dominates the neighbouring landscape, has an extensive campus and has many fine features. The main shrine, whose *srivimana* is *tri-tala*, consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa*, a *mahamandapa* and a *mukhamandapa* with a wide courtyard providing a circumambulatory passage. There are two walls of enclosure and, on the eastern wing of each there is a *gopuram*. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* (of the ground floor) constitute a unitary block, measuring on the outside 13·50 ms in length ad 12·32 ms in breadth (making almost a square), and 4·46 ms in height. The *garbhagriha* (of the *adi-tala*) is of the *sandhara* type: double-walled, with a narrow passage going all around the cella of the *garbhagriha* (the inner and outer walls being called respectively *antara-bhitti* and *bahya-bhitti*), similar to what we fine at the Rajarajesvaram in Tanjavur. The *devakoshtas* of the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* are bereft of sculptures, unlike what we find in the Pallava and Chola country, but a common feature in the Pandya country.

In the *garbhagriha* (of the *adi-tala*), there are standing images of (Vishnu as) Vedanarayanar in the centre, with His Consorts Vedavalli and Bhuvanavalli, one on either side, close to the rear wall. The Lord has the *sankha* and the *chakra* in His upper left and right arms, the lower right arm in the *abhaya* pose, and the lower left arm resting on a mace; the image is 1.98 ms high, reckoning without the *padma-pitham*. All the three images are said to be covered with stucco (though made of stone); consequently, no *abhishekas* are performed for them. On the rear wall, back of these images, there are painted replicas of these images (with the same insignia and poses of the hands); on the southern and northern walls of the sanctum, there are paintings of Brahma and of Siva on Mount Kailasa, respectively. In front of the above images are placed the processional metal images of Vedanarayanar and consorts (these receive *abhishekas*).

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by eight pillars and on its north wall, there is a window consisting of 16 square openings.

There are counterparts in the two upper *talas* for the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* of the *adi-tala*, which we shall call by the same names. The second *tala* is reached by a

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narrow flight of stairs abutting on, and outside, the southern side of the common outer wall of the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*, which takes us to the *ardhamandapa* of that *tala* and thence to the *garbhagriha* thereof. There are seated stucco images of Vishnu and His consorts, Bhudevi and Sridevi, on either side of Him, and icons of Markandeya and Bhrigu-rishi, one on either side of the triad and facing each other, in the *garbhagriha* of this *tala*, and painted replicas of these images on the rear wall thereof. Paintings of Brahma, and of Siva on Mount Kailasa adorn the southern and northern walls (inner surfaces) of the *garbhagriha*, respectively.

The (presumably) brick and mortar roof of the *garbhagriha* (of this *tala*) is supported by wooden beams; the wooden roof of the *ardhamandapa* is supported by pillars, two of stone and the rest of wood, and the wood elements are all beautifully carved and painted.

Another narrow flight of steps, on the east side of the second *tala*, leads to the third *tala*. The *garbhagriha* of this (the third) *tala* houses an image of Vishnu as Anantasayana, and images of Sridevi, Bhudevi and of the (same) *rishis*; there is a painted replica of this set of images on the west wall of the chamber, and paintings of Brahma, and of Siva as Tripurantakar on the southern and northern walls, respectively. The *ardhamandapa* roof is (again) of wood, with the pillars (also of wood), beams and rafters beautifully carved; it is flat in the middle and slopes downwards at the sides to permit the tapering off of the *sikhara* on top.

The superstructure over the third *tala*, consisting of the *griva* and a *sala*-type (barrel-roofed) *sikhara* crowned by three *stupis*, is of brick and mortar. There are *salas* on the south, west and north faces of the third *tala*, whose *koshtas* contain images of Yoga Dakshinamurti, Narasimha and Brahma, respectively. The same images are repeated in the *griva-koshtas* as well. There are no images on the east faces of the *sikhara* and *griva*. There are *garuda* figures in the four corners of the *sikhara*.

The *mahamandapa*, a later addition, projects 19.81 ms (65′) forward from the *ardhamandapa*. It serves also as a *snapana-mandapa*.

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It is supported by eighteen beautifully carved pillars, five in each flank, two each at the east and west edges, and four in the four corners at an angle to the rest, the whole structure having a compact appearance.

The *ardhamandapa* houses a fine set of three bronzes, namely, the processional deities. They are, from left to right, Sridevi, Vedanarayanar and Bhudevi. Without the pedestal, the main image measures 57·15 cms (22.5″) in height, the pedestal itself being 17.78 cms (7″) high; the corresponding figures for either *devi* image are: 43.18 cms (17″) and 13.97 cms (5.5″), respectively. The Vedanarayana image holds the *chakra* and *sankha* in the two upper hands, and the lower arms are held in the *varada* and *abhaya* poses. He wears the *upavita*, the *channavira* and the *skandamala* besides a variety of other ornaments; each of the consorts holds a flower (lotus or *nilotpala*) in one hand, the other hand being held in the *kati-avalambita* pose. In the north-western corner, there are the following bronzes: (*i*) Sudarsanam, (*ii*) Navanita Krishna, seated on a snake-*pitham* with three coils and five hoods, and with a ball of butter in his hand, (*iii*) Narttana Krishna, (*iv*) Sita, (*v*) Rama with bow and arrow, and (*vi*) Lakshmana with bow only.

Again, in the same corner of the same hall, adjoining the wall, there is a set of bronzes of the Alvars, forming an impressive array indeed. They are: (*i*) Vishvaksena, seated, with two hands holding the *sankha* and the *chakra*, and the other two arms held in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses, (*ii*) Poigai Alvar, (*iii*) Bhutattalvar, (*iv*) Pey Alvar, (*v*) Tirumalisai Alvar, (*vi*) Kulasekhara Alvar, (*vii*) Madhura Kavi, (*viii*) Tondaradippodi Alvar, (*ix*) Tirup-pan Alvar, (*x*) Tirumangai Alvar, (*xi*) Periyalvar (with hair knotted up near the forehead and holding a flower-basket in his hand), (*xii*) Udaiyavar or Ramanuja, with the *tri-dandam*, and (*xiii*) Manavalamuni (without the *tri-dandam*).

In the *mukhamandapa*, there is a fine set of tall icons of Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman, said to have been recovered some time back from a neighbouring well.

The *mahamandapa* contains some bronzes as well, namely,

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of the processional deities (under worship): Rajagopalasvamin, Andal and Garuda, all on a *manjam* (high platform). The image of Rajagopalasvamin* measures 86.36 cms (2′ 10″) including the *pitham*. Andal holds her right arm in the *kati-avalambita* pose, while her left hand holds a *nilotpala* flower. She has an elegant top knot of hair in the usual Andal style, to the side of the head. This image measures 63.50 cms (2′ 1″) with the *pitham*. Garuda holds his arms in the *anjali* pose and has a snake draped over his arms, which are adorned with *bahuvalayas* among others. This image is 69.85 cms (2′ 3½″) high.

To one side of the *mahamandapa* is a fine *sesha-vahana* (processional serpent-couch), made entirely of cast-copper, which measures 1.22 ms (4′) on the outside from end to end, and 0.86 m (2′ 10″) on the inner side of the aureola; the snake-coil is about 1.03 ms (3′ 4½″) high, while the hood portion measures 0.56 m (22″) from end to end; there are seven hoods.

Kulasekhara Alvar shrine: To the north of the main shrine and in the same compound, is a Pandyan shrine dedicated to Kulasekhara Alvar, one of the Vaishnava saints. It was set up before the fourteenth year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya Deva, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is a small, compact structure, with the *garbhagriha* measuring 4.19 ms (13′ 9″) square, and the *antarala* projecting 2.87 ms (9′ 5″) forward; the two are surrounded by a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. The shrine faces south; it is an *eka-tala* structure with a *griva* and an octagonal, curvilinear *sikhara*. The *garbhagriha* walls have only token niches, with no sculptures in them.

In his *Aspects of Temple Architecture* (p.119), K.V. Soundararajan refers to this temple (the Gopalasvamin temple) as a structural temple of the Pandya-Chola period and of a mixed style, and ascribes it to the tenth century A.D. There seems to be little evidence for the last conclusion of his. We have adduced epigraphical evidence above to support the conclusion that the temple is definitely of the period of Rajendra I, and hence of the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. (1025).

* 'According to local version, the right arm is in the *Mokshahasta* pose and the left is in the *Bhogahasta* pose'.

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During the period of the Imperial Chola sway over the Pandya country, the Chola viceroys (who were called Chola-Pandyas) and the Chola feudatories built a number of temples in the Pandya country and embellished them with a number of stone and metal sculptures. Examples of such temples are the Somanathesvarar temple at Attur, the Kailasanathar temple at Brahmadesam, the Tiruvalisvaram temple, the Kailasapati temple at Gangaikondan, the Pallikondar temple at Tirunelveli, and of course the present temple. These structures and icons have certain distinct features. The most noticeable, characteristic architectural feature is the shallowness of the *devakoshtas* on the *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* walls and the absence of any images in them. The metals have oval and angular faces, contrasting with the rounded and full faces of the icons in the Chola country; they have heavy and bulbous (bun-like) hairdo, and the ridges of the noses are exceedingly thin, giving the impression of very sharp and pointed noses. These features are so characteristic of the temples of this region that we may postulate a "Chola-Pandya idiom" in the Dravidian style of temple architecture and sculpture in this period (Pls 325 to 329).

SITIBETA

BHAIRAVAR TEMPLE 74

Sitibeta (or betta) is a small out-of-the-way village in the Kolar taluk of Kolar district, and lies about 20 kms north of the Bangalore-Kolar highway along a district road taking off from it near the 34-km stone from Bangalore; the terrain for miles around is undulating and dotted with stark hillocks.

On an isolated hillock here, about 80 to 90 ms high, there is a temple dedicated to Bhairavar. It contains a number of inscriptions in Grantha and Tamil characters. The earliest is dateable to the twelfth regnal year of Rajendra I (A.D. 1024). Incomplete, it breaks off after referring to "the hill of Sripati... in Nigarilisola *(mandalam) alias* Nulambapadi" (E.C., X, Kl.44). Then we have a record of the thirteenth year of Kulottunga I

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(A.D. 1083), mentioning that one Virasola Brahmamarayan, the overlord of Sattanur in Kuvalala *nadu*, renovated a *mandapa* and the *pitha* of the Kshetrapalar image (*ibid.*, 43). The village is called Sipati and the deity Sipati Nayanar, in some records of the thirteenth century A.D. (*ibid.*, 40a, 40b, 41). In A.D. 1279, a *mandapa* was built for the god Tribhuvana Vitanka Kshetrapala Pillaiyar of Sripati, and an endowment made for keeping it in good repair (*ibid.*, 49). In A.D. 1339, the temple was given the proceeds of some taxes accruing from the two villages of Sripati and Kallapalli by a Hoysala chief "for the success of the sword and arm" of Periya Vallappa Dennanayaka, son of Posala Vira Vallala deva (*ibid.*, 54). According to a record (a "*dharmasasana*") found at the bottom of the hillock, of A.D. 1467, the lands granted to the temple by Rajendra I and Vira Ballala had fallen into disuse or been misappropriated; one Narasinga Vodeyar reactivated these endowments, listed the ceremonies to be performed, endowed the temple with a total of 12 lamps, and set up a *chatra* for feeding 218 *brahmanas* daily (*ibid.*, 33). The name of the deity is given as Bhairavar of Sihati or Sihatti in two inscriptions dated A.D. 1468 and 1495 (*ibid.*, 35, 34). The modern name of Siti (beta) is an easy transition from the above.

The main shrine, which faces east, has an *eka-tala srivimana*. The *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*, which are original, measure 3.44 ms and 3.70 ms along the axis of the temple, respectively, and 3.00 ms and 4.35 ms across. There is a later, larger *mandapa* in front, measuring 7.65 ms by 7.35 ms.

Two of the three *devakoshtas* on the *garbhagriha* walls are empty; the third *devakoshta* contains an image of Bhairavar with upturned hair, profusely adorned with jewellery and a *munda-mala* coming down to well below the knees. The niches are flanked by well-turned circular pilasters, and the walls are relieved by octagonal pilasters.

At the corners of the platform under the *griva*, there are addorsed *nandis*, and the *griva-koshtas* house Bhairavar images. There are no *kutas* or *salas* above the entablature. The entire structure is in stone, with stucco coating and ornamentation. The *stupi* is missing.

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The structural additions to the proper right of the shrine, comprising halls and partially built-up caves, are of a later date.

Two beautiful metals found in this temple are attributable to the period of Rajendra I. The Bhairavar image is 60 cms high (including the *padma-pitham*), and carries a kettle-drum, a snake and a skull-plate in three of the hands; the fourth is in the posture of holding the trident, though bereft of any weapon now. The Somaskanda group (with Skanda missing, and Siva and Uma called Sripatisvarar and Parvati locally) is evidently the work of the same craftsmen; the lion-head (*simha-mukha*) clasp at the waist is reminiscent of the Tripurantakar of the Tanjavur Art Gallery (Pls 330 to 333).

KOLAR

KOLARAMMA (PIDARIYAR) TEMPLE 75

Kolar is now the headquarters of the district of that name in Karnataka State, adjoining Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh and North Arcot and Salem districts of Tamil Nadu. It is 66 kms (41 miles) from Bangalore along the national highway to Madras.

Nolambavadi, Nulambabadi or Nunambavadi was the land of the Nolambas, with the capital at Hemavati in the present Madakasira taluk of Anantapur district; they had their heyday during the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. Afterwards, their kingdom was absorbed in the expanding Chola empire of Rajaraja I, and became a Chola province under the name of Nigarilisola mandalam, of which Kuvalalam (modern Kolar) was an important centre.

There are two important temples in the town itself, one of Pidari (Chamunda), here called Kolaramma, and the other of Somesvara; we are concerned with only the former here.

Rajaraja I and Rajendra I appear to have stationed a contingent of their army in this area under General Uttamasola Brahmamarayan *alias* Marayan Aru(l)moli, son of Krishnan

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Raman (*alias* Narakkan Marayan Jananathanar, of Keralantaka chaturvedimangalam or Amankudi, in Vennadu, a sub-division of Uyyakkondan valanadu). This Krishnan Raman was also known as Mummudisola Brahmamarayan in the days of Rajaraja I and as Rajendrasola Brahmamarayan (or Brahmadhirajan) in the days of Rajendra I. He frequently stepped in to ensure that the royal orders in respect of endowments were duly entered into the revenue registers (E.C., X, KC, iii & 112a: see below).

The earliest inscription in the temple is one of Rajaraja I. It mentions that a village in Kuvalala nadu in Nigarilisola *mandalam* was granted, with effect from the twelfth year of the king, as a *devadana* to the temple of Pidariyar at Kuvalalam in the same nadu (*ibid.*, KC, 106c). An inscription of his twenty-second year registers that the king made the village of Araiyur in the same *nadu* a *devadana* and made it over to a *Sivabrahmana*, who was a priest of the goddess (*ibid.*, K.C., 106b).

There are a number of inscriptions of Rajendra I. Two, of the eighth and twelfth years, concern gifts for lamps to the temple (*ibid.*, KC, 106a, 112). Two register royal orders, of the eleventh and sixteenth years, each assigning a village in the same (Kuvalala) nadu as a *devadana* to the temple (*ibid.*, K.C., 112a, 111). An inscription dateable to A.D. 1030, found on the lintel of a doorway, mentions that a *mandapam* in the name of Rajendra I was erected by a lady called Jakkiyappai, at "the foot of Sulkal-malai, otherwise called Kanakaparvatam, in the Kadambanakkai nadu" (*ibid.*, KC, 115). The most important inscription here of his days is of the twenty-second year; it records that in pursuance of a royal command, General Uttamasola Brahmamarayan (son of General Krishnan Raman) rebuilt of stone the brick temple of Pidariyar at Kuvalalam, and also gifted to it a perpetual lamp, seven "excellent she-buffaloes" and a lamp-lighter (*ibid.*, Kl., 109a; ARE 480 of 1911). It seems likely that Rajendra I not only did the above rebuilding but built a new Saptamatrika shrine, adjacent to the *mandapa* in front of the original shrine. The images relating to the Yogini cult

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and others referred to in an inscription* of the second year of Kulottunga I should be associated with this (new) shrine.

We infer from a fragmentary record of the thirty-fifth year of Rajadhiraja I *alias* Vijaya Rajendra that Nigarilisola mandalam was renamed Vijaya Rajendra mandalam in his days. There is also a record of the third year of Rajendradeva (II) relating to the gift of two perpetual lamps (*ibid.*,K.E., 112b, 107).

The ground plan of the temple complex has a rather strange look. The main shrine, that of Kolaramma, is to the north of the campus and faces east. The later, larger shrine faces north, and the two share a four-pillared *mandapa* (in front of both). Both shrines comprise a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. The treatment of the external wall surface parts (such as pilasters) is identical for the two shrines.

The Kolaramma shrine houses images of the Saptamatrikas together with Ganapati and Virabhadra, the pride of place being given to Chamunda, whose image is larger than the rest. It is to her that the name Kolaramma refers (the *Pidariyar* of the inscriptions). To meet the need to accommodate as many as nine deities, the *garbhagriha* is oblong; it is supported by a low *upanam* and a high *adhishthanam* consisting of several mouldings including a *jagatippadai* and a *tri-patta kumudam*; these mould-

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**The second year inscription of Kulottunga I*: In this inscription (*ibid.*, KC, 108, 106 d), it is recorded that one Ambalavanan Tiruppondaiyar *alias* Virasikhamani Muvendavelar (presumably a royal officer) ascertained from the Kannataka Pandita who was conducting the *madapattiyam* for the goddess and from the *panchacharya pujaris*, at an enquiry held in a *mandapa* of this temple, that no allotment of the paddy-equivalent had been made until that year to the deities and the temple servants, out of the revenue in gold (*madai*) collected from the *devadana* villages of the temple. He issued orders prescribing the equivalent (577 *madais* and three *mahanis* equivalent to 1034 *kasus* equivalent to 2,834 *kalams* and odd of paddy). The record also lists the various deities for whose worship and for offerings to whom detailed provision was made from out of the above: the *saptamatrikas* with Ganapati and Virabhadra, Chamundesvari of the *mulasthana*, Yogesvari, Kshetrapala deva, Maha Sasta and Surya deva; also mentioned are Astra deva, 10 Kumbha-devatas and Nava graha devatas. Provision was made for the offering of intoxicating drinks as part of the worship of Yogesvara and Yogini. Elaborate provision was made for the various temple servants (the Kannataka Pandita, priests and musicians, watchmen, gardeners, garland-makers, drummers and bell-ringers, an accountant, a dancing master and 24 dancing women, and various artisans) and for feeding physically handicapped persons. Among the other beneficiaries listed, we find: four *brahmacharins*, four *yoginis* four *yogesvaras*, three *bhairavas* and a leader, and a lecturer on *vyakarana* and *yaamala* the pujari and the masons. (Also see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp.147-8.)

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ings and the *garbhagriha* walls are covered with inscriptions. There is an animated *bhutagana* frieze below and a lion frieze above the cornice. The superstructure consists of a high *griva* and a *sala*-type *sikhara* (Pls 334 to 337).

The other shrine houses stucco images of the Saptamatrikas, much bigger than those of the main shrine; its *ardhamandapa*, which is supported by a row of four pillars, contains a life-size figure of a female deity; there is no superstructure over the *garbhagriha*.

The two shrines and the *mandapa* common to them are surrounded by a *prakara* and a *tiruch-churru-maligai*. The entrance to the temple-complex is on the east wall, but is not in line with the axis of the main shrine. Both the shrines can be approached only through the *prakara*. At the entrance to the main shrine (from the common *mandapa*), there are two stone sculptures, Bhairavar on the left and Bhairavi (?) on the right.

BELATURU

76 BANESVARA TEMPLE

Belaturu in Mysore district of Karnataka State would appear to have been a prosperous town in olden days, with a number of temples and a sizable trading activity. Today it is a remote village, reached with difficulty from the main district road connecting Mysore to Heggada-devankotte, the taluk headquarters; at the forty-fifth km from Mysore on this road, a five km link road branches off to the south-east, crossing the Kapini river over a newly constructed causeway to reach Belaturu. The village itself is on the Kapini and set in picturesque surroundings.

There are three temples here, those of Mallesvara, Kalamma and Banesvara. There is yet another in the vicinity, in Addakatta hola, called the Binakalamma temple.

The Banesvara temple is in ruins. On a stone lying at the site, there is an early Kannada inscription dated in Saka 943 and the ninth regnal year of Rajendra I. It says that Oreya (the chief?) of Nugunad had the temple, which had broken down and fallen

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level with the ground, rebuilt, and the *Linga* which had been pulled out, re-installed, in that year; and one Basavayya, son of Muruga Setti and Maggabe of the same place, performed the *Rudra homa,* feasted a thousand people, and "casting forth the *bali,* completed the work of merit". The same Basava Setti, along with one Jayangondasola Permmadi Gavunda, son of Javani Gavunda of Belatur, presented to the temple with the knowledge of the village elders, 15 units of wet land and five units of land for a flower-garden (the unit being called a "plough"). He also gifted land for a perpetual lamp (EC, IV, Pt. II, My., 16).

Another slab here contains an incomplete inscription dated in Saka 955 and the twenty-second year of Rajendra I, referred to as the conqueror of Purvadesam, Ganga and Kadaram.

A third slab, found near the temple, contains an inscription of the days of the Hoysala Vira Ballala, son of Vira Narasimha, which mentions that this temple was again reconstructed by a local Chief at a cost of 60 *gadyana* in cash together with 470 *saliga* of rice to the stone-masons. The date of this renovation may be taken to be A.D. 1219.

When the temple-site was visited by the author, 75 years after the estampages of the above inscriptions were taken by Rice, there was nothing left of the temple but a mound of stone rubble densely covered with vegetation; the *Lingam* was half-buried in the ground. The foundation inscription of Rajendra I was located with difficulty; a Saptamatrika panel was found at the site.

SUTTURU

MULASTHANAM UDAIYAR TEMPLE 77

The village of Sutturu in Mysore district of Karnataka State is reached from the taluk headquarters of Nanjangud via Kaulandai and is at a distance of 10 kms from the latter. There are three temples in this village, namely, the Somesvara, Virabhadra and Mulasthanam Udaiyar temples. Of these, the Somesvara temple belongs to the Hoysala period. South of the Virabhadra temple,

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there is an inscribed stone containing a long record dated in the thirty-first regnal year of Rajendra I. We learn from it that a temple, merely termed that of Mulasthanam Udaiyar, was constructed by one Gundabbe, wife of Marayya Setti, in the village of Srotriyur, in the year A.D. 1043. Their son Devayya Setti is also said to have made extensive grants for the temple and for services to the deity as well as to the Isana Isvaram Udaiyar(?) of the same village (EC, IV, My., Nanjangud 164).

NANDIGUNDA

78 MALLESVARA TEMPLE

Nandigunda, also in Mysore district, is about three kms from the Narasambhudi cross-roads, which is itself six kms from Nanjangud. There is a small temple here dedicated to Malladeva or Mallesvara. On a stone lying in front of this temple, there is an inscription of the days of Rajendra I dated in Saka 943 (A.D. 1021), beginning with the usual introduction of *tirumanni valara*. According to it, one Malla Gavunda of Nandigunda in Maisur nad, along with Eremma and Kumbhayya, set up the deity of Mallesvara and he also made a land-grant to the temple. This temple must thus have come into existence sometime before A.D. 1021.

CHIKKA HANSOGE

79 JINA BASTI (RAJENDRASOLA JINALAYAM)

The small village of Chikka Hansoge in Yedatore taluk, Mysore district was an important Jaina centre in the past. Of the many Jina temples in the area, we are here concerned only with the one called the Jina basti (*basti*=Jain temple). Above its doorway, there are two short inscriptions in Grantha and Tamil characters, running as follows (EC, V, My, Yedatore, 21 & 22):

"Sri Rajendra Cholan... Jinalayam desigganam basadi pustaka-gachcham",

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and

"Sri Vira Rajendra Nanni Changalva Devarmmadisiddha pustaka-gachchada basadi."

These lead us to infer that this Jaina temple was built during the reign of Rajendra I and that a local chief named Vira Rajendra Nanni Changalva deva (caused to be) built the *pustaka-gachcha* in the *basadi* (*basti*).

The same chief also erected another Jina temple, according to another inscription. It thus appears that this area was a strong Jaina centre even as late as the twelfth century A.D.

KALIDINDI

(i) RAJARAJESVARAM 80
(ii) UTTAMA-CHODA-CHODAKON TEMPLE
(iii) UTTAMA-CHODA-MILADUDAIYAN TEMPLE

The village of Kalidindi which continues to bear its ancient name, is situated on the eastern fringe of the Colair (Kolleru) lake in the Kaikalur taluk of Krishna district in Andhra Pradesh and is not more than 80 kms (50 miles) from Vijayawada-on-Krishna.

Three temples were built in this village in memory of three famous Chola generals sent by the Chola emperor Rajendra I to the assistance of the Vengi ruler and Viceroy to defend the province from the intrusions of the Western Chalukyas. A fund of information about these temples and the circumstances under which they came to be built is furnished by the Kalidindi grant (EI, XXIX, Pt III, July 1951, pp. 57–61) of the Eastern Chalukyan ruler Rajaraja I (Saka 944=A.D. 1022), son of Vimaladitya, whose marriage with Kundavai, the sister of Rajendra I, is mentioned in the plates. The son of this wedlock Rajaraja, "while still a boy, was invested with the necklace (*kanthika*), the insignia of the office of Yuvaraja" and "his uncle, the Chola emperor Rajendra Choda Madhurantaka, having heard of his great qualities bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter Ammanga who became his chief queen." Rajaraja I

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ruled over Vengi for over forty years, the date of accession of his nephew and successor Saktivarman II being A.D. 1061. The pattern of intermarriage ran over three generations: Rajaraja I gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to the Vengi ruler Vimaladitya; Rajendra I gave his daughter Ammanga in marriage to Vimaladitya's son Rajaraja I (of Vengi); and Rajendra II gave his daughter Madhurantaki in marriage to Vengi Rajaraja I's son Rajendra who later on ascended the Chola throne as Kulottunga I in A.D. 1070. In these repeated alliances, the Chola rulers sought to provide a permanent bond by which Vengi might be attached to their kingdom as an integral part.

The circumstances under which these generals fought and died are not clearly brought out in the plates. From a Western Chalukya record at Hottur in the old Mysore region of Karnataka State dated Saka 929 (A.D. 1007) we get the name of a *Dandanayaka* of the Western Chalukyan king Jayasimha II, named Chavanarasa, who bore the title of "the destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi"; we may reasonably identify Bijavadi with Vijayawada of the present day, and thus the Karnataka invasion of Andhra (i.e. Vengi) and the battle mentioned in the Kalidindi plates might have taken place during the same Western Chalukyan expedition under Chavanarasa, particularly when we keep in mind that Kalidindi is not more 80 kms (50 miles) from Vijayawada; presumably the combined forces of Vengi and the Cholas were worsted or the engagement was indecisive; of this we get indirect confirmation from the fact of Rajaraja I (of Vengi) being deprived of the Vengi throne in A.D. 1031 by his step-brother and rival Vijayaditya VII. Possibly, the Western Chalukyas supported the cause of Vijayaditya and the Cholas that of Rajaraja I. We may presume with some reason that the battle was fought in or near Kalidindi itself and that the memorial temples were built near where the generals fought and fell.

From the Plates we come to know that "the general Rajaraja Brahma-maharaja rose to eminence by the grace of king Rajendra Chola Madhurantaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasure. No sooner did he receive the orders of his

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sovereign, than he marched into the Andhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama Choda Chodakon and Uttama Choda Miladudaiyan. The three Tamil generals, who were like the three (Vedic) fires bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karnataka army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karnataka." The battle between the two armies is described vividly in the Plates (lines 85–93). The engagement, however, seems to have been indecisive or at any rate did not result in a victory for the Chola forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides perished with their forces.

It is in these circumstances that the Eastern Chalukyan Rajaraja I set up, in memory of Rajaraja Brahmamaharaja, a temple dedicated to Siva, called Rajarajesvaram in the village of Kalidindi. Two other Siva temples were also built, in memory of Uttama Chola Cholakon and Uttama Chola Miladudaiyan. The relevant portion of the record reads as follows:

"Kalidindi grame rajarajesvaram iti Sivayatanam akaravam: Uttama Sodach Chodagon iti Uttama Choda-Milad Udaiyan iti prasiddha-vanyav-api-chodisya Sivayatana-dvayam (karomi)"

Not much is known of these generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Uttama Chola Milaludaiyan figures as the ruler of the area now falling under the South Arcot district of Tamil Nadu as gleaned from a record of the fourth year of Rajendra I where he is spoken of as the Yadava Bhima of the *Bhargava gotra;* but nothing more is known about him. Of the other two, little is known.

The provocation for the Kalidindi grant was the need to provide for the conduct of worship and services and the celebration of festivals in these three memorial temples. Three villages, Kalidindi, Kadaparru and Avakuru, all situated in the *Pallau* (lower) Gudravara *vishaya* were granted by the Vengi ruler Rajaraja I in favour of these three temples. Provision was also made for the maintenance of a *sala* for feeding fifty students (*Pampasach-chhatranam,* line 199). The boundaries of Kalidindi are given in detail from which we gather that Kadaparru was contiguous to Kalidindi, and to its west. The boundaries of

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Avakuru are not definitely known, but since Kadaparru is given as one of the adjoining villages, the three villages must have been close to one another. Two of the three villages which form the object of the grant, Kalidindi and Avakuru, retain their names to the present day and as observed earlier, are situated in a south-easterly direction not far from the Colair lake in the Kaikalur taluk of the Krishna district. The third village of Kadaparru cannot be traced in the present day records. Kalidindi and Kadaparru were clubbed together in the record and named Madhurantakanallur, after a surname of Rajendra I.

Of the three temples, only one, the Rajarajesvaram, survives, even though in a dilapidated condition. It is in the vicinity of the village of Kalidindi and consists of a mere cella in laterite, with granite stone facing. Of the *ardhamandapa* only the plinth in granite remains. A *nandi* and a *dvajastambha* are in front of the shrine. A second temple is about three kms in a westerly direction, set amidst fields and has been rebuilt out of recognition in recent times. The third temple was not traceable.

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MIDDLE CHOLA TEMPLES

(A.D. 985-1070)

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Temples of Rajaraja I's Time (A.D. 985–1014)

Regnal Year	*A.D.*	*Name of the place and temple*	*Inscriptional reference*
3 yr.	988	5 Tiruchchengattangudi Ganapatisvarar	58 of 1913 & 56 of 1913
3 yr.	988	12 Tirukkaravasal Kannayiranathar	453 of 1908
3 yr.	988	18 Olagapuram Siva temple	129 of 1919
5 yr.	990	15 Tirumangalam Parasuramesvaram	250 of 1949–50
7 yr.	992	4 Alagadriputtur Svarnapurisvarar	283 of 1905
8 yr.	993	14 Tirunedungalam Ganapati shrine	683 of 1901
10 yr.	995	22 Emapperur Vedapurisvarar	522 of 1921
10 yr.	995	44 Tiruppudaimarudil Narumbunadar	123 of 1905
11 yr.	996	47 Tiruvalisvaram Tiruvalisvarar	116–119 of 1905
12 yr.	997	6 Tiruviramesvaram Ramanadeesvaram	119–1920 of 1901
13 yr.	998	7 Tirukkadaiyur Amritaghatesvarar	242 of 1925

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Regnal Year	*A.D.*	*Name of the place and temple*	*Inscriptional reference*
14 yr.	999	33 Kalakkattur Agnisvarar	127 of 1923
15 yr.	1000	20 Agaram Abhiramesvarar	369 of 1922
15 yr.	1000	53 Malur Kailasanathar	EC, IV, CN, 92
16 yr.	1001	8 Tiruppugalur Konapiran	47 of 1927–28
16 yr.	1001	17 Marakkanam Bhumisvarar	23 of 1919
16 yr.	1001	28 Tiruvakkarai Sivalokanathar	200 of 1904
18 yr.	1003	45 Ambasamudram Erichcha Udaiyar	98 of 1907
18 yr.	1003	31 Arpakkam Adikesava Perumal	139 of 1923
19 yr. to 25 yr.	1004 to 1010	1 Tanjavur Rajarajesvaram	SII, II, 1
21 yr.	1006	2 Tiruvaiyaru Vadakailasam	SII, V, 517
21 yr.	1006	10 Nagapattinam Chulamani Viharam	E.I.XXII
21 yr.	1006	35 Tirumalai Kundavai Jinalaya	SII, I, 66
21 yr.	1006	26, 27 Dadapuram Siva and Vishnu temples	8 & 17 of 1929 Lalit Kala Nos 15 & 14

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Regnal Year	*A.D.*	*Name of the place and temple*	*Inscriptional reference*
21–23 yr.	1006 to 1008	37 Attur Somanathisvarar & Pallikondar shrine	388 of 1929–30 415 of 1929–30
22 yr.	1007	13 Narttamalai Tirumalaikkadambur	Pudukkottai Insc. No. 91
23 yr.	1008	52 Malur Patna Jayangondasola Vinnagar	E.C. IV, CN 129 513 of 1911 and E.C. IV CN. 132
24 yr.	1009	41 Seramadevi Ramasvami temple	180 of 1895
24 yr. & 25 yr.	1009 & 1010	3 Tiruvalanjuli Bhairavar temple	SII, VIII, 234
25 yr.	1010	9 Nagapattinam Nagaikkaronam	165 of 1956–7
26 yr.	1011	21 Mambakkam Murugesvarasvamin	19 of 1934–5
26 yr.	1011	39 Gangaikondan Kailasapati temple	160 of 1895 SII, V, 724
27 yr.	1012	32 Solapuram Rajarajisvaram	SII, VIII, 7 (421 of 1902)
28 yr.	1013	42 Seramadevi Ammanathesvarar	192 of 1895
29 yr.	1014	34 Sengunram Jayangonda Cholisvaram	149 of 1921
29 yr.	1014	36 Melpadi Arinji(gai)-isvaram	86 of 1889

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Temples of Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-1044)

Regnal Year	*A.D.*	*Name of the place and temple*	*Inscriptional reference*
2 yr. to 6 yr.	1014 to 1018	58 Tiruppattur (Tiruppidavur) Ayyanarkoyil	587 of 1908 (6 yr.)
3yr.	1015	57 Uttattur Siddharatnesvarar	515 of 1912
7yr.	1019	62 Ramanathan koyil Panchavan Madevi Isvaram	271 of 1927
8yr.	1020	69 Agaram (Chingleput) Kailasanathar	232 of 1930-31
8 yr.to 22 yr.	1020 to 1034	75 Kolar Kolaramma temple	E.C.X. KC 108 (106, b, c, d; 112a and 111)
9 yr.	1021	76 Belaturu Banesvara	(E.C. IV, Pt. II, Mys., 16)
9 yr.	1021 (Saka 943)	78 Nandigonda Mallesvara	E.C. V
10 yr.	1022 (Saka 944)	80 Kalidindi Memorial temples	E.I. XXIX, Pt 3
12 yr.	1024	74 Sitibeta Bhairavar temple	(E.C.X KL44)
14 yr. 70 d.	1026	61 Tirumaluvadi Vaidyanathasvamin (rebuilt)	91 of 1895
18 yr.	1030	64 Tiruvarur (3-20 yr\ Thyagaraja	680 of 1919 (18 yr., 199d.)

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Regnal Year	*A.D.*	*Name of the place and temple*	*Inscriptional reference*
22 yr.	1034	72 Kulambandal Gangaikondasolisvaram	414 of 1902 (SII, VII, 1047)
24 yr.	1036	73 Mannarkoyil Gopalasvamin	112 of 195
31 yr.	1043	77 Suttur Mulasthana udayar	E.C. Mys. Nanjangud Tlk., 164
		63 Tiruvaiyaru Tenkailasam	
		71 Tiruvorriyur Adipurisvarar	
		56 Gangaikondasolisvaram	

NB: Battle of Hottur—1007 A.D. (Rajendra as Yuvaraja)

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5

Successors of Rajendra I
(A.D. 1018 to 1070)

(1) Rajadhiraja I

(A.D. 1018–1054)

Rajadhiraja I was the eldest son of Rajendra I and was born under the star *Pusam* or *Purva Phalguni*. From A.D. 1018 till his father's death, he served as *Yuvaraja* and won for his father many a battle; in turn he associated his younger brother Rajendradeva (II) as his co-regent for two years prior to his own death in A.D. 1054. His inscriptions begin with the historical introduction "*tingaler peruvalar tingaler taru tirukkodiyodu thyagak-kodiyum*". Soon after his accession, he had to engage himself in putting down the rebellion in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). The strength of the Chola army in the island at this time was about 95,000; between A.D. 1017 and 1029, Vikramabahu, the Sri Lanka king, was the leader of this revolt. Several wars were fought in the south-eastern part of the island and the Lanka rulers were helped by certain North Indian princes from Ayodhya and Kanauj. Though the Cholas were successful, the war went on till Kitti *alias* Vijaya made himself the leader of the freedom movement and ultimately succeeded in overthrowing the Cholas about the time of Kulottunga I's accession in A.D. 1070.

On the north-western boundary too, the Western Chalukyas were restive. Between A.D. 1044 and 1054, the Chola army invaded the Western Chalukyan kingdom, destroyed the palace at Kampili,

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sacked the city of Pundur on the left bank of the river Krishna, defeated and took prisoner several vassals of the Western Chalukyan ruler Ahavamalla Somesvara I and set up a pillar of victory with the tiger crest; then the victorious Chola army marched to the capital city of Kalyanapura, sacked the city and there Rajadhiraja I celebrated his *virabhisheka* assuming the title of *"Vijaya Rajendradeva"*. It was on this occasion that a sculpture of a *dvarapala* belonging to Kalyani (Kalyanapura) was taken away from there as a war trophy; the sculpture bears the inscription: *"Svasti Sri Udaiyar Sri Vijaya Rajendradevar Kalyanapuram erittu koduvanda dvarapalakar"*. This trophy brought by the king was found till recently in the front platform of the eastern *gopuram* of the Airavatesvarar temple at Darasuram: it has since been removed to the Art Gallery at Tanjavur. An incorrect and thoroughly distorted and confused picture of this event is given by H. Goetz in his book *India* (pp. 173–176—Art of the World Series). He states: "Only the temple of Darasuram forms an exception to some degree. But it had been erected to house an idol looted by prince Vijayarajendra after the victory of Rajadhiraja I over Somesvara I Ahavamalla from the Western Chalukyan capital of Kalyanapuram (Kalyani) and it was therefore decorated with relics of Western Chalukyan style, and even some original *dvarapala* statues from the destroyed enemy temple." It is obvious that Goetz has very little knowledge of South Indian History and Art.

Vijayarajendra was only a title of Rajadhiraja I, which he assumed after his sack of Kalyanapura and the celebration of his victory there. He belonged to the first half of the eleventh century (A.D. 1018–54). The Darasuram temple was a Later Chola temple built in the second half of the twelfth century by Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146–73), more than a hundred years later. It is therefore wrong to state that this temple "houses an idol looted from Kalyanapura" and that it was decorated with "relics of Western Chalukyan style". What ignorance and distortion of facts!

On his return to Gangapuri, the capital, Rajadhiraja I performed an *asvamedha yajna*.

In the fourth year of Rajendradeva II, there is a reference to a fierce battle fought at Koppam between the Cholas and the

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Western Chalukyas; and the Chola king Rajadhiraja I, helped by his brother Rajendradeva, led the battle. The king was in the thick of the fight, leading the battle himself, and made a great advance against the Chalukyan forces. From inscriptional material, it is gathered that the Chalukyan forces concentrated on the elephant carrying the king; the enemy's arrow struck the head of the royal elephant and the king himself was wounded mortally; he succumbed to the injuries and, as the inscription euphemistically puts it, he "went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the land of Indra, where he was welcomed by the celestial nymphs". The Chalukyan army, jubilant over the fall of the Chola king, redoubled its assault on the Chola army; it was at this perilous hour for his side that the undaunted Rajendradeva entered the thick of the battle and turned what would have been a tragic rout into a resounding victory; he mounted an elephant and plunged into battle, gathering the Chola army in disarray into a powerful phalanx; and, despite his being wounded in the thigh and shoulders and his elephant's forehead being pierced by the enemy's arrows, he killed many Chalukyan Generals on the battlefield, including Jayasimha, brother of Ahavamalla, and, with his wounds still fresh, crowned himself emperor on the battlefield—a most unusual coronation indeed! He set up a *jayastambha* at Kollapuram (Kolhapur) and returned triumphantly to Gangapuri, the capital.

In many ways, Rajadhiraja I holds a unique position in Chola military history; commencing his career as a General even in the days of his grandfather, he had distinguished himself in many a battle against the Cheras, the Pandyas, the Ceylonese and the Western Chalukyas, in a manner equalled by few others even among the mighty Chola race. After his long and distinguished military career of about fifty years, it almost seems apt that he should have crowned it with a heroic death on the battlefield.

In spite of his being almost constantly engaged in wars, he seems to have found time for benefactions to temples in the later years of his reign. We have already referred to a twenty-seventh year record of his at Tiruvarur, making provision for

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offerings to the images of his father and Anukkiyar Paravai Nangaiyar, and to a 31st year record at the same place, ordering the erection of a golden pavilion for Vithi Vitanka devar. A record of his twenty-ninth year at Tiruvenkadu (ARE 114 of 1896: SII, V, 978) mentions his gift of some land as tax-free *devadana* to an Ardhanarisvarar image (Pls 350 and 351) in the temple of Tiruvenkadu Udaiyar; the order was issued when he was seated (on the *sopana* in the north wing of the Gangaikondasolan *maligai* in the palace at the capital. In his thirty-fifth year, the village of Tiruvadandai was given as a *devadana* to the Varaha temple (of Mahavishnu) in the village, and the income from certain dues ordered to be spent on a festival every month on the day of his asterism, *Purva Phalguni* (ARE 258 of 1910: also see *Early Chola Temples,* pp. 203–7). In the same year, land for the wages of two gardeners, entrusted with a flower-garden in his name, was gifted to the Tirukkolambiyur temple (ARE 45 of 1925). Again in the same year, the village called Sarvatirthanallur was granted as a tax-free *devadana* for worship and offerings to the temple of Sarvatirtham Udaiya Mahadevar at Kanchipuram by the king, seated on the throne called Pallavaraiyan in the western outer *mandapam* of his palace at Gangaikondasolapuram (ARE 420 of 1925). The most important cultural event of his reign was the setting up of a Vedic college at Tribhuvani, in his thirtieth year. (Pl 349, Tiruvenkadu : Bhikshatanar).

(2) Rajendra Deva II

(A.D. 1052–64)

Rajendra deva II was (also) a great hero, who turned the impending rout and disaster at Koppam into a great victory and crowned himself emperor on the battlefield. Jayangondar's *Kalingattupparani* describes this coronation thus: "*Koppaiyir peru kalattiley mudi kavittavan*". After this victory, he carried a huge booty including the Chalukyan queens, the royal treasures, elephants and horses of the Western Chalukyas to his palace at Gangapuri, where he celebrated a *virabhishekam*. His *prasastis*

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start with one of three historical introductions. One of these begins with *"Irattaipadi elarai ilakkamum kondu"* and mentions his conquest of Kollapuram and the erection of a pillar of victory there. The other two historical introductions begin with *"tirumagal maruviya sengol vendan"* and *"tiru madu puviyenum"*.

According to the *Muvar ula* (Vikrama Cholan Ula, stanza 20), he captured a thousand elephants of the Chalukyas at Koppam with the help of the single elephant he rode:

"... parralarai veppat tadugalattu vezhanga laayiramum koppat torugalirraar kondonum".

The most important event of his reign was the continuing war with the Western Chalukyas. An engagement took place at Mudakkaru (winding river) sometime before his ninth regnal year (A.D. 1061) and it appears that the king himself, Raja Mahendra the heir-apparent, and the king's brother Vira Rajendra all participated in it. The Chalukyas were again defeated.

The marital relations between the Vengi and the Tanjavur houses were further strengthened, by the marriage of Rajendra deva II's daughter Madhurantaki to the son of Rajaraja Narendra of the Eastern Chalukyas, *viz.*, Rajendra II or Rajiga who later on ascended the Chola throne with the title of Kulottunga (I) in A.D. 1070 (See genealogical table below).

Rajendra deva II made an endowment, yielding 120 *kalams* of paddy, for the enacting of the drama "Rajarajesvara natakam" at the Sri Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur (sixth year, ARE 55 of 1893; SII, II, 67): this drama was possibly a depiction of the glory of the temple of the Rajarajesvaram. The royal order was issued to provide a *tuni* of paddy daily to Santik-Kuttan Tiruvalan Vijayarajendra Acharyan and his descendants, for staging the *Natakam* during the great *Vaigasi* festival of the Lord. The annual allowance of 120 *kalams* of paddy was to be given out of the temple treasury.

During his days, one of his local feudatories, Miladudaiya Narasingapanmar, rebuilt of stone the Ulagalanda Perumal temple at Tirukkovalur.

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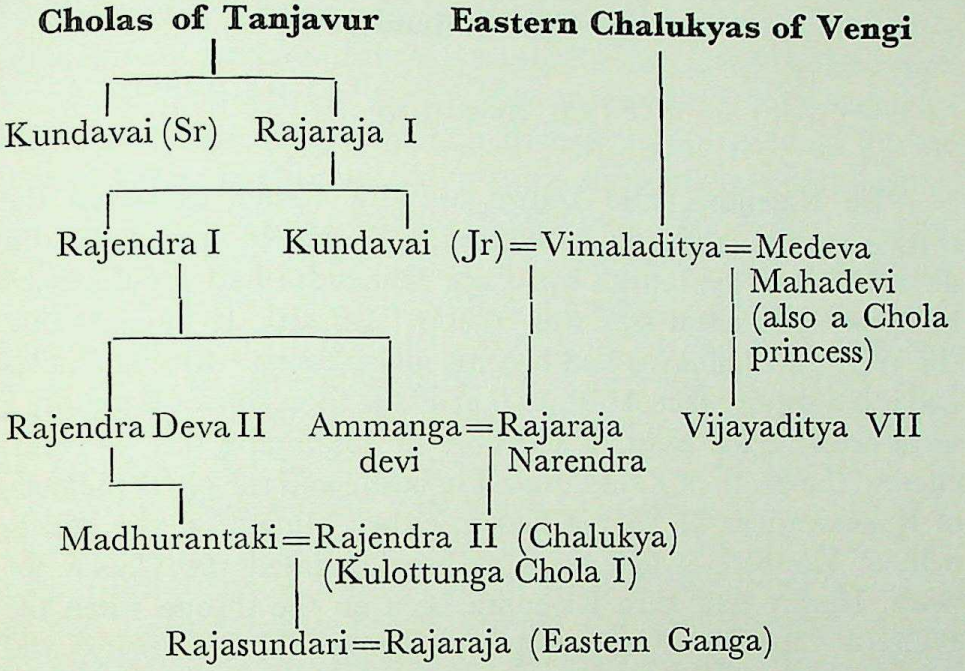

There are some interesting references to the various royal relatives who held high posts under Rajendra deva II. There were as many as thirteen—a paternal uncle, four younger brothers, six sons and two grandsons. They were provincial governors among others and held such titles as Chola-Pandyan, Chola-Gangan etc.

(3) Raja Mahendra

(A.D. 1060–63)

Raja Mahendra, the heir-apparent of Rajendra deva II, appears to have died even during his father's lifetime. He is said to have made a gift of a jewel to Lord Ranganatha at Srirangam as also a "serpent-bed" studded with precious stones; one of the streets of that town was also named after him as Raja Mahendran Tiruvidi. His participation in the campaign against the Western Chalukyas has already been mentioned.

His *prasasti* commences with *"tirumagal vilanga virunila madandaiyai"*.

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(4) Vira Rajendra

(A.D. 1062–1070)

Vira Rajendra, also known as Vira Chola, ascended the throne in A.D. 1062–63 in succession to his brother Rajendra deva II, since the latter's son Raja Mahendra had pre-deceased his father. His natal star was *Aslesha* (*Ayilyam*). It appears that the Western Chalukyas had become an obsession with the Cholas and it is a strange fact of history that all the three sons of Rajendra I were preoccupied most of the time in containing this powerful enemy; the death of Rajadhiraja I in battle and the bitter memory of Rajendradeva II having had to crown himself on the battle-field of Koppam would seem to have haunted the Cholas for years. Hardly had Vira Rajendra been on the throne when the Western Chalukya Somesvara I challenged his authority, and there were as many as five bitter engagements between them ("*ahavamallanai aiymmadi ven-kandu*"—SII, VII, 887). In the first engagement, which occurred immediately after his coronation, Vira Rajendra defeated Vikramaditya, the younger son of Somesvara I and drove him across the Tungabhadra. The second engagement was brought about by an attempt of the Western Chalukyas to overrun the Eastern Chalukya territory of Vengi; coming to know that a large army of the Western Chalukyas under the command of Mahadandanayaka Chamundarayan, the Viceroy at Vanavasi, had been despatched with the above purpose, Vira Rajendra intercepted him in Vengi *nadu* and saved Vengi for the Eastern Chalukyas, killing Chamundaraya in the process. The third battle fought at Kudal Sangamam was a real trial of strength (A.D. 1064), but the Chalukyas were again routed. The fourth engagement took place on the banks of the Tungabhadra (possibly also at Kudal Sangamam) in A.D. 1066. Again, the Chalukyan army was badly mauled, and seven Chalukyan Generals and their allies, the kings of the Gangas, the Nolambas, the Kadavas and the Vaidumbas, all suffered decapitation. This disgraceful defeat infuriated Somesvara I to such an extent that he threw a written challenge to Vira Rajendra

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to engage him in battle again at the same place on a specified date, adding that "whoever did not come to the appointed field through fear should thereafter be no king but an outcaste". Vira Rajendra appears to have jumped at this challenge and marched for the Tungabhadra banks and set up camp there one month ahead of the scheduled date, at Kandai (Karandai?) near Kudal (-Sangamam) and waited for the enemy. For reasons not clear, the enemy army did not turn up at all on the appointed date. (One version is that Somesvara I became critically ill, having been suddenly afflicted by an incurable disease, and met his death through a "ceremonial drowning" in the river Tungabhadra). After waiting in vain for a few more days, Vira Rajendra returned home via Vengi, subduing on the way the Rattaipadi region, putting to flight the local Chalukyan Chieftains Devanatha, Sitti and Kesi, setting fire to towns and erecting a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra. Before leaving the Tungabhadra region, however, he threw a challenge to the Western Chalukyas, stating that he was returning home after clearing Vengi *nadu* of their overlordship and challenging them to restore it if they could. The Western Chalukya generals, Jananatha, Rajamayan and Tipparaja intercepted the Chola army on the banks of the Krishna at Vijayavada, but were defeated and "driven into the forest". Vira Rajendra crowned the Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya (VII), who had sought his protection, as the king of Vengi and after crossing the Godavari into Kalinga and reaching as far as Mahendragiri returned home victorious.

Before adverting to his other wars and conquests, it may be well to narrate the further developments in the Chola-Western Chalukya relations. After some continued bitterness and wars, a major turn for the better took place in the form of a matrimonial alliance between the two royal families. With the death of Somesvara I in A.D. 1068, his son Somesvara II ascended the Western Chalukya throne, but soon fell into evil courses; his brother Vikramaditya quarrelled with him and left Kalyani (the capital); Vikramaditya was supported by the Kadamba ruler Jayakesi and his own younger brother Jayasimha. Jayakesi offered his good offices to bring about a *rapprochement* between the Cholas

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and Prince Vikramaditya, leading to the intervention of Vira Rajendra on his behalf; a lightning campaign into the southern part of the Western Chalukya country followed.

The inscriptions of Somesvara II claim that Vira Rajendra suffered utter defeat at Gutti (in modern Anantapur district, A.P.), while the latter's inscriptions claim that he destroyed Kampili(nagara), laid siege to Gutti, and set up a pillar of victory at Karadikkal, and that he drove Somesvara II out of the region of Irattapadi and the "land of seven and a half lakhs" and bestowed the Kannada country on Vikramaditya (SII, III, 83 and 84).

Somesvara II had to part with that part of the empire, forcibly taken by Vikramaditya. Even this turned out to be a short-lived arrangement, Vikramaditya becoming the undisputed ruler of the whole kingdom after driving out Somesvara II from Kalyani. Capping all these diplomatic and maritial moves, Vira Rajendra gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya and this brought peace to the borders between their kingdoms which had seen some of the bloodiest wars of South Indian history.

We may now turn to his other exploits. In his fifth regnal year (EI, XXI, 38), King Vijayabahu ruling over the south-eastern part of the island of Sri Lanka known as Rohana—the only portion of the island not yet brought under Chola rule—tried to seize the rest of the island; this threat was met promptly by Vira Rajendra, who compelled Vijayabahu, with the help of an overwhelming force, to take to the forest. This was the last of the Chola victories in the island; Vijayabahu lay low biding his time, which was soon to come; the disturbed period following the death of Adhi Rajendra after a few years, led to the Cholas being thrown out of the island altogether.

We gather from a record of the 7th year (175 of 1894; 266 of 1901; SII, III, 84) that the ruler of Kedah sought succour from the Chola ruler, presumably having been driven out of his kingdom of Sri Vijaya by his enemies. In A.D. 1068, Vira Rajendra had his kingdom restored to him. The *prasasti* says of this episode: "*tan-kalaladainda mannavarkku Kadaram erindu kodut-taruli*" (SII, V, 468; EI, XXV, p. 263).

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Vira Rajendra's *prasastis*—particularly the longer ones—begin with *"tiruvalar tiral puyattu"*; another opening, used in shorter *prasastis*, is *"viramey tunaiyagavum thyagamey aniyagavum"*.

He was known by many names, among which are: Sakala-bhuvanasraya, Medini-vallabha, Maharajadhiraja, Ahavamalla-kula-kala, Vira Chola, Rajasraya, Karikala, Rajarajendra, Vallabha-vallabha and Pandya-kulantaka.

The preoccupation with the Chalukyan wars did not in any way interfere with the smooth running of the administration of the empire, its principalities and the local self-governing units. His Kanyakumari inscription claims that Vira Rajendra donated a ruby for the crown, known as *trailokyasara*, to adorn Nataraja, the Lord of Chidambaram; the same inscription also mentions that he granted *brahmadeya* lands to as many as 40,000 Vedic scholars scattered over the Chola, Pandya, Tondai, Ganga and Kulutha provinces of the empire. From another inscription (EI, XXI, 38, line 7), we learn that Vira Rajendra ruled his empire from a throne known by the name of "Rajendra Chola Mavali Vanarayan" set up in the royal palace known as "Chola-Keralan Maligai" at Gangapuri.

From an inscription of the fifth regnal year of Vira Rajendra in the Venkatesa Perumal temple at Tirumukkudal situated at the tri-junction of the rivers Palar, Vegavati and Cheyyar, we learn of the existence of a Vedic college with an attached hostel and a hospital (*atular-salai*). This inscription, which is perhaps the longest single document in our recorded history, refers to gifts for the maintenance of these institutions and also for the provision of temple-services including food-offerings, celebration of festivals, feeding of pilgrims going to Tirupati, the recitation of the *Tiruvoymoli*, and the repair and maintenance of the temple (*pudukkuppuram*).

The Vedic college provided for the teaching of the *Rig* and *Yajur vedas*, *Rupavatara*, and certain *agamas* and *tantras*. The hostel catered for sixty students daily. These benefactions are fully dealt with in the section on the Venkatesa Perumal temple at Tirumukkudal in the next chapter.

One of the royal executives by name Rajendra Muvendavelan

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built of stone a shrine for Padambakka Nathar at Tiruvorriyur and endowed it with a flower garden known by the name of *Vira Rajendran Tiru Nandavanam*.

Another of the royal officers, Sivalokan, son of Tiruvenkattu Nangai, endowed liberally the temple of Tiruvenkattup-Peruman for the provision of milk and honey *abhisheka* (ceremonial bath) and for feeding *sivayogins* on all days when *Aslesha*, Vira Rajendra's natal star, was in the ascendant. He also endowed a stone *pitham* for the deity in the Karanai-Vitankar shrine in the Adipurisvarar temple at Tiruvorriyur and named it "Vira Rajendran".

(5) Adhi Rajendra

(A.D. 1069–70)

Vira Rajendra died perhaps at the beginning of A.D. 1070, and was succeeded by his son, Adhi Rajendra; but soon, there followed a period of political instability and confusion, which was happily brief. Adhi Rajendra's rule did not last long; his premature death in the same year, the intervention in vain of the Western Chalukyan ruler, and the emergence of a brilliant leader, the grandson of the illustrious Rajendra I and heir to the Vengi throne of the Eastern Chalukyas who later on came to be known as Kulottunga I, need not detain us here. Kulottunga I's accession to the Chola throne brought about the unification of the two kingdoms under one umbrella and the ushering in of another brilliant chapter of Chola greatness lasting for a further period of more than two hundred years.

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6

Temples of the Time of the Successors of Rajendra I

(A) RAJADHIRAJA I

TRIBHUVANI

KANDAMANGALAM VISHNU TEMPLE 81
TIRUVANDARKOYIL PANCHANADISVARAR TEMPLE 82
TRIBHUVANI VARADARAJA PERUMAL TEMPLE (NADUVIL VIRANARAYANA VINNAGAR) 83

Tribhuvani (or Tribhuvanai) is a village in the Union Territory of Pondicherry (Puduchcheri: *Early Chola Art,* I, pp. 83–85), 20 kms from Pondicherry on the road to Villupuram. It was once the headquarters of a city-complex called the *taniyur* of Tribhuvana-mahadevi chaturvedimangalam. This *taniyur* included the modern Tribhuvani village itself and the following present-day villages (among others): Kandamangalam, Tiruvandarkoyil (Vadugur) and Tirukkanji.

81. *Kandamangalam*: In this village, 4 kms east of Tribhuvani, there is a ruined Vishnu temple. On its south wall, there is an inscription of the 11th regnal year of Rajaraja I (with the *tirumagal pola* introduction). It refers to a lamp gift to the temple of Sentangi Vinnagar Paramasvamin at Tribhuvana-mahadevi *chaturvedimangalam,* a *brahmadeya* on the north bank of the river

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Tribhuvani (Pennar). This seems to be an original inscription, and this ruined temple is itself presumably the Sentangi Vinnagar of the inscription (ARE 353 of 1917).

Two fragmentary inscriptions found on slabs and of the tenth year of Rajaraja I (ARE 356 of 1917) mention a gift of land to the temple of Sentangi Vinnagar Paramasvamin by the local assembly meeting in the *tirukkavanam* (hall) of the temple of Viranarayana Vinnagar at Tribhuvana-mahadevi chaturvedi-mangalam. Viranarayana is a title of Parantaka I and Tribhu-vana-mahadevi the name of a queen of his. The *taniyur* must have been named after her, and the Vishnu temple of Viranara-yana Vinnagar referred to above is the one at the modern town of Tribhuvani and must have been named after Parantaka I.

Six inscribed slabs built into the walls of the Kandamangalam temple form an inscription of the twenty-sixth year of Rajaraja I (ARE 354 of 1917); it refers to a gift of land, constituted into an *agrahara* named after Tribhuvana-mahadevi, to the Vishnu temple called here Jaya(n)tangi Vinnagar (this must be the same as the Sentangi Vinnagar of the earlier inscriptions) and to a Siva temple called Sri Kailasam.

Seven other slabs built into the walls of this temple form an inscription, again of the twenty-sixth year of Rajaraja I (ARE 355 of 1917); it refers to a gift of land to Tiruvaippadi Alvar (Krishna), perhaps an image installed in the Tribhuvani temple, by the assembly of Tribhuvana-mahadevi *chaturvedimangalam*. This inscription also mentions a big irrigation tank in the area called Viranarayanap-pereri.*

There are two other fragmentary inscriptions, of Rajendra I and Rajendra II (ARE 355 and 358 of 1917).

Though the above facts throw no light on the date of the Vishnu temple of Sentangi Vinnagar at Kandamangalam it-self (except that it was in existence by the 11th year of Rajaraja I), we learn from them that: Kandamangalam was a hamlet of Tribhuvana-mahadevi *chaturvedimangalam;* the *original* Vishnu

*This is perhaps identical with the lake, now in disuse, lying at a distance of less than a kilometre to the west of the Vishnu temple at Tribhuvani.

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temple at Tribhuvani must have existed as such from the days of Parantaka I to those of Rajaraja I (as we shall see below, it was renovated in the days of Rajendra I); and there was a big irrigation lake in the neighbourhood called Viranarayanappereri, which, like the Viranarayanan (modern Viranam) lake in South Arcot district and the Madhurantakam tank in Chingleput district, must have been excavated by Parantaka I himself.

82. *Tiruvandarkoyil* (*also called Vadugur*): This is another hamlet of the same *taniyur*, a km east of Tribhuvani. There is an ancient Siva temple here sung by Sambandar, who calls its deity Tiru-Vadugur-nathar. It is also called Panchanadisvaram; some inscriptions refer to the Lord of this temple as Tiruvarai Nakkan koyil Paramasvamin and others as Tiruvaiyaru Udaiya Mahadevar (the Tamil equivalent of Panchanadisvarar) (see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp. 83–84).

There are three Parakesari inscriptions here, of the fifteenth, sixteenth and fortieth years (ARE 366, 369 and 376 of 1917), all referring to the location of the temple as Tiruvandarkoyil in Tribhuvana-mahadevi *chaturvedimangalam*. We get confirmation of the conclusion that the *taniyur* was named after a queen of Parantaka I's, since a Parakesari inscription of such a high regnal year as the fortieth necessarily belongs to Parantaka I, and it refers to the *taniyur* by the above name. (The other two Parakesari inscriptions have also to be ascribed to Parantaka I).

There are four inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I here. The earliest of them is of the fifth year and deals with certain transactions going back to the days of Parantaka I and the Rashtrakuta ruler Krishna III. The local *Sabha* had borrowed some silver vessels and gold from the temple, and some lands were given to the temple in lieu thereof, in the twenty-eighth year of Krishna III. The inscription makes mention incidentally of a gift of land made in the fourteenth year of Madiraikonda Parakesari, i.e., Parantaka I. The existence of this temple in his days and his political control over this region are again established (ARE 359 of 1917).

There are two inscriptions of the twelfth year of Rajaraja I. One relates to a gift for offerings and lamps to the local temple

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by a native of Sikkil (ARE 364 of 1917). The other states that the assembly of Tribhuvana-mahadevi *chaturvedimangalam* met in the *mandapa* built by one Mummudi-sola Umbalanatthuvelan and remitted the taxes on the hamlet of Mundiyan Vallaippakkam purchased by the same individual and given over to the temple (ARE 362 of 1917).

Finally, an inscription of his twenty-seventh year mentions a gift of two lamps to the local deity (ARE 361 of 1917). We learn from it that Marudur *alias* Parakesarinallur was another hamlet, lying east, of the *taniyur*.

From an inscription of the tenth year of Rajendra I, we learn that he built a palace at Madurai for the residence of his son appointed Chola-Pandya Viceroy there (ARE 363 of 1917).

An inscription of the twentieth year of Kulottunga I mentions a lamp-gift to "the temple of Tiruvaiyaru Udaiya Mahadevar" (this temple itself) by a *brahmana* lady of Virasikhamukhachcheri *alias* Sattamangalam (ARE 365 of 1917). Two Vijayanagara inscriptions merit attention. One of Vira Bukkana Raya, in Saka 1328 (A.D. 1406) gives us a rare bit of information, namely, that the *Sabha* of the *taniyur* consisted of 4,000 members (ARE 370 of 1917). The other is a record of a gift by the famous Krishna deva Raya in A.D. 1526.

We thus obtain several valuable pieces of information from the inscriptions here concerning our mediaeval social and political institutions: and confirmation of the facts that a *taniyur* (despite the name) consisted of several hamlets, that the *sabha* of a *taniyur* met by turns in the temples of the various constituent hamlets, and that the *sabha* of this *taniyur* in particular comprised as many as 4,000 members (in the Vijayanagara days).

Tirukkanji: The temple here is called that of Ganga Varahesvarasvamin. There are two inscriptions in it, of the fortieth and forty-fourth years of Kulottunga I (ARE 215 and 216 of 1919). According to the first, the tank of the *taniyur* became full and breached its bunds in a storm. The bunds were repaired, a stone revetment called after Kulottungasolan was constructed by one Bhutamangalam Udaiyan Orriyuran Bhupalasundaram *alias* Solakonar, and placed under the protection of the *mahasabha*.

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The second mentions that the original gift of paddy for the maintenance of the tank got mixed up with the general dues of the *Sabha,* with the result that the maintenance of the tank came to be neglected. So the gift of paddy was changed to a gift of land for the same purpose. This demonstrates the periodical self-check exercised by the local bodies.

83. *Tribhuvani:* In this village, which must have been the hub of the *taniyur,* there is an ancient Vishnu temple, now called the Varadaraja Perumal temple. From an inscription of the fifth year of Rajendra I (ARE 174 of 1919), we learn that it was called Naduvil Viranarayana Vinnagar at Tribhuvana-mahadevi chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Jayangondasola mandalam. Though this inscription, found on the east wall of the temple, is the earliest inscription on the walls here, the original foundation, as we have already seen, goes back to the days of Parantaka I.

The earliest inscriptions in the premises of the Vishnu temple are two of Rajaraja I. Neither of them is on the body of the main temple. One, of his tenth year, relates to a gift of land for supplying water and for a lamp (ARE 196 of 1919); it is found on a slab built into the floor of a *mandapa.* The other, of his twelfth year, is highly damaged, and is found on a stone slab lying by the side of the same *mandapa* (ARE 211 of 1919).

We may thus infer that the old foundation of the days of Parantaka I existed well into the reign of Rajaraja I, and the re-building took place between the twelfth year of Rajaraja I and the fifth year of Rajendra I.

The fifth year inscription of Rajendra I further tells us that this temple was placed under the protection of two regiments, one of them called the *Sri Vaduvur Tillaiyalip Perumpadai*— reminiscent of Rajaraja I placing the Tiruvalisvaram temple under the protection of the *Munru-kai Mahasenai.*

In two inscriptions of Rajendra I, of his tenth and sixteenth years (ARE 196 and 189 of 1919), we find mention of a big lake named Kokkilanadip-pereri.* [Kokkilanadigal was the name of a queen of Parantaka I's (vide SII, XIX, 408).]

*It is perhaps the lake on whose bund the Tiruvandarkoyil temple is situated.

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The same sixteenth year inscription mentions that Varakkur, a *devadana* village of the temple, was apportioned among 48 tenants, and the village lands were divided into six divisions. The tenants were not to be subjected to any levies other than dues to the temple and the Kokkilanadip-pereri.

In one of the other three inscriptions of the days of Rajendra I, mention is made of a *matha* called the Rajendrasolan *matham* for feeding the Vaishnavas "of the eighteen districts" (a traditional group of adjacent Vishnu temples and their followers) and of a grant of land made for its maintenance (ARE 187 of 1919).

There are four inscriptions of Rajadhiraja I. The most important of them is the one of his thirtieth regnal year (ARE 176 of 1919), inscribed on the east, north and west walls of the temple. A charity named *Rajendrasolan Uttamagram* was instituted to secure the health of the king (Rajendra I). Perhaps, it was instituted in about A.D. 1044, the final year of the life and reign of Rajendra I, but recorded four years later in A.D. 1048 here (See *Note* 1).

The endowment consisted of a gift of 72 *velis* of land yielding an annual rental of 12,000 *kalams* of paddy. The grant provided for offerings and worship on a grand scale (*uttamagram*) to the deities of Virrirunda Perumal (of the *mulasthana*), Alagiya Manavalar and Narasinga Alvar, for the conduct of festivals, for the recitation of *Tiruvoymoli,* and for the maintenance of a Vedic college (including the feeding of twelve teachers and 260 students). We recall the endowment of such an institution of higher learning at Ennayiram by Rajendra I. (We refer for details on the *Uttamagram* to *Note I* at the end of this section.)

An inscription of the thirty-fifth year (93rd day) gives him the title of Vijayarajendra deva and records a gift of land to the Alvar of Tiruvay(h)indrapuram (modern Tiruvendipuram near Cuddalore: ARE 188 of 1919). Another gift to the same deity is made in the seventh year of Rajendra deva II (ARE 197 of 1919). An undated record of Rajadhiraja I mentions a service-*inam* given to a goldsmith called Arangan Komaran *alias* Rajadhirajap-peruntattan. He was to work for himself and for others within the city and its hamlets (ARE 210 of 1919).

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We have already referred above to an inscription of the days of Rajendra deva II. Of the three others, one, of his sixth regnal year, registers an order of the royal secretary (issued at the request of the *Senapati*) that none but the resident *vellalars* of Varakkur should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village and that others who did so would be considered to have transgressed the law (ARE 180 of 1919). Another, of the same year, registers an order of the assembly altering the classification of the lands in Puttur *alias* Jananathanallur which had been formerly granted for the merit of Udaiyapirattiyar Parantaka Uloga Mahadeviyar. "Uloga Mahadeviyar" seems to be erroneously used in place of "Sembiyan Mahadeviyar". The earlier grant referred to would appear to have been made in the reign of Rajaraja I (as the term *Jananatha* is a surname of that king) for the merit of Sembiyan Mahadevi, for whom Rajaraja I had boundless devotion. Though Rajaraja I had a queen called Ulogamahadevi *alias* Danti Sakti Vitanki, the prefix "Udaiyapirattiyar Parantakan" suggests that the lady concerned should be identified with Sembiyan Mahadevi (ARE 181 of 1919).

Finally, the remaining inscription of Rajendradeva II, of his seventh year, relates to a gift of land for offerings, made to the temple of Virasola Vinnagar Alvar by the local assembly meeting in the Viranarayana Vinnagar Alvar temple. Parantaka I had both titles "Viranarayana" and "Virasola". One wonders if the same temple, or a shrine for a new deity in the same temple, or a different (unidentified) temple is under reference (ARE 183 of 1919). (See Note 2 on Later Inscriptions at p. 354).

Description of the Temple:

The temple consists of the main shrine dedicated to Varadaraja Perumal, facing east, with subsidiary shrines for Varamangai Tayar (in the south-eastern corner of the *prakara*), Andal and Narasimha. The temple campus is enclosed by a wall with a gateway (without a *gopuram*) in line with the axis of the central shrine.

The main shrine reminds one of the Venkatesa Perumal temple at Tirumukkudal, in that there are no *devakoshtas* on its walls;

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it consists of a *garbhagriha* and a *mukha-* (or *ardha-*)*mandapa* forming a unitary structure, supported by an *upapitham* of height 1.20 ms measuring 14.70 ms by 9.20 ms and an *adhishthanam* of height 1.50 ms measuring 13.00 ms by 7.75 ms. The *adhishthanam* consists of the mouldings of *upanam, padmam* and a rounded *kumudam*. Over these mouldings is a lively frieze consisting of mythical animals such as the *yali, kamadhenu* and leogriff. Above this frieze and below the *vari,* there are a series of miniature sculpture panels, measuring 30 cms by 15 cms, distributed one below each pilaster; there are six each on the front and rear *adhishthanam* walls, and ten each on the side walls, depicting scenes from the Rama and Krishna legends and the various incarnations of Vishnu, all of fine workmanship. There are representations of Padmanidhi and Sankhanidhi below the pilasters flanking the main entrance to the *mukhamandapa*. The pilasters are octagonal with a square base. At the *prastara* level, there is a *kudu*-adorned cornice, with a *bhutagana* frieze below it and a *yali*-frieze above it. The *sri-vimana* is *tri-tala,* with a renovated superstructure crowned by a circular *griva* and *sikhara*.

The *garbhagriha,* which contains stone images of Vishnu, Bhudevi and Sridevi, is of the *sandhara* type, the passage measuring 74 cms in width and lighted by three windows, one on each free facade of the *garbhagriha*. Internally, it measures 2.24 ms square. The *mukhamandapa* measures 4.89 ms. by 5.32 ms. From the *prakara,* a flight of four steps in front leads to the *mukhamandapa;* the vertical faces of the steps are decorated with sculptures of dancers, lotus petals, animal designs etc. The flight is flanked by a pair of sinuous balustrades. From the sides also, there are flights of steps, similarly decorated, and all seem to be part of the original complex. There is an open, multi-pillared *mandapa* in front of the *mukhamandapa* (Pls 341 to 356).

The Vishnu temple at Tribhuvani was thus a foundation of the illustrious Parantaka I. We have records in it of the rich and eventful history of this temple and the *taniyur* for over four centuries. Very few Vishnu temples have come down to us with their original features substantially intact. Most have also suffered at the hands of the well-intentioned and pious renovators, who

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have let the hideous cement-culture loose on the sacred domain of temple architecture and sculpture. The Siva temple at Trisulam near Madras has been such a sufferer. May the gods save us from these monstrosities!

Despite periodical military onslaughts and occasional acts of vandalism, the Ranganatha temple at Srirangam has survived as the largest of the Vishnu temples in the Tamil country without much impairment to its ancient features, enjoying the proud privilege of having the longest recorded history on its walls. Its origin goes back to the days of the *Ramayana* and the *Silappadikaram*. It is regrettable that no effort has so far been made to publish a grand tome on this historic monument such as the French and Dutch archaeologists have done for those in Indo-China and Indonesia.

In the course of my survey, I could find only two ancient Vishnu monuments retaining to a large extent their original character. They are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchi and the Sundaravarada Perumal temple at Uttaramerur. To these two, we may perhaps add the cave temple and the adjoining structural temple of Pundarikaksha at Tiruvellarai in Tiruchy district. The Varadaraja Perumal temple (Viranarayana Vinnagar) at Tribhuvani is still fortunately one of the few Vishnu temples having some of its old features and preserving some of its original inscriptions. They give us a vista of the greatness of its past. Let us hope that earnest efforts will be made to preserve its rich features in their pristine state.*

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*Like the other important ancient Vishnu temples of Vaikuntha Perumal at Kanchi and Sundaravarada Perumal at Uttaramerur, the Tribhuvani Vishnu temple might have had three storeys in the *srivimana* and three shrines one above the other. The enormous stone sculpture of Pallikondar now lodged in the verandah of a house in a street adjacent to this temple might have adorned the sanctum in the third *tala*. This *srivimana* might have suffered damage at some unknown period.

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Note 1

Rajendrasolan Uttamagram

This charity was established in the temple by the General, Senapati Mavali Vanarayan, to secure the health of the king Rajendra Chola I. On Wednesday, the 2nd March 1048 A.D. in the thirtieth year of the reign of Rajadhiraja I, the *mahasabha* of the *taniyur* met and purchased lands in the name of Viranarayana Vinnagar Alvar to meet all the requirements of the above charity. Seventy-two *velis* of land were purchased, to yield an annual rental of 12,000 *kalams* of paddy, estimated to be the quantity required annually to take care of all the provisions of charity. Besides providing for offerings, worship etc, on a grand scale to Virrirunda Perumal (the main deity), Alagiya Manavalar and Narasinga Alvar; for the conduct of festivals on the occasions of Masi tirup-punarpusam, Jayanti ashtami, Margali tiru-ekadasi, Uttarayana, Dakshinayana, and the two *Vishus* (Aippisi and Chittirai); for feeding the Sri Vaishnavas; and for having the *Tiruvoymoli* recited—all of which required 2,475 *kalams* of paddy in all annually; provision was also made for:

(a) three teachers of the Rig Veda, three of the Yajur Veda, one each of Chhandogasama, Talavakara sama, Apurva, Vajasaneya, Bodhayaniya and Styashta(adha) sutra, making a total of twelve teachers, with a total daily allowance of four *kalams* of paddy;

(b) one person each for expounding the Vedanta, Vyakarana, Rupavatara, Ramayana, Bharata, Manu Sastra and Vaikhanasa Sastra;

(c) sixty students each of the Rig Veda and Yajur Veda, twenty of Chhandogasama, and 50 of other *Sastras* (making a total of 190 persons) with a total daily ration of 11 *kalams*, 10 *kurunis* and four *nalis*; and

(d) seventy other students of the Vedanta, Vyakarana and Rupavatara.

The provision thus made for feeding the teachers and students detailed above consisted of 9,525 *kalams* of paddy. Together with the provision for services in the temple mentioned earlier, the total requirements for the year came to 12,000 *kalams*, which were directed to be measured out by the holders of the 72 *velis* of land purchased and given for the purpose. It was stipulated that the *taram* (class) of the land should not be altered at the time of any later general re-classification of lands; that, on this land, no taxes or obligations should be imposed other than *eri-ayam*, *eri-amanji* and *padikaval*: and that the instructors and students of the Vedas, the *Bhattas* who expounded the *Sastras* etc. were also exempt from certain payments and obligations. The rest of this huge record is damaged.

Note 2

Later Inscriptions

There are 21 inscriptions of the reign of Kulottunga I in the Vishnu temple at Tribhuvani, from his 3rd to his 49th years. One of his fifth year (ARE 197 of 1919) mentions a gift of land for conducting a festival in the temple of Tiru Nagesvaram udaiya Paramasvamin, a Siva temple in the locality. One of his 6th year (ARE 177 of 1919) registers a gift of land to Kola Varaha Alvar, a Varaha idol installed in the Tribhuvani temple. Two of his ninth year (ARE 184 & 186 of 1919) record a gift of land and of two house-sites for feeding twenty Vaishnavites. The assembly met at night in the *mandapa* in front of the temple of Viranarayana Vinnagar Alvar (called here "*Nammur mula-deivam*" or "the patron-deity of our place"); the donated land was placed in the twelfth grade (for assessment) on the orders of the king.

Some tax-free lands had already been given to the temple of Udavi Tirumanikkuli Mahadevar in Merka nadu (a Siva temple located between Cuddalore and Alappakkam of the present day) but, since they were found insufficient, the local *maha sabha* made an additional grant

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of tax-free land to the temple from the area of Tribhuvana-mahadevi chaturvedimangalam—an instance of extension of aid to a neighbouring temple in need (ARE 209 of 1919).

One (Pipa)rai Tirunarayana Bhattan *alias* Kavikumuda Chandra Panditar of Manukula-sanach-cheri composed a *kavya* on the king, called *Kulottungasola charitai*. The *mahasabha* of the *taniyur* received a letter from the king, requesting them to listen to the *kavya*. The *mahasabha* accordingly met in the hall of the temple to listen to the recital of the *kavya*, and in appreciation of it, made a gift of land to be enjoyed by the poet and his descendants (27th year: ARE 198 of 1919).

In an eastern hamlet of the city, there was a temple for Durga under the name of Emalattu Durgaiyar Omkara-sundari. Its lands, flower-gardens and tank were registered under class twelve and made a gift of to the temple, in the forty-second year of the king, the newly formed village being called Bhupalasundara vilagam(ARE 207 of 1919).

In his forty-third year, a gift of land for feeding *tapasvins* and *mahesvaras* is recorded (ARE 200 of 1919). Another of the same year directed that artisans of any village were to serve only in their own village and were forbidden to serve outside. Perhaps there was a scarcity of artisans in the land during the time.

Two inscriptions of the forty-third and forty-ninth years (ARE 204 and 190 of 1919) refer to the Lord of this temple (presumably) as Ten Tiruvengadattu Emperuman (the Lord of Southern Tirupati) in Tribhuvana-mahadevi chaturvedimangalam, described as a *brahmadeyam* in Viravatara valanadu, a subdivision of Gangaikondasola valanadu. It is likely that Viravatara was a *biruda* of Kulottunga I.

An inscription of the forty-eighth year registers a gift of land for feeding itinerant *sivayogins* and *mahesvaras* at a local *Sivamatham* called Tirunavukkarasu *matham* (ARE 203 of 1919).

Another inscription of his (ARE 202 of 1919: date lost) refers to a temple called Tiru-merk-koyil and a gift of land made to it for providing offerings to the deity, for festivals thereof, and for feeding pilgrims and *sampradayins*.

According to Vaishnavite hagiology, one Krimikantha Chola is regarded as the persecutor of Acharya Ramanuja, and he is identified by some Vaishnavite schools of thought with Kulottunga I. Ramanuja lived in exile from the Tamil country between A.D. 1098 and 1122, in Melkote in Karnataka. This alleged persecution by Kulottunga I is discussed in **Note 3** at the end of this section. There was extensive royal as well as popular support for Vishnu temples and allied institutions throughout the reign and realm of Kulottunga I. It is hardly conceivable that this king persecuted Ramanuja; the latter's flight to Karnataka must have been in the wake of some sectarian rivalry, and not to royal or popular hostility to him or his tenets.

There are two inscriptions of the days of Vikrama Chola. One, of his sixth year (ARE 175 of 1919), mentions a famous general, minister and statesman called Naralokaviran, who played a distinguished role in the reign of Kulottunga I and in the early years of that of Vikrama Chola. He was a great builder of temples and made vast additions to existing ones, and his gifts to them are many and noteworthy. The inscription under reference records a gift of land towards the temple campus, a hall and a flower-garden for the Siva temple of Arulakara Isvaram Udaiyar given in the fifth year of the king by Naralokaviran (*alias* Arumbakkakkilan Madhurantakan Ponnambalakkuttan *alias* Porkoyil Tondaimanar, resident of Manavil in Manavil kottam, a district of Jayangondasola mandalam), for the prosperity of the king and the village. Naralokaviran was also known as Arulalan or Arulakaran. He also built a Siva temple of the name of Arulalesvaram at Madhurantakam (*Early Chola Temples*, pp. 99-101). The above inscription also mentions a flower garden for the image of Parantaka deva set up in the temple called that of Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar (in this area). How we wish we could trace these temples!

The other inscription, of the 9th year (of Vikrama Chola), records a gift of land for weavers of the *anuloma* class, who enjoyed the privilege of weaving and supplying clothes to temples and kings (ARE 208 of 1919).

An inscription of the later Pallava chief Kopperunjinga (A.D. 1246-1279), a contemporary of Rajaraja Chola III, who hastened the downfall of the Cholas, states that he constructed a

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temple for Herambha Ganapati on the bund of the tank at Tribhuvani, and that he repaired its embankment, the sluices and the irrigation channels of the tank (ARE 182 of 1919). We recall that the same tank was repaired after a storm in the fortieth year of Kulottunga I. Kopperunjinga was considerably interested in irrigation projects. The excavation of the Perumal eri (South Arcot district) and the erection of sluices and the strengthening of the bunds of the Olugarai eri (in the Pondicherry territory) stand to his credit; so also, the tanks in the neighbourhood of Tiruvannamalai (vide my book in Tamil, *Kopperunjinga*, and articles in *The Journal of the Madras University*).

The last inscription is of the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Viruppanna Udaiyar, dated Saka 1314 (A.D. 1392). It records a gift of land to the temple of Virrirunda Perumal (identical with the Viranarayana or Venkatesa Perumal temple) at Tribhuvani.

Note 3

Alleged Persecution of Ramanuja by Kulottunga I

A list of Inscriptions of the time of Kulottunga I relating to gifts (royal and other) to Vishnu temples is appended below:

Place	*Regnal year*	*ARE no.*	*Nature of gift*
Arpakkam	2	138/1923	Gift of two lamps to Tiruvil Vinnagar by Queen Trailokya Mahadevi.
Kanchipuram	3	522/1919	The *sabha* sold 3 *velis* of land to Attiyur Alvar (Varadaraja).
Tirumukkudal	5	173/1915	The *mahasabha* made the temple-lands tax-free in lieu of cash received.
Tirukkoyilur	6	125/1900	Gift of land to Tiru Idaikkali Alvar temple.
	10	121/1900	Gift of two lamps, to same temple.
Tribhuvani	6	177/1919	Land-gift to Kola Varaha Alvar.
	9	178/1919	Royal gift of 4 *velis* to Tiruvahindrapura Alvar
	9	186/1919	Royal order fixing the rate of land given to a Vaishnavite feeding-house.
	13	212/1919	Royal order remitting a tax.
Palayasivaram	10	211/1922	Land sold by *sabha* to Singapura Alvar in Rajendrasola Vinnagar.
Udaiyarkoyil (near Tiruchcherai, Tanjavur dt.)	16	399/1902	Land-gift to Kulottungasola Vinnagar (on easy terms).
Srirangam	15	61/1892	Gift for singing of *tiruppalli eluchchi* and recitation of *Tiruvoymoli*.
	18	62/1892	Provision for singing of the second decad of Kulasekhara Alvar's hymns.
Uttaramerur	19	170/1923	Gift of land and houses to Rajendrasola Vinnagar for a flower-garden called Kulottungasolan.
Brahmadesam (North Arcot)	21	269/1915	Gift to Perumandapattu Mahavishnukkal temple.
Tiruvendipuram	23	136/1902	20 *velis* as a royal gift to Tiruvayindrapurattu Alvar temple.
	28	—	Ramanuja's flight to Melkote

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Place	*Regnal year*	*ARE no.*	*Nature of gift*
Pennadam	29	234/1929	*Perunguri sabha* met in the Suttamalli Alvar temple and made gifts to the Vada Kailasam Udaiya Mahadevar temple.
	38	271/1929	*Mandapa* built by Malirunjolai, a Minister and worshipper of Vishnu.
Srimushnam	30	231/1916	Villages gifted to Sri Varaha Alvar temple and Siva temple.
	32	233/1916	The above villages demarcated.
Draksharama (A.P.)	33	349/1889	Temple of black stone for Vishnu built by a Pallava feudatory of king.
Narasingapuram (Ching. dt.)	34	244/1910	Shrine for Rama, Sita and Lakshmana built in
	35	249/1910	Madhurantaka Vinnagar and land endowment for it.
Karundittaikkudi	35	SII,II, 22.	Vishnu temple built in newly organised village settled with 106 *chaturvedis*.
Tirukkannapuram	36	519/1922	Lamp-gift
Srivilliputtur	38	551/1926	Lamp-gift
Kanchipuram	39	18/1893	Gold-gift to *pujaris* of Tiruppadagam temple.
	40	8/1921	Land-gift for kitchen use of Ashta-puyakiragattu-ninrarulina Paramasvamin temple.
	48	36/1888	Provision for feeding Sri Vaishnavas during a festival.
Ennayiram	38	348/1917	Royal order to *sabha* meeting in Rajaraja Vinnagar
Brahmadesam	41	158/1918	for sale of land towards *devapratishtha* and *jala-pratishtha* (temple construction and irrigation works); followed by a chasing-up order.
Tirukkoshtiyur (Ramanathapuram dt.)	50	284/1923	Lamp-gift to local Vishnu temple.

At Tribhuvani, we have inscriptions also of the twenty-third, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, forty-second, forty-third and forty-ninth regnal years, relating to miscellaneous subjects (ARE 206, 198, 201, 207, 205 and 203 of 1919) (vide Note 2).

Thus we see that liberal endowments and gifts were made to Vishnu temples and allied institutions by the king, the members of the royal family, his officers and feudatories, and the public at large throughout his long reign and large empire. In the face of such overwhelming evidence, it is difficult to sustain the theory that he was a persecutor of Vaishnavism in general and of Ramanuja in particular. With very few exceptions, all the Cholas followed a policy not merely of negative tolerance but of positive interest in other faiths, devout Saivites as they were. (Also refer to *The Colas* by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p.295 and Note 43 on p.300.)*

*The biggest Chola endowments for the promotion of Residential Higher Learning were located in the Vishnu temples at Ennayiram, Tribhuvani and Tirumukkudal.

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MANNARGUDI

84 KAILASANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE

Mannargudi, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the district of Tanjavur, is an important religious centre of great antiquity. There are four important temples in the city, of which the most popular is the Vishnu temple dedicated to Rajagopalasvamin, at the centre of the city. This temple is very ancient and would seem to go back at least to the Early Chola times. It seems to have received considerable attention at the hands of Rajadhiraja I, who had Vaishnavite leanings, and came to be known as Rajadhiraja Vinnagaram after him. In the days of the Later Chola ruler, Kulottunga I, the temple underwent considerable expansion, similar to what occurred in the temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram; and was rechristened Kulottunga-sola Vinnagaram. The present extensive campus would be attributable to him. However, during the Nayak period the temple underwent further renovation at the hands of Vijayaraghava Nayak of Tanjavur (ARE 102 to 105 and 109 of 1897; Pls 347-348).

Rajadhiraja I bestowed great attention upon the city which during his days was renamed Rajadhiraja chaturvedimangalam. The present day Jayangondanatha temple in the outskirts of the town, was known as Jayangondasolisvaram said to have been located in the *taniyur* of Rajadhiraja *chaturvedimangalam* during the Middle and Later Chola periods. This temple might have come into existence during the days of Rajadhiraja I who perhaps bore the surname of Jayangondasolan* (ARE 85, 87 and 90 of 1897).

There is however definite epigraphical evidence to show that the present day temple of Kailasanathesvarar in the town was built during the days of Rajadhiraja I. In a Later Chola inscription dated in the 22nd year of Rajaraja III, the temple is described as Udaiyar Sri Kailasamudaiyar *alias* Rajadhirajes-

*See temple No. 60, Tirunallaru, ARE 437 of 1965-66.

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varam Udaiyar koyil, located in the *tanyiur* of Rajadhiraja *chaturvedimangalam* in Suttavalli *valanadu*. This is further confirmed by an inscription of Vira Somesvara who also describes the temple by the same name. We also learn that this ruler set up the Amman shrine in the temple campus (*nammuril Udaiyar Sri Kailayamudaiyarana Irajadhirajesvaramudaiyar koyilil elundaruli vitta tiruk-kamakkottamudaiya Periya Nachchiyarukku*... ARE 97 of 1897).

This temple like others in the town, has undergone considerable renovation in recent times, leaving us little evidence as to the original architectural features of the Middle Chola period.

Another temple of importance in the town is the Annamalainathar temple; this belongs to the Later Chola period, having come into existence during the reign of Rajendra III.*

We conclude our account of temples associated with the reign of Rajadhiraja I with a summary look at some of them located in Karnataka. These either are in ruins or have even disappeared without a trace.

ALUR

DESESVARA (MULASTHANAM UDAIYAR) TEMPLE 85

The village of Alur is at a distance of 4 kms from the taluk headquarters of Chamarajanagar in Mysore district. Of the five temples there, we are concerned here only with the Desesvara temple, whose principal deity bore the name of Mulasthanam Udaiyar in the Chola days. An inscription found here, on a stone in five pieces and in Grantha and Tamil, tells us that in the seventh year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1025), this temple received 20 *madais* with which certain lands were bought and a grant was made for offerings to the god Mulasthanam Udaiyar of Alur (said to be situated in Padi nadu, in Gangaikondasola *valanadu* in Mudigondasola *mandalam*).

*The inscription no. 514 of Tanjore district in the Topographical list of V. Rangachari—ARE 95 of 1897—is wrongly attributed to Rajendra I. It belongs to the days of Rajendra III, the last of the Chola kings.

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CHIKKALI

86 *(i)* CHANDRASEKHARA (MAHADEVAR) TEMPLE *(ii)* PALLIKONDAR SHRINE

Chikkali is a small village in Gundlupet taluk of Mysore district. Set among the culvitated fields of the village is a ruined Siva temple, now called the Mahadevar temple, which came into existence during the Chola hegemony over the Karnataka region.

According to an inscription dated in the thirty-third regnal year of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1051) one Kesava Bhatta, son of Achayya of Tore Kaaratti built a temple for the merit and salvation of his ancestors for twenty-one generations and made a grant of 100 *bhatlas* of land, west of the temple garden and also gave away to the temple six cows to provide for a perpetual lamp to "the god Mahadeva and the Pallegonda god (Ranganatha)".

The inscription reads as follows: "*Vira Pandyan taleyum Cheralan sileyum Lankeyum dandalu konda Kovirajakesari varmmarana wadeyar sri Rajadhiraja devarke yandu* 33 *avadu svasti strumatu Tore-karattiya Achayyana magam Kesava Bhattam degulavam madisi tamma mata pitrigal iruppatonda talegam paroksha vineyam gaiydu devargge kotta bhumi degula dontam...*" (EC, My, Gn, 93). And Makkayya, son of Biyalabbe and Rachamma, the son of Mara Vadeya and grand son of Kongani Gavunda of Elandavadi in Vore *nadu*, bought land and a grant of 100 *bhatlas* of dry field and rice land to the north of Gundila to provide for the perpetual lamp. The inscription is dated in the Saka year 971 (A.D. 1059). This temple must have come into existence before this date.

KOTTAGERE

87 RAJENDRASOLISVARAM TEMPLE

Kottagere is a small village in Kunigal taluk of Tumkur district. The town of Kunigal, the taluk headquarters, lies at a distance of 70 kms from Bangalore on the road to Poona, and

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Kottegere is about three kms from Kunigal, along a district road skirting a big lake near the village. To the east of the village, there is a small modern shrine housing a *Linga* with a *nandi* in front. At the base of a *pipal* tree (*asvatta katte*) close by, there is a stone slab containing an inscription of Rajadhiraja I's days, in Grantha and Tamil characters. We gather from it that Kuningil *alias* Rajendrasolapuram was the headquarters of Kuningil *nadu*, a *nagaram*, and a centre of activity of the famous merchant guild called *Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar*. We also learn that a temple named Rajendrasolisvaram was built here, and a huge lake excavated nearby (which exists even now), and that a processional deity called Rajadhiraja Vitankar was set up. The record is dated in the 31st year of Rajadhiraja I, five years after the death of Rajendra I. It is therefore likely that it was built in honour of Rajendra I during the reign (and sometime before the thirty-first year) of Rajadhiraja I (A.D. 1049).

The temple is no longer in existence.

KOLAGAALA

GANGESVARAR TEMPLE 88

Kolagaala is a small village, lying one km to the south-east from the 38th km stone from Mysore on the road from Mysore to Heggada-devanakotte.

On a stone in front of the Mari temple here, there is an inscription dated in Saka 975 as also in the eighth regnal year of Rajadhiraja I. It mentions that one Rachayya, son of Uttama Chola Gavunda of... (name of town missing) in Navale *nadu* set up the god Gangesvara and endowed the temple with some lands adjoining one Tavudahalli tank. This Gangesvara temple, presumably a foundation of the days of Rajadhiraja I, has also now gone out of existence.

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(B) RAJENDRA DEVA II

TIRUKKOYILUR

89 TRIVIKRAMA PERUMAL (TIRU IDAIKKALI ALVAR) TEMPLE

Tirukkoyilur is the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the South Arcot district, and is on the southern bank of the Pennai, about 25 miles (40.23 kms) from Villupuram. Held sacred by both the Vaishnavites and the Saivites, it was formerly known as Tirukkovalur; it was the home of the Malayaman Chiefs (famous from the days of the Tamil Sangam) who held sway in the region around it—then known as Maladu (or Miladu) of 2,000 villages, with Koval (short for Kovalur) as their capital. It is also closely associated with the early Vaishnavite saints Poygai Alvar, Bhutattalvar and Pey Alvar. There is an ancient Vishnu temple here, in the western side of the town. The presiding deity is called Trivikrama Perumal now. Tirumangai Alvar calls Him "Tiru Idaikkali Alvar at Kovalur".

The temple contains a large number of inscriptions. The most important is a record of the 6th year of Rajendra deva II (with the *tirumagal maruviya* introduction). According to it, the central shrine of the temple of Tiruvidaikkali Alvar at Tirukkovalur *alias* Madhurantaka *chaturvedimangalam,* which had been built partly of brick, had become old and had cracked; one Ranakesari Raman *alias* Narasimhavarman, "who belonged to the Bhargava race," and said to be the governor of the area of the Miladu-2,000 province, had the old building pulled down, and rebuilt the central shrine and the *mandapa* entirely of "fine" black granite, set up five *stupis* and also built the enclosing verandah and a *mandapa* in front of the temple. He is also said to have presented to the central deity a canopy of pearls. What is of particular interest to us is that he got re-engraved on the walls of the new central shrine, true copies of records found on the walls of the earlier structure (ARE 123 of 1900).

A number of inscriptions relate to the construction of the

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temple. An undated record mentions that a Chief named Raman Narasingan (same as above?) put up a gold *stupi* (ARE 118 of 1900). Another undated record states that the central shrine was built for the merit of "Narasingavarman, Lord of Miladu" (ARE 120 of 1900). There is no reference to the construction during the Chola days either of the outer wall (*tirumadil*) or of any *gopuram,* but, from a much later record, one of Saluva Narasimhadeva Maharaja, found on the north wall of the central shrine and dated in Saka 1393, we learn that the outer wall and a *gopuram* had collapsed and were repaired by a certain Annamarasa (ARE 1 of 1905).

We have referred to the re-engraving of the older records at the time of reconstruction. One such record, of the twenty-third year of Rajaraja I, refers to a sale of land; so does another, of the tweny-fourth year of Rajendra I (ARE 128 of 1900).

There are a number of Later Chola records also. A sixth year record of Kulottunga I refers to the conquest of the Ratta country and states that the *Sabha* of Tirukkovalur recorded on stone the boundaries of the villages granted to the Tiruvidaikkali Alvar temple (ARE 125 of 1900). A Sanskrit verse in honour of the *Trivikrama avatara* is found above this inscription. There are records of the tenth, thirty-first and thirty-second years of this ruler, all pertaining to gifts (ARE 121, 122 and 130 of 1900). An interesting record of the period of one Chola-Kerala deva (Kulottunga III?) makes provision for the recitation of *Tirunedun-tandagam* in the temple (ARE 126 of 1900). The reference obviously is to the hymns composed by Tirumangai Alvar and included in the *Nalayira divya Prabandham.* We learn incidentally from the inscription that the village and its neighbourhood were included in the district then called Vanagopadi *alias* Madhurantaka *valanadu.* A Vikrama Pandya record of the eighth year refers to his victory over the Kakatiya ruler Ganapati and a gift of two lamps to the temple (ARE 116 of 1900). An undated inscription of a later date (the name of the king is also not mentioned) calls this temple Chitrameli Vinnagar *alias* Tiruvidaikkali (ARE 117 of 1900).

This temple may have come into existence even in the days

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of Parantaka I (as a structure partially of brick), since the village in which it is situated has throughout been known a Madhurantaka chaturvedimangalam in the inscriptions. It received patronage during the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I and was reconstructed of stone in the days of Rajendra deva II.

(Also see pp. 85–89 of *Early Chola Temples* for an account of Tirukkoyilur and the Siva temple of Virattanesvarar there.)

OLAKKUR

90 AGASTYESVARAR TEMPLE

Olakkur is reached from the railway station of that name between Chingleput and Tindivanam stations of the Southern Railway, and is about 3 kms from the national highway passing through these two towns. The old temple here is dedicated to Agastyesvarar.

There are four inscriptions on the south, west and north faces of the basement of the temple, of which the earliest is one of the 41st year of Kulottunga I, found on the south face (ARE 351 of 1909). (A record found on the door-post of the entrance to the temple repeats the contents of this inscription.) According to it, a private donor paved the floor of the central shrine, set up the *Sripada-pitha* (pedestal) and a *ney-tangi* (lamp-post), consecrated an image of Vighnesvarar and gifted gold for a lamp to the temple of Tiru Agattisvaram Udaiya Mahadevar at Ulakkaiyur *alias* Rajamahendranallur (in Oyma *nadu alias* Vijayarajendra *valanadu*, a sub-division of Jayangondasola *mandalam*).

On the west wall, there is an interesting unfinished record of the fourth year of Kulottunga II. According to it, Rajendra deva II had placed 100 *kalanjus* of gold in the hands of the residents of Ulakkaiyur for the purpose of building a stone temple for Agastyesvarar. The people completed only the first five *angas* after which work was stopped. It was found that half the money granted was still unspent, but this amount disappeared owing to bad times. But the stone temple originally intended byRajendra deva II was not completed. The servants of the temple complained

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against this conduct of the villagers, and the latter agreed to install an image of Somaskandar, which was found wanting in the temple, since they were not in a position to complete the construction of the temple in accordance with the original undertaking before Rajendra deva II. The inscription refers to the location of the temple as Ulakkaiyur *alias* Rajamahendranallur, presumably so named after the short-lived crown prince Rajamahendra, son of Rajendra deva II (ARE 353 of 1909).

Then we have an inscription of the fourth year of Rajadhiraja II, on the south wall. It records a gift of 32 cows and a bull to the shrine of Vatapi Vitankar in the temple, in expiation for the donor's sin of having killed another in a hunting expedition (ARE 352 of 1909).

From the last inscription here, we come to know of some concessions given to the *kaikkolars* (weavers) living in the streets near the temple, in the days of Ariyana Udaiyar of the Vijayanagara empire.

This temple may thus be considered a foundation of the days of Rajendra deva II, from whose short-lived crown prince this village acquired its alternate name of Rajamahendranallur. The temple seems to have reflected the vicissitudes of the prince in its uncertain fortunes (Pls 352 to 354).

It is an *eka-tala, misra*-type temple, consisting of a *garbhagriha,* an *ardhamandapa,* and a *mukhamandapa.* The *adhishthanam* is of stone, the rest of the structure being in brick. The *griva* of the *srivimana* is circular and the *sikhara* round. The only surviving *devakoshta* sculpture is one of Dakshinamurti. There is a fine image of Bhairavar in the loose, which perhaps belonged to the subshrine now no more in existence. The Somaskanda and the Vatapi Vitankar metallic images gifted to the temple are no longer to be found. The ill-fated temple still remains in a state of utter disrepair. This Siva temple is in the custody of a Vaishnavite family.

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VINNAMANGALAM

91 VIRRIRUNDA PERUMAL KOYIL

Vinnamangalam, situated in the Arani taluk in North Arcot district has a Vishnu temple on a nearby hill and a big tank close by it. Four inscriptions are found in this place. One is a mutilated inscription of the seventh year of a Ko-Parakesaripanmar, found on a hero-stone planted in the bed of the above tank. The place is called Vinnamangalam in this inscription also, which seems ascribable to Parantaka I (ARE 24 of 1899; SII, VI, 460).

Two of the inscriptions are found on the walls of the temple. One of them, on the south wall, is of the seventh year of Rajendra deva II (ARE 21 of 1899; SII, VI, 457); it gives the name of the place as Vinnamangalam *alias* Vikramachola chaturvedimangalam in Aiyampulugur (-pugalur?) *nadu* in Perumbanappadi (vala-?) nadu of Jayangondasola *mandalam*, and the name of the temple as Tirumerkoyil *alias* Tiru Virrirunda Perumal koyil *alias* Nanadesi Vinnagar. We may infer that the alternate name of the place was after Rajendra I and that the temple was possibly rebuilt of stone by a *nanadesi*, presumably a member of the famous merchant-guild called *Nanadesi Tisai Ayirattu Ainnurruvar.*

The other inscription is of the fifth year of Vira Rajendra, and is on the west wall (ARE 22 of 1899; SII, VI, 458). It refers to the place in substantially the same terms as the preceding inscription, but the temple is referred to as Malai Tirumerkoyil *alias* Viranarayana Vinnagar Alvar Srikoyil. Perhaps this is a revival of an older name for the deity in honour of Parantaka I. If so, our identification of Parakesarivarman in the hero-stone inscription as Parantaka I gets reinforced, and the original temple might be a foundation of the days of Parantaka I, rebuilt later on by the *nanadesi.*

The last inscription in the place is found on a slab set up in the north-east corner of the big tank, and is of the days of Vira Posala (Hoysala) Ramanatha deva of the thirteenth century; it relates to regulation of fishing rights in the big tank.

We may thus ascribe the original temple to the days of

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Parantaka I and its reconstruction by a *nanadesi* to the eleventh century, possibly in the days of Rajendra deva II himself.

(C) VIRA RAJENDRA

TIRUMUKKUDAL

VENKATESA PERUMAL TEMPLE 92

We have dealt with the Venkatesa Perumal temple at Tirumukkudal in detail under Rajaraja I. But of considerable historical interest is the attention that this temple received at the hands of Vira Rajendra, the last great king of the Middle Chola period. There is a unique inscription* in this temple which is dated in the fifth year, 348th day of the reign of this ruler; one of the biggest inscriptions known so far, it consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long running to a length of 16.76 ms (55 feet); the entire wall space covered by the inscription is about 50.20 sq ms (540 sq. ft).

It gives us an insight into the working of the governmental machinery at various levels and of the political events of the first five years and a half of Vira Rajendra's rule. The main object of the record is to provide for the maintenance of worship in the temple and for the running of a Vedic college with an attached hostel and a hospital. At the time of engraving the record, all the four institutions— the temple, the college, the hostel and the hospital—were housed in one building with separate accommodation earmarked for each of these institutions.

The king issued this order while he was seated on the throne called *Rajendrasola Mavali Vanarajan* in his palace named *Sola-keralan-tirumaligai* at the capital of Gangaikondasolapuram. This royal order (*kelvi*) of the king was committed to writing by a royal officer designated *tirumandira-olai* (the royal secretary) and was attested by three other royal officers who bore the desig-

*Tirumukkudal, according to this inscription, is said to be in Sri Madurantaka chaturvedimangalam, a *taniyur* in Kalattur kottam, a district of Jayangondasola mandalam.

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nation of *tirumandiravolai-nayagam*. On receipt of this royal order, certain officers designated *eval* (authenticating officers) gave the formal command and this was seconded by thirty-eight lower officials who belonged to three departments of the State, comprising six *udankuttam* (Royal attendants on the king), twenty-eight *vidaiyil* (those who issue permits) and four *naduvirukkai* (arbitrators). A further stage was gone through in the translation of the order into action when thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten sections gathered together, and with four out of them authorising the entry, one reading out the order and another making the entry, with a third issuing the revised account, the order became operative. The substance of the order was as follows:

The gift to the temple consisted of:

(i) 75 *kalanjus* of gold, which the residents of the village of Vayalaikkavur were paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (*sala*),

(ii) certain customary dues raised from the same village which had been assigned as a *sala bhoga* to the temple of Maha Vishnu at Tirumukkudal in the second year of the king's predecessor Parakesarivarman Rajendrasola Deva (who took Rattapadi seven and a half lakhs), and

(iii) 72 *kalanjus* and nine *manjadis* of gold, which formed a prior *devadana* gift.

The income from items *(i)* and *(iii)* at the rate of 16 *kalams* of paddy measured by the *rajakesari* measure* per *kalanju* amounted to 1359 *kalams* and odd. This was converted into the new measure called *arumolidevan* which yielded an excess of 884 *kalams* and odd. Thus the total income for the temple came to 3243 *kalams* of paddy and 216½ *kasus* of gold. The allocation of these among the four institutions is given below:

(1) The Temple:

(i) Offerings are to be made thrice daily (morning, noon and night) to the deity Sri Raghava-chakravartin (Rama) at noon. — 601 *kalams* (approx)

*1 *kalam* of *Rajakesari* measure = 1 *kalam*, 1 *tuni* and 4 *nalis* of *Arumolidevan* measure.

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(ii) for sandal paste and its ingredients *karpura* and *kunkumam* and for lamps.	68⅝ *kasus*
(iii) for special offerings to be made on the occasion of festivals in the months of Aippasi Masi, Kartigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyashtami (the birthday of Krishna).	28 *kalams* and odd.
(iv) Offerings on the king's birthday (falling on the asterism *Ashlesha* in the month of *Avani*)	6 *kalams* 5 *kurunis* 2 *nalis*
(v) Purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birthday asterism of the Vaisya Madavan Damayan, who built the *Jananatha-mandapa* in the temple.	6 *kalams* 5 *kurunis* 2 *nalis*
(vi) expenses to be met on the occasion of taking out the deity Vennaikkuttan (Krishna) in procession on the day of *Tiruvonam* in the month of *Purattasi* every year.	5 *kalams*
(vii) for meeting the expenses of feeding Sri Vaishnavas on various festive occasions.	88 *kalams* 11 *kurnis* 4 *nalis*
(viii) for payment to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the singer for reciting the *Tiruvoymoli* hymns, the cultivators attending the flower garden of Virasolan, the *Vaikhanasa devakanmis* (i.e. priests worshipping the deity according to *Vaikhanasa* tenets), the accountant, the potter and the washerman attached to the temple.	382 *kalams* 6 *kurunis*
(ix) for repairs (*pudukkuppuram*) in the *tiruch-churru-maligai* to be annually undertaken.	40 *kalams*
(x) for purchasing cloth for various servants.	13½ *kasus*

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(2) The Vedic College:

This institution had a staff on its roll consisting of (*i*) a teacher for *Rig Veda,* remunerated at the rate of 60 *kalams* of paddy and 4 *kasus* per annum, (*ii*) a teacher for *Yajur Veda,* also on a similar remuneration, and (*iii*) a *Bhatta* to explain *Vyakarana* and *Rupavatara,* drawing an annual fee of 120 *kalams* of paddy and 10 *kasus.*

(3) The Hostel:

This was attached to the College and had a total strength of 60 inmates consisting of 10 students (*sattirar*) studying *Rig Veda,* 10 studying *Yajur Veda,* 20 students engaged in the study of *Vyakarana* and *Rupavatara,* 10 *Mahapancharatras,** 3 *Siva-brahmanas,* 5 *Vaikhanasas*** and two others on studies whose details are lost in the inscription. They were all fed in the hostel at the cost of the institution and the feeding expenses, along with the cost of the sleeping-mats and oil for night study provided to the students as also oil for a weekly oil-bath on all the 51 saturdays of the year, coupled with the wages of the cooks and the maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalams* of paddy and 37 and 5/8 *kasus* in money. It is interesting to note that the present day South Indian custom of having an oil bath every saturday was in vogue even in the eleventh century A.D. The students and teachers were provided with mats for sleeping and provision also existed for oil lamps for reading by night.

During the Middle Chola period alone we have come across three instances where the temple functioned as a Vedic College—one at Ennayiram now in the South Arcot district, dealt with in detail in our chapter on Rajendra I, another Vedic College set up in the days of Rajadhiraja I at Tribhuvani (now in the

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*Mahapancharatra had five samhitas viz., Paramesvara, Sattavata, Vishvaksena, Khagesvara and Sri-Pushkara. According to the Varaha Purana, the persons eligible to study Pancharatra are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being Veda, bakti, and yajna (K.V.Subrahmanya Ayyar, Epi.Ind. Vol.XXI, p.223).

**Evidently, the *agamas* and *tantras*, such as the *Pancharatra*, *Saiva* and *Vaikhanasa* were also taught in the college.

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Union territory of Pondicherry) and the present one, at Tirumukkudal.

We know that there was provision for expounding certain subjects in some temples as for instance *Vyakarana* in the *Vyakarana-Vyakhyana-mandapa* at Tiruvorriyur. Inscriptions attest to the fact that certain gifts of land were made to teachers who were called upon to teach various subjects like the Vedas in the village itself; gifts were also made to individuals for expounding the *Mahabharata*, *Somasiddhanta*, *Prabhakara* and *Mimamsa*. However, of the three institutions for imparting knowledge of the *Vedas*, the biggest would appear to be the college of Ennayiram, which had a strength of 370 students on its rolls.

(4) *The Hospital* (*Virasolan Atular-salai*):

This hospital which was named *Virasolan*, a surname of the king, had 15 beds and was placed in the charge of a physician who drew an annual emolument of 90 *kalams* of paddy and 8 *kasus* in addition to a grant of land; his duties included the prescription of medicines to the in-patients of the hospital, the servants attached to the institutions in the temple campus and the teachers and students of the Vedic College. There was also a surgeon (*Selliyaik-kiriyaip-pannuvan*) attached to the hospital who drew a remuneration of 30 *kalams* of paddy; he was assisted by two persons for fetching medicinal herbs, who drew a pay of 60 *kalams* of paddy and two *kasus*. These two persons were also to supply firewood and attend to the preparation of medicines. Two nurses, drawing 30 *kalams* of paddy and one *kasu* per annum were attached to the hospital, for attending on patients and administering medicines. A barber was also attached to the hospital who received 15 *kalams* of paddy; he appears to have attended to minor surgical cases. In addition, provision was made for meeting the dietary expenses of the patients.

A lamp was kept burning in the ward throughout the night, for which a provision of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kasus* per annum was made. In addition, a waterman was provided for the hospital at a remuneration of 15 *kalams* of paddy per annum. Finally, a provision of 40

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kasus was made for stocking medicines. The stock included the following 20 medicines:

(1) Brahmyam kadumburi
(2) Go-mutra-haritaki
(3) Vasa hartitaki
(4) Dasa-mula-haritaki
(5) Bhallataka-haritaki
(6) Gandira
(7) Balakeranda taila
(8) Lasuady-eranda-taila
(9) Panchaka-taila
(10) Uttama-karnadi-taila
(11) Sukla.... sa. grita
(12) Bilvadi-ghrita
(13) Mandukara-vatika
(14) Dravatti
(15) Vimala
(16) Sunetri
(17) Tamradi
(18) Vajrakalpa
(19) Kalyana-lavana and
(20) Purana-ghrita*

The proper administration of the grant was entrusted to the protection of the members of the *mahasabha* of Sri Madhurantaka-chaturvedimangalam.

Thanks to this well-preserved inscription, containing the royal order giving such elaborate details, we have been able to get an insight into the working of the temple in ancient days, which combined in it the roll of the educational institutions and the tender of the spiritual and physical health of the people.

Temple funds and charities made in favour of temples, thus, served not merely for the maintenance of temple service and offerings, but also a larger social purpose of taking care of educational institutions, hostels, hospitals and other welfare institutions.

(D) ADHI RAJENDRA

TIRUVAKKARAI

93 VARADARAJA PERUMAL SHRINE

The Chandramoulisvarar temple at Tiruvakkarai, in the Villupuram taluk of South Arcot district has been dealt with

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*These medicines are found mentioned in well-known Indian medical treatises *Charaka-Susruta-Samhita* and *Ashtangahridaya*.

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in my *Early Chola Art I*, and *Early Chola Temples*. While dealing with the Siva shrine in this temple in Chapter 2, we mentioned the existence of a Vishnu shrine in the campus of this temple.

There are four inscriptions of Kulottunga I on the walls and base of this shrine, three relating to his 27th, 30th, and 41st years, while the one on the west wall of the *mandapa* in front of this shrine relates to the 2nd year of Udaiyar Adhirajendra deva (it is in *Grantha* and *Tamil* and incomplete). But the Sanskrit portion records that the *vimana* which had been previously built by Kochchola of brick was reconstructed of stone. We can, therefore, take it that the present structure of this shrine belongs to the second year of Adhirajendra. This is perhaps one of the rare contributions made during Adhirajendra's brief and uncertain rule of a few months (1067/8 to 1070 A.D.—ARE 205 of 1904).

The Chandramoulisvarar temple which had its nucleus in the days of Aditya I grew in size with Sembiyan Mahadevi's shrine for the Paramasvamin and Adhirajendra's new stone shrine for Varadaraja perumal; in the Later Chola period were added the Sambuvarayan *gopuram* and the hundred pillared hall.

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7

Supplement to Early Chola Temples

(A) VIJAYALAYA

VIKKANAMPUNDI

94 VISALESVARAR (VIJAYALAYA-CHOLISVARAM) TEMPLE

We have already referred to this temple in our book *Early Chola Art Part I* (page 41). This temple is located in an insignificant village by the name of Vikkanampundi, also called Vilakkanampundi, which is close to the better known village of Ramakrishnarajupeta, in the Tiruttani taluk of Chingleput district.

The present name of the temple, *Visalesvarar* is a corruption of the original name of *Vijayalaya-cholisvarar*. Two inscriptions relating to this temple were reported in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1943–44. One of them is a record which can be dated about A.D. 1378 of Mahamandalesvara Harihararaya II, found on the two sides of a slab set up in a field opposite the temple, which states that the *Idangai Mahasenaiyar* of the region surrounding Chandragiri met in the place called *Idangai-mikaman* of *Vijayalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar* at Vilakkunipundi in Tirukkattikai nadu, a sub-division of Tirukkattigaikkottam in Jayangondasola mandalam. The next record, dated in Saka 1308 (A.D. 1386) in the period of Bukkana Udaiyar II (Vijayanagara) is found on a slab set up near the *dvajastambha* at the entrance

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to the temple; it contains an agreement made by Ellamarasar to Vittamarasar to maintain a twilight lamp (for the merit of) Bokka-raya, from the taxes remitted by the king in favour of the temple of *Vijai(y)atendracholesvaram Udaiya Nayanar* at Vilakkunipundi (in Tirukkattikai nadu, a sub-division of Tirukkattigaikkottam in Jayangondasola mandalam (ARE 126 and 125 of 1943–44). Recently, the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology has discovered another inscription on the base of the main temple which relates to the second half of the thirteenth century (about A.D.1270) and reads as follows:

> "*Svasti sri tribhuvana chakravartigal sri vijaya gandagopala devarku yandu 22-avadu panguni madattu oru nal Udaiyar vijayalisvaramudaiyanayanarkku... chandiradittavatu sandi vilakku onru.*"

Provision was made for a twilight lamp to the Lord of this temple, Vijayalisvaram Udaiya Nayanar.

These three records thus confirm that the name of the temple was Vijayalaya-cholisvaram; it should have come into existence in the days of Vijayalaya, the founder of the Tanjavur line of the Cholas; the existence of the temple in this region indirectly confirms the fact that the kingdom of Vijayalaya extended in the north at least up to this place. In other words, Tondaimandalam was already a part of the Chola empire even in the days of Vijayalaya. So his empire should have spread from Narttamalai in the south to Vilakkannapundi in the north. And the two temples of Vijayalaya-cholisvaram built in the former locality and Vijayalisvaram in the latter should be considered as two pillars of victory at the two ends of his empire. Of course, Aditya I and Parantaka I had to fight against their political rivals to recover this territory from their control. Scholars hold that the northern boundary of the Chola kingdom was the northern Vellar, vide map on page 133 of K.A.N. Sastri's *The Colas* (2nd edition), and map opposite page 30 of the *History of the Later Cholas*, part I (Tamil - Annamalai University) by T.V. Sadasiva Pandarattar. The Chola empire extended as far as the neighbourhood of Tiruttani even during the time of Vijayalaya. This northern expansion was, of course, not permanent till the days of Rajaraja I.

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The Vijayalaya-cholisvaram at Vilakkannampundi is a *misra* type of temple. The *adhishthanam* is of stone and the superstructure is of brick and stucco. It is a *tri-tala* structure with an octagonal *sikhara*, like that of the Dharmaraja Ratha at Mamallapuram. Its *stupi* is modern. The temple has an *ardhamandapa* and a *madil* of loose stones. The *garbhagriha* houses a *Linga* mounted on an octagonal *pitha*. There is a panel of Uma-Maheswarar in a niche on the rear wall of the sanctum. There are excellent stone sculptures of the age—a set of Saptamatrikas, flanked by Ganapati and Virabhadrar (Siva with *Yoga-patta*), Subrahmanyar, Chandesar, Bhairavar and Durga (Pls 355 to 361).

Perhaps, this temple was an earlier foundation completed in the days of Vijayalaya and named after him during the period of his hegemony in this region.

(B) ADITYA I

KOTTAMANGALAM

95 SRI RAJAKESARI VINNAGARA EMPERUMAN TEMPLE

Kottamangalam is about a kilometre and a half west of Kattur, which is 3 kms from Lalgudy in the Tiruchy district. In this village, there are a ruined Siva temple called that of Brahmisvaram Udaiya Nayanar, an Ayyanar temple, a Pidari temple and a ruined Vishnu temple (ARE 636 to 659 of 1962–63).

The area where the Siva and Vishnu temples were built was called Kiramangalachcheri—a part of Korramangalam which had as its administrative unit the body called the *Perunguri Mahasbhai* in Kalar kurram, included in Vadakarai Rajaraja valanadu (during and after the days of Rajaraja I). Kottamangalam was then also called Jananathanallur, after a title of Rajaraja I.

There are a number of inscriptions relating to the Siva temple from the tenth to the beginning of the fourteenth century—of Chola kings Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola, Hoysala Vira

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Ramanatha and Pandya Jatavarman Vira Pandya (5th year; A.D. 1301), but they are not of much historical value.

The ruined Vishnu temple about a few metres from the main road beyond a cocoanut *tope* is interesting. There are eight inscriptions about this temple (ARE 650 to 657 of 1962–63), three of an unspecified Parakesarivarman (two of them dated in the eleventh year, 653 and 654), one of an unspecified Rajakesarivarman (651), one of the twentieth year of Rajaraja I (655, A.D. 1005), one of the thirteenth year of Vikrama Chola (652, A.D. 1131) and one of the thirty-fourth regnal year of Tribhuvanavira Deva (i.e., Kolottunga III—A.D. 1212).

After a study of these inscriptions, the Government Epigraphist states:

> "Achchiyan Bhattan Chakrapani Sri Vasudevan, a Brahmadhiraja of Peruvengur, figures prominently in 651, 653, 654 and 656 .... All these records may be assigned to the 10th century on grounds of palaeography. Four inscriptions in the Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam dated in the reign of Parantaka I (ARE 95 of 1936–37, ARE 415, 418 and 419 of 1961–62) also record gifts made by Achchiyan Bhattan Sri Vasudevan Chakrapani, a Brahmadhiraja, of Peruvengur. It may be noted that the two individuals hailed from the same place and bear the same title, *viz.*, Brahmadhiraja. It is, therefore, obvious that Chakrapani Sri Vasudevan of the Kottamangalam records was the son of Sri Vasudevan Chakrapani of the Srirangam inscriptions. Since the inscriptions from Srirangam are dated between the thirty-ninth and the forty-first year of Parantaka I, the Rajakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman of the Kottamangalam records can only be the successors of Parantaka I. No. 651 calls the deity Sri *Vasudeva Vinnagar Emberuman*, while nos. 653 and 654 call aparently the same deity as Sri *Rajakesari Vinnagar Emberuman*. The former name appears to suggest that the deity was first named after the donor Chakrapani Sri Vasudevan, and that later on the name was changed to Rajakesari Vinnagar Emberuman."

I should like to state at the outset that there is no foundation

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inscription stating definitely the original name of the main deity, its author, his name and the date of its construction. Two inscriptions (653 and 654) refer to an important donor Achchiyan Bhattan Chakrapani Sri Vasudevan, a Brahmadhiraja of Peruvengur, who makes a grant of land for *tirumanjanam* (sacred bath) and food offerings during the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* day to the Emperuman of Rajakesari Vinnagar, and the exemption from land tax is granted by the local *sabha*. He seems to have been a person of high standing and influence with the advantage of wealth and learning. Citing another donor Sri Vasudevan Chakrapani of Sri Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam, who bears the title of Brahmadhiraja and hails from the same village of Peruvengur, the Epigraphist holds that the Srirangam donor (of about the 39th and 41st years of Parantaka I) might be the father of the donor of Kottamangalam and therefore concludes that the Rajakesarivarman (no. 651) and Parakesarivarman (nos. 653, 654 and 656) inscriptions should be assigned to a period *later than that of Parantaka I* and that the original name of the deity was Sri Vasudeva Vinnagar Emperuman.

Ths son and father relationship between the two donors cannot be said to have been established. On the same basis the Srirangam-donor may also be the son of the Kottamangalam donor. This will reverse the order of succession. We await further evidence to support this hypothesis. In my opinion, the original name of the deity of Kottamangalam is Sri Rajakesari Vishnugriha Emperuman (of the eleventh year of Parakesarivarman inscriptions), and these two inscriptions (653 and 654) should be considered earlier than the Rajakesarivarman inscription (651) according to which the same donor (of 653 and 654) makes another grant of land to this deity to provide for food offerings during the *ardha-jamam* (midnight) service of the Lord. Perhaps on account of his influence and benefactions to the temple, he gets the name of the deity changed after his own name into Sri Vasudeva Vinnagara Emperuman. This new name does not last long for we find the original name of Rajakesari Vishnugriha Emperuman asserting itself in an inscription of the 20th year of Rajaraja I (655—A.D. 1005)

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and even as late as the reign of Kulottunga III (thirty-fourth year of Tribhuvana Vira Deva; 650—A.D. 1212). If the two unspecified Parakesari inscriptions (653 and 654) and the Rajakesari inscription (651) have to be assigned to the post-Parantaka I period, they should refer then to Uttama Chola and Rajaraja I; but pending confirmation of the tentative suggestion of the father and son relationship of the donors of Srirangam and Kottamangalam, I shall proceed on the assumption that the two inscriptions of this temple concerning Parakesarivarman may be assigned to Parantaka I. The palaeography of the inscriptions does not militate against this conclusion. In that case the Rajakesari inscription (unspecified 651) in which the name of the temple is given as Sri Vasudeva Vinnagar Emperuman should be assigned to Gandaraditya (A.D. 963).

It is mentioned in the inscription of Kulottunga Chola III (Tribhuvana Vira Deva) that the temple of Sri Rajakesari Vinnagar was reconstructed about A.D. 1212 by the mercantile guild called the "Ainnurruvar" of the 79 *Nadus* and 18 *Bhumis* and named after them "Ainnurruvar-Vinnagar." This did not last long as it is likely to have been destroyed during the subsequent Muslim invasion, as it lay on the highway from Tiruchy to Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. (Pl 362).

The temple is now in ruins. It is unique in many respects and deserves the attention of scholars. It is a brick temple built on a granite *adhishthanam*. There is now no deity in the sanctum. A reclining Vishnu figure of stone lying buried near the temple proves that it was a figure of Anantasayi, the original deity of this temple. There are a few patches of the old paintings at least in two layers on the inner walls of the *garbhagriha*. There is a dilapidated stone *mandapa* in front. The temple can be entered by steps on the sides of the *mandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is a square structure, while both the *griva* and the *sikhara* are circular.*

The temple of Sri Rajakesari Vinnagar may be one of the temples built on the banks of the Kaveri during the days of Aditya I, as suggested by the prefix to the name, Rajakesari.

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*Vide H. Sarkar's article on "*Chola Prasadas*" in Prof. K.A.N. Sastri Felicitation volume.

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PACHCHIL AMALISVARAM (GOPURAPATTI)

96 AMALISVARAR TEMPLE

This is a small village west of Tiruvasi (*alias* Tiru Pachchil Asramam). There is an Early Chola temple in ruins here, but luckily scientifically renovated and restored to its barest original features by the Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu. The Lord of the temple is called Tiru Amalisvaram udaiya Mahadevar in the inscriptions.

The temple faces west and consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. The superstructure over the *garbhagriha* has collapsed.

There are six Chola inscriptions on the walls of this temple. Two Parakesarivarman inscriptions, both dated in the twelfth year may be assigned to Uttama Chola. One of them records the gift of five perpetual lamps (*nilai vilakku*) to the Lord of the temple of Tiru Amalisvaram in Pachchil, by Sembiyan Mahadevi, the queen of Gandaraditya and mother of Uttama Chola. The other refers to a gift by Nakkan Viranarayani, queen of Uttama Chola. She gave a *prabha* and a *pada-pitha* (aureola and pedestal) to the processional metal image of Amali Sundarar evidently set up by her in this temple for being taken out in procession during the *Vaikasi Visakham* festival.

A Parakesarivarman record of the sixteenth year also has to be attributed to the days of Uttama Chola; it mentions that the same queen Nakkan Viranarayani set up a metal image of Uma Paramesvari with a *prabha* and a *pada-pitha*, to be taken out in procession with Amali Sundarar during the *Vaikasi Visakham* festival.

There are three inscriptions of the days of Rajaraja I. One, whose date is lost, relates to a gift of land for the supply of oil for a lamp to the Lord of the temple. One of his tenth year provides for the gift of a lamp by Sembiyan Mahadevi (who outlived her son, well into the reign of Rajaraja I). The third is of the twenty-first year, and makes provision for the conduct of special *snapana* (ceremonial bath) and food offerings every month

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on the day of *Sadayam*, the king's natal star, and also for arranging every month a processional festival and food offerings on the day of *Avittam*, the natal star of Alvar Kundavai Pirattiyar, the beloved and respected elder sister of Rajaraja I. The donor was Avanimulududaiyan Marttandan Uttaman, the governor of Rajaraja valanadu.

This small temple in such unpretentious surroundings has thus associations with various members of the Chola royal family. Incidentally, it supplied one of the four hundred *talippendir* assigned to the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur from various temples.

There is a fine stone *adhishthanam*, with a *tripatta kumudam* moulding and two layers of miniature sculptures of high artistic merit above the *kumudam*. There are five beautiful *devakoshtas* on the walls of the shrine, and the ones on the side walls are flanked by artistic *koshta-pancharas*. The *devakoshta* figures are Dakshinamurti in the south, Hariharar in the east (rear), and Durga and Brahma in the north. The image of Ganapati to be expected in the other southern *devakoshta* is missing. There is an excellent stone *nandi* a little to the west of the temple (Pls 363 to 369).

There is no inscription in this temple prior to the days of Uttama Chola. However, the *devakoshta* figures, all of which are of fine quality, can be assigned to the ninth century A.D. The Hariharar figure in the rear *devakoshta* indicates that the temple may be assigned to the age of Aditya I, in whose reign alone such wide variations are to be found in the *devakoshta* sculptures. It may be recalled that the Adityesvaram (Tiru Erumbiyur Alvar temple) at Tiruverumbur has Hariharar in the rear niche of the *garbhagriha* (*Early Chola Art*, I, pp.114–123).

There is a ruined Vishnu temple called Adi Rangam opposite to this temple.

While we are at Pachchil Amalisvaram, we may take note of another ancient temple in the neighbourhood (though it is a pre-Chola foundation).

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PACHCHIL TIRUMERRALI

97 PACHCHIL TIRU-MERRALI MAHADEVAR TEMPLE

Nearly 800 ms (half a mile) east of Pachchil Amalisvaram (Gopurappatti) lies another ancient Siva temple called in inscriptions Pachchil Tiru Merrali, its deity being called the Mahadevar or Udaiyar thereof. At the time of our visit, it was in a thoroughly dilapidated condition, even the *Linga* lying flat in the *garbhagriha*, dislodged from its original position. It is a huge fluted *Linga*. The temple has the features of temples of the Later Pallava king Narasimhavarman II *alias* Rajasimha (A.D. 700–728).

The basement of the temple is of stone, and its superstructure of brick. Stone sculptures of Chandesvarar and two of the Sapta-matrikas are found in the inner precincts of the temple and a stone *nandi* in the east. A fine sculpture of Alingana Chandra-sekharar found in a neighbouring field may be ascribed to the Pallava period of about the latter half of the eighth century, and it is certain to have belonged to this temple. It is illustrated in *Damilica* (the journal of the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology), 1970: Plate 8–b.

On the walls of this temple, there are about ten Chola inscriptions. The earliest of them are two of the days of Parantaka I, and a third, which is damaged and whose date is lost, is palaeographically close to them. One, of his thirty-fifth year, records a gift of land, and one, of his thirty-sixth year (on the south wall of the *garbhagriha*) mentions that a certain Kirti *alias* Sadasiva Acharyan, the *uvachchan* of the temple, made a gift of a lamp to the Mahadevar of Pachchil Tiru Merrali; Pachchil is said to be a sub-division of Malanadu.

There is an inscription of the fifth regnal year of a Mummudi Chola. This title was assumed by both Gandaraditya and Raja-raja I. Perhaps this inscription should be assigned to the former. It records the gift of a gold *pattam* weighing 20 *kalanjus* by the local standard of weight called *Pachchil-kal*, by Rajasikhamani

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Pallavaraiyan *alias* Nakkan Kilan Paraman Kunjaramallan of Kurugudi in Tanjavur kurram.

There are three inscriptions of Rajaraja I. One of his third regnal year records the gift of a lamp to the temple by a dancing girl called Nakkan Paravai Vallanaippaga Talarkoli by name, said to be the daughter of the *devan* (temple-manager?) of the temple.

Another begins with "*tirumagal pola*", but its date is damaged. It records the arrangements made by Avanimulududaiyan Marttanda Uttaman, who was the Chola administrative officer of the *nadu*, for special offerings to the deity and for feeding thirty *brahmanas* (probably on the days corresponding to the natal star of the king). We have already noted similar arrangements made by the same officer in the twenty-first regnal year of Rajaraja I in the neighbouring temple of Amalisvaram.

This temple also supplied one of the four hundred *talippendir* deputed to the Rajarajesvaram at Tanjavur.

This temple may be taken to have been built in the latter half of the eighth century during the rule over this region by the Later Pallavas, and it was maintained in a prosperous and flourishing condition during at least the Early and Middle Chola periods.

TIRUPPAINJILI

NILIVANESVARAR (NILIVANANATHASVAMI) TEMPLE 98

(i) CENTRAL SHRINE

(ii) VISALAKSHI SHRINE

(iii) KASI VISVANATHAR SHRINE

(iv) TIRUTTALISVARAM UDAIYA NAYANAR SHRINE

This place lies about two kilometres to the west of Mannachchanallur on the Tiruchy-Turaiyur road and about 24 kms from Tiruchy. The main temple of the village is situated in a grove of plantain trees. The presiding deity is called Nilivanesvarar.

All the three Nayanmars, Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar,

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have paid their homage to the Lord of this temple. According to a local legend, Appar felt thirsty and hungry when he was on his way to the temple. Siva provided him shelter and offered him food and water to satisfy his needs. Near the left side of the entrance from the third to the second *prakara*, there is a *mandapa* associated with this miracle. It is pointed out that the tank and the tope (grove) where the food was offered to Appar is said to lie about a kilometre and a half to the south of the temple.

The earliest of the Chola inscriptions in this temple is of of the sixth year, 185th day of Rajendra I (ARE 91 of 1892). It records the gift of 150 *kasus* to the assembly to supply 64 *kalams* of paddy every year for offerings. There are two inscriptions of Rajadhiraja I which refer to gifts to the temple.

A number of inscriptions of the Later Cholas are also there. One of the fourteenth year of Vikrama Chola (ARE 164 of 1938–39) mentions the setting up of a deity named Vikrama-cholisvaram Udaiyar and refers to the grant of some *devadana* lands to it. An inscription of the twenty-fifth year of Parakesari-varman Rajaraja II (ARE 93 of 1892) refers to a gift to the goddess whose shrine is in the second *prakara* of the temple. A group of deities (Emperumakkal—the three Saiva saints) is consecrated in the twenty-seventh year of Kulottunga (III) and a gift is made to it for offerings (ARE 156 of 1938–39). There are seven inscriptions of Rajaraja III and three of Rajendra III, besides a number of them relating to the periods of the Pandya and Vijayanagara rulers.*

Other Inscriptions

*In the south wall of the second *prakara*, there is an inscription of Vikrama Chola (beginning with the introduction *Pumalai midaindu*) which records a gift of land by Kon Uttamasolanar Vayiragarayan of Adamangalam in Valikvalak-kurram,a subdivision of Rajendrasola valanadu for providing offerings during midnight service in the temple (ARE 218 of 1943-44). On the north wall of the same *prakara*, there is an inscription of his son Rajakesarivarman Kulottunga Choladeva (II) dated in his seventh year beginning with the introduction *Pumevi valar* which records an order issued while the king was seated on the throne called *Anapayan* in the palace at Ayirattali granting as *devadana*, for providing offerings to the god Mahadevar at Tiruppainjili the village of Anapayanallur which had been newly formed by adding more lands to Seppalaik-kudi *alias* Uttamasolanallur (ARE 216 of 1943-44). There is a record on the south wall of the same *prakara* of the days of Parakesarivarman Tribhuvanavira deva regarding a sale of land by three persons for a flower garden to the temple (called Tiruppainjili Udaiya Nayanar temple)

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The main shrine consists of a *garbhagriha* resting on a high *adhishthana*, an *antarala* and a *mahamandapa*. The *srivimana* is *ekatala*. It has a square *sikhara*. The *devakoshta* sculptures are Dakshinamurti, Ardhanarisvarar and Brahma. There is a Saptamatrika group. Among the important Chola bronzes may be mentioned Nataraja and Sivakami, Ganapati and Pradoshamurti. This is an Early Chola temple built of stone in the days of Aditya I. (Pls 370 to 375).

The temple has three *prakaras*. In the northern side of the second *prakara*, there is the Amman shrine of Visalakshi of the Later Chola period. On the outermost *prakara*, there is a massive gateway of stone without a superstructure; this outermost *tiruvasal* is of Pandyan construction (thirty-first year of a Konerinmaikondan, ARE 94 of 1892).

To the right of the entrance to the third *prakara*, there are two Later Chola shrines; one is that of Kasi Visvanathar which bears an inscription of the thirty-second regnal year of Rajaraja III and the other is called the temple of Tiruttalisvaram Udaiyar. There is on its walls an inscription of the fourth year of Rajendra III, in which a gift of 100,000 *kasus* for worship to this Lord is made (ARE 185 to 187 of 1939).

Beyond this southern (third) *prakara*, there is a rock-cut Somaskanda shrine at such a low ground level that it is flushed with spring water. It is likely to be of Later Pallava or Pandyan origin. The Pallavas were very much in evidence in this region. Tiruppattur (Tiruppidavur) has a Pallava temple. The Tiruchy upper cave bears an inscription of Mahendravarman I; the the lower cave is of a later date. Srinivasanallur has a hamlet called Mahendramangalam. Nandivarman II, Dantivarman and Nandivarman III held sway over this area. The First Pandyan empire extended upto Pandik-Kodumudi. This place lay on the

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(ARE 217 of 1943-44). We learn that the *mandapa* at the entrance to the first *prakara* of the temple was given the name of "Chera-Pandiyarai-Mummadi-ven-kandan *tirumandapam*", according to an inscription on a pillar at this entrance in the *tirumandapa*. Inscriptions on the pillars in the north and east side of the same (first) *prakara* give the name of one Nangan Viladarayan (who raised the verandah presumably) (ARE 214 and 215 of 1943-44).

There is an undated record (possibly of the Vijayanagara days) on a pillar near the flag staff (*dvajastambha*) recording the construction of the *dvajastambha-mandapa* (ARE 219 of 1943-44).

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route to their northern expansion. Therefore, without clear evidence, the authorship of the rock-cut Somaskanda temple, which is of about the eighth century A.D., should be kept an open question. One wonders why it is called the Yama temple—was it worshipped by him?

TIRUVASI

99 MARRARIVARADISVARAR (SAMIVANESVARAR) TEMPLE

Tiruvasi (the corruption of its ancient name of Tiruppachil Asramam) is on the northern bank of the river Kollidam (Coleroon), 12 kms from Tiruchy on the road to Musiri and Salem. On the northern bank of the Kollidam and on the south side of the main road, there is an ancient early Chola temple of the period of Aditya I called that of Tiruk-Kadambat-turai Udaiya Mahadevar (now named Matsyapurisvarar temple) at Tudaiyar (incorrectly called Turaiyar near Tiruvasi—see my *Early Chola Temples*, pp.219–20 and plates 7 to 13 of Supplement to *Early Chola Art* I). Opposite to this temple there branches off a country track north of the main road to Musiri. The village of Pachchil-Asramam and the temple in it are about a km and a half from this junction. Pachchil or Pachchur is just west of Tiruvasi but as there is no direct approach to that place, it has now to be approached by an indirect road through Manachchanallur. At Pachchur there is an Early Chola temple of Aditya I's days called that of *Pachchil Amalisvaram*. Opposite to it is the ancient ruined Vishnu temple of *Adi Rangam*. Close to it is another Siva temple of the late Pallava period called *Pachchil Merrali* (of the age of Pallava Rajasimha). The Muttaraiyar inscription of Niyamam found on pillars of a later *mandapa* built in the temple of Sundaresvarar of Sendalai mentions a famous Tamil poet called Pachchilvel Namban. Pachchur lay on the highway from the Hoysala capital of Dvarasamudram to the heart of the Chola country and is referred to in the Tiruvendipuram inscription (see my *Kopperunjinga*—Tamil, p. 88–89), which describes the release of the Chola king Rajaraja III from

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Sendamangalam, where the Later Pallava king Kopperunjinga had kept him in prison (thirteenth century A.D.). With the enfeeblement of the Chola authority, the Hoysalas who were connected by marriage with the Cholas, set up a southern capital at Samayavaram *alias* Kannanur Koppam, about 8 kms north of Srirangam, and thus Pachchil became an important place not only from the religious angle but from a strategy and military point of view as well. Srirangam and Tiruvanaikka on the one side and Tiruvellarai on the other have temples of hoary antiquity. Further down on the main road from Tiruchy to Lalgudy lies Peruvala-nallur where the great Pallava ruler Paramesvara-varman I gained a decisive victory over the Western Chalukya ruler Pulikesin II, who is said to have fled, after the defeat, with only a rag on his body (seventh century A.D.).

There are a number of miracles and local traditions relating to the temple here:

(*i*) Uma is said to have taken the form of a *hamsa* (swan) and worshipped the Lord to gain her Lord's favour. The Amman shrine is believed to be the site of her penance and the tank in its front and associated with her is called Annamam Poygai.

(*ii*) Brahma is said to have done penance here to regain his full powers of creation and the Lord is called Brahmapurisvarar.

(*iii*) Ayyadigal Kadavarkon (the Pallava king in the latter part of the sixth century A.D.) has a hymn on the Lord of Pachchil-tiru-achchiramam (*asramam*) in his *Kshetrak-kovai*.

(*iv*) Sambandar who has a hymn on the Lord of the temple, calls the Lord Mani-valar kandar (Manikanthesvarar). There is a miracle connected with him; at the time of his visit to this temple, the region in the neighbourhood was ruled by a local chief called Kolli-Malavan. The chief had a daughter, who was struck down with a fell disease called Muyalagan (akin to polio). The ailment defied treatment. So the chief brought the disabled daughter to the temple and sought divine grace. Just then Sambandar happened to visit the place; naturally he sought the intervention of Sambandar who sang a hymn praying for His divine grace; the daughter was restored to health.

(*v*) Sundarar of the later eighth and early ninth century A.D.

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(A.D. 820 is said to be his date of beatitude) has visited this place. In this hymn, he demands gold from the Lord in a challenging mood that if he did not give, others would. After getting the gold he questions its fineness and gets satisfaction from the Lord as to its quality. Hence the deity is called Marrari-varada-Isvarar.

(*vi*) There is a local legend connecting an episode during the time of his visit. It is said that there was a Chetty, Kamalan by name. He was a devotee of the Lord. He was issueless. One day on his return after worship of the Lord, he found a female child. His wife was delighted to have this divine gift. Amalai, as she was called, grew to marriageable age. She was keen on winning the hand of the Lord of the temple. The father was desirous of giving her away in marriage to his brother-in-law. So the latter was told to go to Kasi for worship and on his return the wedding would be celebrated; so he went. After some months, Siva appeared in the guise of the brother-in-law of Kamalan and in the company of Sundaramurti, went to Kamalan's house and demanded his bride. The wedding was celebrated. The newly wedded couple went to the temple for worship. Then suddenly appeared the real brother-in-law, the Kasi-pilgrim. Everyone was puzzled and worried. Siva and Amalai hurried past. Amalai threw her anklet in front of them. So there ran a rivulet called the Panguṇi or Silambur *nadi* now flowing north of the temple. The worried parents and their followers became dazed when they witnessed Siva and Uma on the back of their mount Rishabha disappearing into their 'abode'. This legend has an echo in the Vaishnavite legend of Andal in divine love with Sriranganathar. Even now the seventh day of the *Brahmotsavam* (the great festival) is celebrated as the day of the divine wedding.

The *sthala-vriksha* is Sami or Vanni tree; hence the name of the place is *Samivana-kshetram*.

The temple faces east. There are two *prakaras* excluding the car streets round the *madil* of the second *prakara*. The outer gateway (*gopuram*) in the second *prakara* has five storeys. The Amman temple of Balasundari or Balambikai is in the south-east corner of the second *prakara*. The legends of the incarnation of Uma devi and the sacred tank called Annamam Poygai are old.

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Appar refers, in his hymn of *Tiru-Nagaik-karonam* (*Tiruttandagam*, stanza 4) to the Annamam Poygai at (Pachchil) Asramam; but the present structure of the shrine of the goddess is a construction of the Later Chola period. It is an *eka tala* structure with a *garbha-griha* and an *ardhamandapa*. On the outer walls of the shrine there are, in the *devakoshtas*, sculptures of Vaishnavi, Brahmi, Mahesvari, Chamundesvari and Indrani (?). On the northern side of the second *prakara* close to the inner wall of enclosure, is a shrine dedicated to *Sahasralinga* (a *Linga* with a thousand dimunitive *Lingas* around). The inner *gopuram* at the entrance to the first *prakara* has three storeys, in consonance with its ancient character. The later adornment during renovations would relate only to the stucco work of the sculptures.

The man shrine consists of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa* and the *snapana-mandapa* whose entrance is guarded by *dvara-palas*. It is this gateway that is associated with the place where Sundarar got his gift of gold from the Lord. The *garbhagriha* rests on a high *upapitham* (62 cms) and an *adhishthana* (4.35 ms) anticipating the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur. It is an *eka-tala* structure surmounted by a round *sikhara*. On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are five *devakoshtas* housing Ganapati and Dakshinamurti in the south, Ardhanarisvarar in the west and Brahma and Durga in the north. There is a bronze Bhogasakti kept in the *garbhagriha*.

There are subshrines of Ganapati in the south-west and Subrahmanyar in the west. The original sculptures of Subrahmanyar and Vishnu are in the verandah of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*; there is also a sculpture of Somaskanda. The image of Lakshmi in the western subshrine is modern replacing Jyeshtha devi now kept on the platform in the south. A bronze of Nataraja dancing on a snake is kept in this *mandapa*. Bronzes of Sambandar and Sundaramurti deserve mention. On the southern platform of the *tiruch-churru-maligai*, there are sculptures of the Saptamatrikas, Ayyanar, and Jyesthadevi displaced from her subshrine by the later Lakshmi. A *Linga* named Rajaraja-vitankan is said to have been installed in the days of Rajaraja I (Pls 376 to 382).

The Epigraphical Department have so far copied only one

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inscription of the twenty-ninth year of the Hoysala Vira Somesvara; ARE 34 of 1891). I understand that there are uncopied inscriptions of Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Rajadhiraja I, Rajendra II, Kulottunga I, Kulottunga II and Rajaraja III; also inscriptions of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and of the Hoysala Vira Somesvara (thirteenth century A.D.) are found in the temple; but as the temple was undergoing renovation and the inscribed walls were unapproachable during my two visits, they could not be verified on the spot. It is hoped that this work will not be further delayed so that whatever is left without damage or destruction can be salvaged before it is too late. At my request, the Epigraphical Department has since copied some of the inscriptions of this temple. The *ardhamandapa* is named the Parantaka *mandapam,* and the *mahamandapa* in its front is called the Uttamasolan *tirumandapam.*

The temple has existed at least from the days of Ayyadigal Kadavarkon (the latter half of the sixth century A.D.). The installation of Ardhanarisvarar in the western *devakoshta* gives us the clue that the temple was built of stone in the days of Aditya I. The temple of Pachchil-Asrama-Mahadevar is one of great celebrity in the Tamil land.

TIRUVANAIKKA(VAL) (JAMBUKESVARAM)

100 JAMBUKESVARAR TEMPLE

In the island formed by the Kaveri and the Kollidam which, after separating from each other rejoin for a short distance, only to separate again, there are two famous temples, one dedicated to Siva at Tiruvanaikka or Jambukesvaram and the other dedicated to Vishnu at Srirangam. The temple at Jambukesvaram is one of the most celebrated Siva temples in the Tamil land. The term Tiru-Anaikka would mean "the forest (wood-land) of the elephant".

The *Linga* was a *svayambhu,* under the white *naval* tree (*Engenia Jambolana*) and the Lord came to be named Jambukesvarar; this *Linga* is believed to represent the element of water (*Appu*

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Linga). In fact, there is a water spring under the *Linga*. It is said that a saint Jambumuni ate a *jambu* fruit and its seed burst forth into a *jambu* tree. And the Lord answered his prayers and blessed him and there stood the *Svayambhu Linga* before him.

The temple is sung by the three Nayanmars, Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar.

Tradition has it that a four-tusked white elephant lived near the Chandra-tirtha under the shade of a *naval* (*jambu*) tree and adored the *Linga* and gained salvation. The tradition goes on to say that the elephant bathed the *Linga* with water carried in its trunk, and adorned it with flowers and offered worship to it. At the same time, a spider, a fellow devotee, practised its own mode of worship of the Lord by weaving a web over the *Linga* to prevent dry leaves from falling on the deity. The elephant smelling some outside interference with his worship destroyed the web. The spider felt offended with this outrage on its freedom of worship, entered into the trunk of the elephant and stung it so as to cause it mortal pain. Unable to bear the pain, the elephant dashed itself to death and with it the spider also died. The devotion of the spider was rewarded in its next birth by its being raised to be a member of the Chola royal family. He was the famous Koch-chenganan or Kochengat-Cholan, a king of the Cholas of the later Sangam age.

Sekkilar in his *Tiruttondar Puranam* (*Periya Puranam*) devotes a chapter to him and after describing this legend mentions that in the ancient Chola line of the Sangam age, there was a scion of the house called Subadeva; he and his queen Kamalavati were issueless; they worshipped the Lord of Tillai* (Chidambaram) and prayed for a child to perpetuate the royal line of the solar race, whose eminent ancestor Sibi cut off and gave away his own flesh of equal weight to save a dove who sought his refuge. According to legends, the birth of the child was unnaturally delayed to await the auspicious hour, with the result that the child had blood-shot eyes; hence his name Sengannan (the

*Apart from Sekkilar's reference, it is doubtful if Tillai was an important Saivite centre in the Sangam age.

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red-eyed). The mother is said to have collapsed soon after the birth of the child. The child rose to be a great king and a matchless warrior. After he was crowned king, he won many victories. The then Chera king with a number of allies fought against his feudatory called Palaiyan and killed him. Then Kochchenganan waged war against the Chera king Kanaikkal Irumporai and gained a great victory at Kalumalam; the Chera king was taken prisoner but he was released at the intervention of the Tamil poet called Poygaiyar who sang the victor's glory in his collection of songs, *Kalavali Forty*. This eulogy is found mentioned in the later Tamil works, the *Kalingattuparani* of Jayangondar and the *Vikrama Cholan Ula* of Ottakkuttar. Senganan won other victories at Venni (Koil-Venni) and Alundai (Tiruvalundur) in the present-day Tanjavur district in Tamil Nadu.

Senganan was not only a matchless warrior, but also a devoted follower of Saivism; According to Sekkilar, he is said to have built many Siva temples all over the Tamil land and many mansions to the Tillai Three Thousand. The Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai of the eighth century states in his hymns that he built seventy *madakkoyil* for Siva.

Senganan is said to have had a vision of his devotion to the Lord of Tiruvanaikka in his previous birth and he is credited with being the first builder of this temple of the Lord under the shade the Jambu tree. It should have been a small temple with a gateway inaccessible to an elephant—a rival devotee in his previous birth.

There is another legend that a Chola king of Uraiyur lost his necklace while having his bath in the Kaveri. On the spot he prayed that the Lord of Tiruvanaikka accept it as his gift. The necklace got into the pot of the Kaveri water meant for the bath of the Lord and the jewel fell on the Lord during his bath the next day. The miracle is mentioned both by Sundarar in his *Devaram* and by Sekkilar in his *Periya Puranam*.

There are more than 131 inscriptions connected with this temple; almost all of them belong to the Later Cholas (Kulottunga III, Rajaraja III and Rajendra III), the Pandyas of the Second Empire, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara emperors and their viceroys.

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A fragment of an inscription of Parantaka I (Madirai-konda Parakesari) is found embedded in the pavement of the inner *prakara* of the temple.

The earliest temple of Kochchenganan's time should have been rebuilt in the days of Aditya I whose temple building activities are extolled in the Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola.

There are no records available about the Cholas of the Middle period. Most of the early records should have been unwittingly destroyed during the course of the renovation of the central shrine in the nineteenth century A.D.

From an inscription in the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai, we come to know that Rajakesari-varman Vira Rajendra had a palace here and issued certain gifts while seated on the throne called *Abhimanaraman* (ARE 462 of 1908).

We are fortunate enough to have a few of the most ancient sculptures of Aditya I's age still preserved for us here. Among them may be mentioned Kshetrapalar (south *devakoshta*), Brahma (north *devakoshta*) and Ardhanarisvarar (east-rear-*devakoshta*). The installation of Ardhanarisvarar seems to me to clinch the dating of this earlier main shrine to the age of Aditya I. Mention may also be made of some sculptures of the old *griva*—Subrahmanyar, Uma-Mahesvarar and Dakshinamurti, now kept in the thousand pillared *mandapa* of the temple (Pls 383 to 389).

Kali and Nisumbasundani stone sculptures and the bronze images of Bhikshatanar, Kankalamurti, Sambandar, Manikkavasagar and Virabhadrar may belong to the Early and Middle Chola period. The exquisite architectural beauty of this temple is eulogised by Fergusson (*Early Chola Temples*, p. xiv of Introduction).

The Sastras prescribe only five *prakaras* for a temple and this temple is an eminent instance to exemplify this feature. The Ranganathasvamin temple in Srirangam is, however, an exception with seven *prakaras*. The fifth *madil* (wall of enclosure of Tiruvanaikka), called the Tirunir-ittar *madil,* built with the sacred ashes (*tiru-niru*) as wages was perhaps built by Sundara Pandya of Madurai in the thirteenth-fourteenth century A.D.;

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but there is no evidence of its existence in the days of Appar as claimed by a scholar* (see ARE 77 of 1937–38: *vibhuti-prakara*– the gift of Tirunirru Sundara Pandyan). This *madil* is being renovated now.

Akhilandesvari Shrine

In the campus of the Siva temple, there is a shrine for the consort, Akhilandesvari; this should be ascribed to the Later Chola age. It is presently an enlarged structure in stone. This deity was originally a form of Kali to whom perhaps even human sacrifices were offered. Sankara (eighth century A.D.), as in the Kamakshi temple at Kanchi, checked Kali's ferocity by installing a *Sri-chakra* in the temple and adorning her ear ornaments with the *tatanka* (with an inset of *Sri-chakra*). Thus she became a beneficent goddess bestowing blessings and prosperity on her devotees.

(C) PARANTAKA I

PALUR (PALUVUR)

SUNDARESVARAR (NAKKAN PARAMESVARAR) TEMPLE 101

Palur is a village in Tiruchy taluk of the same district. About 800 metres short of Allur on the Tiruchy-Karur road, a *katcha* road branches off to the south to reach an *agraharam* at the north-eastern corner of which a Siva temple in ruins is to be found. This is an Early Chola temple, now called that of Sundaresvarar; according to the inscriptions on its walls the name of the deity was Nakkan Paramesvarar; and Palur itself was called Paluvur, presumably reflecting the fact that the *stala-vriksha* of the place was the banyan tree.

There are fourteen inscriptions on the walls of this temple. One is of the fortieth year of Parantaka I, eight are of a certain

*Tiruvanaikka Mahakumbhabhishekam Number, dated 5–7–1970, p. 233, and the classified list of inscriptions relating to this temple by R. Nagaswamy.

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Rajakesarivarman, ranging in years from the third to the tenth, and three of a Parakesarivarman, all of the third regnal year. None of these unspecified inscriptions contains sufficient data to enable us to ascribe any of them to any particular ruler. On the north wall of the central shrine of this temple, there are two inscriptions of the fifth year of a Rajakesarivarman (ARE 346 and 348 of 1918). They record gifts of land for offerings by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Parantakan Virasolan to the Paramesvarar at Tiruppaluvur in Vilattur nadu. In a note† below we consider the various benefactions of this Chief, who was a Chola

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†*Note on the benefactions of Mahimalaya Irukkuvel*

Mahimalaya Irukkuvel was a powerful Kodumbalur Chieftain and Chola feudatory who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D. How he was related to the line of Irukkuvels of the time of Bhuti Vikramakesari of the Muvarkoyil inscription of the second half of the same century, we have no knowing. He himself built temples and made rich gifts to them and to other temples. We collect below the facts available about such benefactions, during the reigns of Parantaka I and Gandaraditya.

Period of Parantaka I

(1) **Kodumbalur, Muchukundesvarar (Mudukunram udaiyar) temple**

Unpublished inscription of the fourteenth year of the king (A.D. 921): see the *Manual of the Pudukkottai State,* Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 1035). Temple of Mudukunram udaiyar built by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Parantaka Virasolan (also known as Kunjaramallan).

(2) **Palur, Sundaresvarar (Nakkan Paramesvarar) temple**

ARE 353 of 1918 of the fortieth year of the king (A.D. 947). A gift of gold for a lamp to the temple by Adittan Karrali Piratti, one of the queens of Parantaka I. The authorship of the temple is not known, since the record is not a foundation inscription and only records a gift.

Period of Gandaraditya

(1) **Kudumiyamalai, Melaikkoyil (rock-cut temple)**

Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, Text, no. 22, third year of the king. Gift of 32 cows for the supply of milk during three services to the deity by a relative of Udaiyar Mahimalaya Irukkuvel.

(2) **Sittur, Agnisvarar temple**

Ibid., no. 24, 4th year of the king (damaged record). Grant of three *velis* of land for food offerings and of a *veli* and a half to the drummers who played at the time of the *sri-bali* service to the Paramesvarar of Agnisvaram by Parantakan Virasolan *alias* Mahimalaya Irukkuvel.

(3) **Allur, Panchanadisvarar temple**

ARE 366 of 1903, of the 5th year of the king (damaged). Gift of gold for a lamp by the son of Virasolan Ilangovelan (owing to gaps, meaning is not clear).

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feudatory during the reigns of Parantaka I and his son and successor Gandaraditya.

An inscription here of the thirty-ninth year of Kulottunga I mentions a gift of two villages, Paluvur *alias* Rajendrasola nallur and Enadimangalam *alias* Gangavadinallur, which were clubbed together into a *brahmadeyam* for the settlement of 108 *brahmanas*. As the name Ayirattali is mentioned in the inscription, the royal order was presumably issued from that secondary capital (ARE 350 of 1918).

The last inscription in the temple is of the 21st year of a Konerinmaikondan (ARE 351 of 1918: the king's name is not stated; this may be of a Pandya king). It mentions a land-gift as a *janmakkani* to the headman of Paluvur in Vila nadu, a subdivision of Rajagambhira valanadu.

The stone temple is now in ruins and without any superstructure. Stone sculptures of the *dvarapalas* and the *devakoshta* figures of Brahma and Vishnu lie loose on the ground. It must have been built during the time of Parantaka I, sometime before his fortieth regnal year, and was the recipient of gifts during the reigns of Parantaka I and his successors. The three unidentified Parakesarivarman inscriptions here may be assigned to Arinjaya who succeeded Gandaraditya. The temple and the existing sculptures deserve to be preserved. The state of the temple can be imagined from the fact that we ourselves had to get the shrub jungle cleared and set upright the fallen sculptures (Pls 390 to 392).

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(4) **Palur, Sundaresvarar temple**

(i) ARE 346 of 1918, of the fifth year of the king. Gift of land for offerings to the temple by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel *alias* Parantaka Virasolan.

(ii) ARE 348 of 1918, also of the fifth year. Gift for offerings to the same deity by the same Chief.

(5) **Nirppalani, Valarmatisvarar temple**

Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, Text, no. 30, fifth year of the king (wrongly ascribed to the tenth year). Gift of land as *iraiyili devadana*, for various services to this Lord by Mahimalaya Irukkuvel (while camping at Tirupparaitturai on the day of a lunar eclipse): a similar gift would presumably have been made to the Tirupparaitturai temple as well.

It was on the strength of the astronomical data (lunar eclipse) given in the Allur and Palur grants that the late A.S. Ramanatha Iyer, Government Epigraphist, fixed the 5th year of the Rajakesarivarman of the inscriptions as corresponding to A.D. 954 and identified him with Gandaraditya, placing his accession at A.D. 949–50. See the sections on Allur, Sittur, Nirppalani and Kodumbalur in my *Early Chola Temples*.

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TIRUCHCHENGODU

(i) ARDHANARISVARAR TEMPLE 102
(ii) SUBRAHMANYAR TEMPLES (ONE AT THE FOOT OF THE HILL AND ANOTHER ON THE HILL)
(iii) ADIKESAVA PERUMAL (VISHNU) TEMPLE, ON THE HILL

Tiruchchengodu (see *Early Chola Temples*, p. 254) is in the taluk of the same name in the Salem district in Tamil Nadu about 10 kms south of the railway station of Sankaridurgam on the Southern Railway.

During the Tamil Sangam age, Karur was the capital of the Cheras and they were the Lord of the Kolli-malai. Towards the close of the eighth century A.D., they shifted their capital to Mahodai (Cranganore or Musiri). The most famous Chera ruler and Tamil hymnist was Cheraman Perumal who ruled from Kodungolur (Cranganore) and who is credited with having reached Kailasa along with Sundaramurti (about A.D. 820). The region of modern Salem district and a part of Coimbatore was known as *Kongu desa*. Namakkal, in the Mala Kongu, was ruled by local chiefs called the Adigaimans. They are credited with the excavation of the Vishnu cave temples at Namakkal (about the eighth century A.D.). Thereupon the Cheras moved westward as far as the sea and northwards to Dharmapuri (ancient Tagadur). The region of Kollimalai and Tiruchchengodu—the southern Kongu—was ruled by local chiefs belonging to the Malavar clan.

The Tamil Saint Sambandar (seventh century A.D.) had visited Tiruchchengodu, which, in his days, was called Kodimadach-chengunrur and has sung a hymn on the presiding deity on this hill described as Siva in the aspect of Ardhanarisvarar. This hill is red in colour. Hence it is called Sengunru (Sengodu). It has bends like a snake, hence it is also called Nagari (Naga-giri). There is a spring at the foot of the Lord of Ardhanarisvarar in the sanctum on the hill top, wherefrom we can see the flowing Kaveri river. At the foot of the hill, there are tanks

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and channels with dams. Sambandar describes the place as one full of mansions. In his hymn, he describes the heroic deeds of Siva—the destruction of the Tripura Asuras, the subjugation of Ravana and the eradication of the heretical sects of the Buddhists and the Jains. Siva is black-throated; he stood as a pillar of fire defying the search of Brahma and Vishnu. He is said to have been worshipped by the Devas, the Siddhas and the Bhutas. At the time of Sambandar's visit, the place seems to have been a malarious tract. The local people prayed to him for relief. Sambandar sang a song in the name of Tiru-Nilakantham to rid the land of this scourge. The prayer was granted.

Kongu desa was ruled by a number of local chiefs called the Kongu desa Rajakkal who enjoyed a sort of political independence and they had a local legendary history of their own. This region was conquered by the Chola king Aditya I. He is credited with having gilded the Chitsabha of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram with the gold obtained from the Kongu conquest. The completion of the conquest of Kongu by his son and successor Parantaka I is attested by his three inscriptions (twentieth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-seventh year records) on the hill of Tiruchchengodu close to the steps of the Ardhanarisvarar temple.

Next in order, there are two copper plate grants of a certain Rajakesarivarman obtained from Tiruchchengodu (SII, III, 212 and 213). The earlier of these grants is one of fifth year of a Rajakesarivarman (213). This grant registers a gift of land by the local chief Kolli-malavan Orriyuran Piratigandavarman to the stone temple (*karrali*) of Tirumulasthana Paramesvarar of Tusiyur in his *nadu* (line 2, *ennattu*).

Among the boundaries of the gifted land are mentioned the tanks called *Sulai kulam*, also known as *Kandaleri*, *Tamaraikkulam* and *Karrali-eri* also named Pudukkulam and two dams called *Piruarru-anai* and *Kallodu-anai*.

This local chief of Tiruchchengodu, Kolli-Malavan Orriyuran Piradikandavarman, was a feudatory of the Chola king Rajakesarivarman. The editor of the grant identified this Rajakesarivarman with Rajaraja I and added that it was not possible to identify the places mentioned in the inscription.

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The other grant (212) consists of two parts 'A' and 'B' and is dated in the tenth year of a Rajakesarivarman. The person who makes the grant in these two parts is named Malaviraiyan Sundara Cholan in 'A' and Kolli-Malavan Piradigandan Sundara Cholan in 'B'. Both should refer only to one and the same chief.

In Part 'A' the chief defines the rate of tax to be collected from the *Nagaram* of Tusiyur—one fourth *kasu* on each full house site and one eighth on each half house site; and in case of default, the fine was to be at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram (Nandipura-marchati=*maryada*). Nandipuram should refer to the secondary Chola capital of Palaiyarai (see ARE 365, 367 and 374 of 1924 for other references of the Nandipuram standard).

In 'B', the same chief Sundara Chola makes a gift of a pit filled with water to the south-west of the boulder in favour of *Tirukkarrali-Paramesvarar* of Tusiyur to appease the thirst (*Sri Ma-dahattukku*) of his deceased father who had been killed in a battle during the war of the Cholas with the Ceylonese. And Sundara Chola's father is evidently the same chief as the donor of the grant 213. Kolli-Malavan Orriyuran Piradigandavarman should have fought in Sri Lanka on behalf of his Chola overlord and been killed there in battle. It may be recalled that another Chola feudatory called Siriya Velan of Kodumbalur is also said to have died in a battle-field in Sri Lanka in the ninth year of Ponmaligai Tunjina Devar, namely Sundara Chola (see ARE 302, 299 and 291 of 1908, and 116 of 1896; SII III, B, 980, "*Ilattuppatta Kodumbalur Velan Siriya Velan magan Velan Sundara Solan*".) The conjectural year three is a mistake for nine. Both the Chola feudatories of Tiruchchengodu and Kodumbalur must have died in the same battle in Sri Lanka in the ninth year of Sundara Chola. The editor of the grant also stated that it was not possible to identify the places mentioned in the inscriptions (SII, III, pp. 478 and 476).

At this stage, let us consider three inscriptions from the Kasi-Visvanathar temple in the neighbouring village of Bommasamudram:

(i) ARE 294 of 1965–66—fragmentary—in tenth century

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characters. It records a gift of land for a perpetual lamp to the Mahadevar of Tiru-Mulasthanam of Tusiyur.

(ii) ARE 293 of 1965–66—a fragment—in Amman shrine. It mentions a gift of a lamp in the days of Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola.

(iii) ARE 293 of 1965–66—a fragment. It mentions a gift to the Mahadevar of Tusiyur in the seventeenth regnal year of Arinjigai Pirantakan *alias* Rajakesarivarman.

All these fragmentary inscriptions whose slabs have been imbedded into the newly built Siva and Amman shrines of the Kasi-Visvanathar temple should refer only to gifts in the days of Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola, son of Arinjigai, and the Mahadevar of Tusiyur mentioned therein should refer only to Ardhanarisvarar on the hill of Tiruchchengodu. Rightly the Government Epigraphist has corrected the earlier identification of Rajakesarivarman with Rajaraja I into Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola *alias* Parantaka II, son of Arinjigai (Arinjaya).

I should like to make some further clarifications. The Chola inscriptions on the hill of Tiruchchengodu and the two copper plate grants of Rajakesarivarman and the fragmentary inscriptions of Bommasamudram refer to gifts to the Lord of Ardhanarisvarar (Mahadevar of Tiru-Mulasthana Udaiyar) at Tusiyur.

Tusiyur is called a *nagaram*, a settlement of a merchant guild, a part of the larger city of ancient Tiruchchengodu (Kodimada-Sengunrur). In addition to the *nagarattar* of Tusiyur, there was another self-governing local body, the *sabha* which is mentioned in an inscription of the twenty-seventh regnal year of Parantaka I (ARE 640 of 1905). The existence and functioning of two such local bodies side by side will be evident from the inscriptions of Tiruvidaimarudur which mention the *sabha* of Tiraimur and the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil (*Early Chola Art, Pt. I,* p. 175) which functioned simultaneously as two distinct bodies, and together when faced with problems affecting their common interests.

A place called Tusur is mentioned on a rock near the road to Palapatti close to Tiruchchengodu (ARE 296 of 1965–66) and this may be the modern relic of the celebrated and flourishing

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nagaram city of Tusiyur whose members had made many benefactions to the Lord Ardhanarisvarar on the hill.

As the two copper plate grants discussed above hail from Tiruchchengodu, it should have been the headquarters of the two Malavar chiefs—Kolli Malavan Orriyuran Piradigandavarman and his son Kolli Malavan Piradigandan Sundara Cholan, both of whom belonged to the Malavar clan famous since the days of the Chera kings of the Tamil Sangam period. Both of them were Chola feudatories of Sundara Chola. The father died in a battle in Sri Lanka about the ninth regnal year of his overlord Sundara Chola, and the son made a grant to the Lord of Tiruchchengodu for the spiritual salvation of his father.

The region of Kolli Malai continued to remain with, and was ruled by, Uttama Chola, the successor of Sundara Chola. This is evident from an inscription of the sixteenth regnal year of Parakesarivarman Uttama Chola in the Arapallisvarar temple on the Kolli Malai (ARE 503 of 1929–30; also *Early Chola Temples*, p. 158, note 1). It records a gift of the king's mother Sembiyan Mahadevi to this temple.

There are three inscriptions at Tiruchchengodu of the fourteenth (ARE 642 of 1905), twenty-third (643 of 1905) and twenty-ninth years (669 and 670 of 1905) of the reign of Rajendra I.

CHAKRAPALLI
(Suburb of Ayyampettai)

CHAKRAVAKESVARAR TEMPLE 103

Chakrapalli which is an eastern suburb of the small town of Ayyampettai on the southern bank of the Kodamurutti, is about 27 kms in a westerly direction from Kumbakonam. It can be reached from Tiruvaiyaru by travelling 9 kms eastwards along the northern bank of the Kaveri and then crossing the Kaveri and Kodamurutti in a southerly direction.

The temple faces east and has a high brick wall of enclosure.

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It consists of the *garbhagriha,* the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa.* The *garbhagriha* is a square 4.75 ms to a side and the *ardhamandapa,* which is supported inside by two round pillars projects 3.35 ms eastwards. The *mukhamandapa* is 8.95 ms across the axis of the temple and 15.21 ms along it. It is supported by eight pillars and eight pilasters.

The *devakoshta* images in the clockwise order are: Ganapati on the *ardhamandapa* wall, Dakshinamurti in the *garbhagriha* south wall, Lingodbhavar in the rear (western) *devakoshta,* Brahma, in the northern side and Durga on the north *ardhamandapa* wall.

The *adhishthanam* of the *garbhagriha* consists of the *jagatippadai,* the *tri-patta kumudappadai* and the *varimanam.* The *sikhara* over the *garbhagriha* is circular as also the *griva;* the *srivimana* is a *dvi-tala* structure (Pls 393 to 397).

A very fine torso of Surya was found half-buried in the northern *prakara* during our visit and the temple authorities have been requested to take care of it, in view of the association of the temple with the shrine of Surya, as given out in the inscription of Rajaraja I (Pl 396).

There are two very fine and large-sized *dvarapalas* in the *ardhamandapa* typical of the decades preceding the accession of Rajaraja I.

Two inscriptions have been recorded by the Archaeological Department from this temple. One, found on the south wall and tiers of the central shrine, is dated in the third regnal year of a Rajakesarivarman, to be identified with Rajaraja I and records the sale of land, made tax free, to the deity of Surya Devar for whom a shrine was built in Chakkarappalli by Adittan Suryan *alias* Sembiyan of Vettakkudi, the *kilavan* of Poygai nadu by the *sabhaiyar* of *Agalimangalam,* evidently the ancient name of Ayyampettai in Kilar kurram. The epigraph further clarifies that the lands thus endowed by this donor had been rendered fallow by breaches occurring in the embankment of the river Kaveri to the west of the temple at Tiruchchakkarappalli in the fifth regnal year of a king described as Rajakesari who died in the golden palace (*pon-maligai tunjina Ko-Rajakesari*)

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(ARE 308 of 1965–66). He is none other than Sundara Chola Parantaka II, the father of Rajaraja I and Kundavai. Thus the central temple must have been in existence even in A.D. 961, corresponding to the fifth year of that ruler. To the proper right of the above inscription is an epigraph of the eighth regnal year of Rajendra I (ARE 309 of 1965–66) which records the exemption from taxes of several pieces of land belonging to God *Mahadevar* of Tiruchchakkarappalli receiving money in lieu thereof from the temple itself by the *sabhaiyar* of Agalimangalam, which is described as a *brahmadeyam* in Kilar kurram in Nityavinoda valanadu. It is mentioned in the inscription that the *sabhaiyar* met in front of the Ganapatiyar shrine in the temple (ARE 309 of 1965–66). On the basis of these two inscriptions and his reading of them, the Government Epigraphist has come to the following conclusion:

"... a temple for Surya devar was raised in Tiruchakkarappalli by Adittan Suryan *alias* Sembiyan of Vettakkudi, the *kilavan* of Poygai nadu, in the reign of Rajakesarivarman who was evidently Rajaraja Chola I. The builder of this Surya shrine is well known as Tennavan Muvendavelan and he became the *sri karyam* officer of the Rajarajesvaram temple at Tanjavur later in the reign of Rajaraja I and continued so till the early years of the reign of Rajendra I (SII, II, p. 39). The present inscription does not endow him with the title of Tennavan Muvendavelan, whereas we find him bearing it in an inscription of the ninth year of Rajaraja I (SII, V, 611). So it may be surmised that this inscription which is damaged could be placed earlier than the ninth year of the king's reign.... It is a very interesting fact that this inscription records the construction of a shrine for the Sun God even early in the reign of Rajaraja I." The Government Epigraphist goes on to note: "It has been so far held that the first temple dedicated to Surya was built during the time of Kulottunga I.... (SII, II, p.39). Though instances of the setting up of the images of Surya were known in the later years of the reign of Rajaraja I and later, this is the earliest reference to a temple dedicated to Surya. It may be observed here that at present there is no Surya image in the temple nor is the actual location

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of the Surya devar temple in Tiruchchakkarappalli indicated in the record" (ARE for 1965–66, pp. 7,8).

From the description of the temple, it is clear that the main deity of the temple, now called that of Chakravakesvarar is in the form of a *Linga* and thus the central shrine could not have been dedicated to Surya. In fact the second inscription quoted above refers to the deity as the *Mahadevar* of Chakkarappalli. So the deity of the main shrine is Siva. Adittan Suryan consecrated a Surya deity only in a sub-shrine for one of the *ashtaparivara devatas*, along with the ones for Ganapati and Chandesvarar. It is not correct to say that there is no trace of the Surya shrine in the village. In fact, during our visit we discovered the beautifully carved torso of the image of Surya lying half-buried in the northern courtyard of the temple (Pl 396).

The temple seems to belong to the days of Parantaka I. The last year of Parantaka I is A.D. 955 and the temple was definitely in existence by A.D. 961, on the basis of the inscription. The temple received the attention of Tennavan Muvendavelan, a senior member of the royal court of Rajaraja I. He was evidently a worshipper of Surya as his name implies and he set up Surya images in some temples and in addition also set up a shrine for Surya in the temple of the Mahadevar of Tiruchchakkarappalli. A similar shrine for Surya was built in the fourth year of Rajendra I in the Svarnapurisvarar temple at Alagadriputtur (ARE 289 of 1908; also see sec. 4 under Chapter 2). Thus the unique position of the temple at Suryanarkoyil exclusively dedicated to Surya with the other planetary deities occupying subsidiary shrines surrounding the *garbhagriha* where the Surya image is enshrined, stands.

Sambandar has sung a hymn on the Lord of Chakrappalli. The redactors of the *Devaram* call the Lord Chakkaravakesvarar and Pasupati-nayakar. It is a place surrounded by fertile fields watered by the Kaveri. The place should have once been dominated by Jainas as suggested by the suffix *palli*. It was a colony of Vedic scholars *(nan-maraiyalar)* and the local inscription calls the place *Agalimangalam*. Sambandar's hymn refers to *Valanagar Chakkarappalli*. So there was a settlement of the mercantile community.

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The Lord is supposed to have been worshipped by Surya, and on the full moon day in the month of *Panguni,* the rays of the Sun fall on the Lingam; on that day a festival is celebrated. The Lord is said to have been worshipped by Vishnu for getting the gift of his *chakra*. The mythical bird Chakravaka gained its salvation here. Hence the name of Chakravakesvarar for the deity here. Like Tiruvaiyaru, it is the centre of another group of seven temples with a common festival—another *sapta-sthana* group to which the neighbouring temple of Pullamangai belongs.

In the days of Sambandar, this temple should have been only a brick structure. There is no foundation inscription to establish when it was re-built of stone. Of the two inscriptions on the walls of this temple, the earlier is that of the third year of Rajaraja I, and it mentions only the construction of the shrine of Surya; but it reveals the existence of this temple even in the fifth year of Sundara Chola. How much earlier, we have to guess.

In the western *devakoshta* of the central shrine there is the image of Lingodbhavar. Hence it seems reasonable to assume that the temple should have been reconstructed of stone during the reign of Parantaka I (tenth century A.D.).

Agalimangalam seems to be the ancient name of Ayyampettai. *Ayyan* was the pet name of Govinda Dikshitar, the celebrated minister of the Nayak rulers Achyutappa and Ragunatha of Tanjavur (later part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century A.D.). He was a great statesman and philanthropist. Many places like *Ayyan-teru, Ayyan-kadai* were created and named after him. Ayyan-pettai seems meant to perpetuate his association and memory.

(D) UTTAMA CHOLA

TENNERI

KANDALISVARAR (UTTAMA CHOLISVARAM) TEMPLE 104

Four miles (6.5 kms) to the north of Walajabad on the

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Walajabad-Sriperumbudur road and about 22½ kms (14 miles) from Kanchipuram *via* Walajabad is the small village of Tenneri, of ancient origin deriving its name from the huge lake on whose bund it is situated, said to have been excavated by the Sangam ruler Tiraiyan. *Tiraiyan-eri* in course of time has become Tenneri. There are two temples in this village, one which is inside the village itself known as that of Apatsahayesvarar and the other about 200 metres (a furlong) off the village set in the midst of fields and shrub jungle and in a state of utter neglect, known locally as the Kandalisvarar temple.

We are concerned with the latter. There are five inscriptions on its *adhishthanam*, four of them relating to the period of Rajaraja I and the remaining one to that of Vira Rajendra (ARE 198 to 202 of 1901). The earliest is found on the south wall of the temple and belongs to the eleventh year of Rajaraja I; it mentions the name of Madhurantaka devar *alias* Uttama Chola devar and the gift of a number of ritual vessels in copper for offerings and various services in the central shrine of the Uttamasolisvaram temple; the relevant portion of the inscription reads as follows:

> *"... Korajarajakesari panmarkku yandu 11-avadu Urrukkattuk-kottattut-tan-kurrattu Sri Uttama Cholisvarattu Alvar Gandaraditta devar Pirattiyar Uttama Cholanai tiru vayirril vaittu aruliya Pirantakan Madeviyar Sembiyan Madeviyar ana Udaiya Pirattiyar... Urrukkattuk-kottattut-tan-kurrattu Uttamachola chaturvedimangalattu.."*

From these we get to know that this temple should have come into existence in or before the tenth regnal year of Rajaraja I and must have been dedicated to the memory of Uttama Chola, the son of Sembiyan Mahadevi, the queen of Gandaraditya and the place also was christened Uttama-Chola chaturvedimangalam. This temple is thus one of the many temples raised by Sembiyan Mahadevi.

The temple faces east; it consists of a *garbhagriha* (5.09 ms by 5.77 ms) and an *ardhamandapa* (8.40 ms by 11.05 ms). The *garbhagriha* stands on an *adhishthana* measuring 80 cms in height. The superstructure of the *srivimana* is of brick and chunam and is overgrown with trees. On the three walls of the *garbhagriha*

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there are excellent sculptures of Dakshinamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north. The *garbhagriha* has a *Lingam* measuring 1.40 ms in height. There are two majestic *dvarapalas* kept on the ground at the flanks of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa;* they measure 1.80 ms in height and 50 cms in width. The *ardhamandapa* has three niches on each side (north and south) though only one houses a sculpture of Durga; the other five are empty (Pls 398 to 405).

The temple is a piece of beauty, overwhelmed by the cruel hand of neglect and overgrown with trees. Immediate steps should be taken for its protection and preservation.*

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*K.V. Soundararajan (*Indian Temple Styles*) assigns the following dates for the Early Chola Temples but the dating is not supported by evidence:
Tirukkattalai: A.D. 960 (See my *Early Chola Art* I—pp.89–91)
Kilaiyur: A.D. 900 (See my *Early Chola Art* I—pp. 107–111)
Kodumbalur:
(a) Aivar Koyil : A.D. 810
(b) Muvar Koyil : A.D. 880
(See my *Early Chola Temples*—pp. 24–29 and pp. 108–137).

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8

Conclusion

It is one of the rare patterns of history that five emperors in succession were men of such grand stature; they vied with one another in their deeds of valour and the battles fought, in the temples built and the bronzes they cast; it seems as if the Divine Dispenser chose this kingdom and this dynasty for the bestowal of all that was good and great.

The kings of this period reversed the hitherto traditional course of history; till then, invasions generally flowed from the north to the south; Rajendra I in inheriting a vast empire from his father not only consolidated his hereditary dominion but also extended his conquests to the north as far as the Ganga basin and in the east to Kadaram and Srivijaya beyond the seas. And where their empire expanded, culture and art followed. The largest share of the credit, however, would go to Rajaraja I for having ushered in the golden era in art, culture and civil and military administration. The three sons of Rajendra I were great heroes who spent most of their lives in wars with the powers in the north and the south. In fact, there is no other instance of such a succession of heroes who displayed such great valour as the Chola kings of the Middle period. Some of them laid down their lives in defending the frontiers of their empire. They were giants who knew no defeat, who took the lands they cast their eyes on and surrendered not the lands they took, and laid such strong foundations of the empire that it stood unshaken amidst all the turbulences of the times for another two hundred years.

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Among them they raised an empire with hardly a parallel in history. Here were not just *one* but *five* Iron Dukes*. It is difficult to say who among them was the greatest.

Their examples of valour, the pattern of local and central governmental machinery and their methods of revenue administration are a great legacy. But their noblest memorials are their art treasures—temples, sculptures and paintings, imperishable treasures bequeathed to posterity.

During their age, the Chola Sun (the Cholas belonged to the Solar race) rose to its meridian resplendancy. The period of Rajaraja I and his successors marks the heyday of Chola imperialism—of the benevolent type—and the most glorious period in the history of South India. And when the direct descendant of this house died, the Chola throne passed on to Kulottunga I, the grandson of the illustrious Gangaikonda Chola, who united the two royal houses of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Cholas of the Vijayalaya line. From now on, we pass on to yet another bright period of Chola rule from A.D. 1070 to the time the Chola Sun set in A.D. 1280.

In the fourteenth century, the Chola mantle fell upon the Vijayanagara rulers who carried on a struggle for about three centuries for the preservation of the political independence and religious freedom of the people of South India.

As warriors, Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola, Kulottunga III and even Rajendra III were equally great and the last of this heroic galaxy made a valiant struggle to save the empire, but it was not to be.

Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola were great temple-builders. The *ratha-vimana* (terk-koyil) built in the reign of Kulottunga I marked the beginning of a new style in Chola architecture. This feature was transferred from the *srivimana* to the *mandapa* on wheels drawn by horses and elephants—a feature which became common throughout the Later Chola period. And this was copied by later dynasties in other regions—Kalinga and Vijayanagara.

The workship of the Sun God acquired special emphasis in

*The Duke of Wellington (the Iron Duke).

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this period and the only independent temple for the deity in South India was established.

The Tiruk-kamak-kottam, a large, independent temple for Amman, the consort, came to be built outside the central shrine all over the Tamil land. Three or more (usually about five) *prakaras* surrounded by *madils* rose all over, and large temple-cities like Chidambaram, Tiruvarur, Tiruvanaikka and Srirangam were formed, and in the middle of these outer walls of enclosure, tall *gopurams* with seven storeys dwarfing even the *srivimanam,* were built, first at Chidambaram and later in other places. It was again during this period that the hundred and the thousand pillared halls were constructed. Kulottunga II spent the whole of his reign in enriching the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram, the Thyagaraja temple at Tiruvarur and other celebrated Siva temples in the Chola country. On the model of Rajarajesvaram of Tanjavur, Rajaraja II built the Airavatesvarar temple at Darasuram and Kulottunga III the Kampaharesvarar temple at Tribhuvanam. The last two are the most impressive of the Later Chola temples. Even during the period of their decline, temple-building activity continued unabated, though these temples were humbler in comparison.

The large number of Chola temples spread over the different parts of South India are perhaps the richest legacy we have inherited from the Cholas. They enshrine our art, religion and ethos and will, as they have done over the centuries past, continue to inspire generations yet unborn.

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Map, Plans, Sketches and Illustrations

A

Map : Chola Empire in the Middle Chola Period (A.D. 985–1070)

Plans :
(i) Tanjavur, Rajarajesvaram, ground plan
(ii) Gangaikondasolapuram, Gangaikondasolisvaram, plan
(iii) Tiruvorriyur, Adipurisvarar temple, ground plan

Sketches :
(i) Gangaikondasolapuram, Gangaikondasolisvaram, Disposition of the Vimana-devatas
(ii) Adhishthanams of selected Middle Chola temples

B

Illustrations (Black and white)
(a) Middle Chola temples (A.D. 985-1070): Pls. 1 to 354
(b) Supplement to Early Chola temples (A.D. 850–985) : Pls. 355 to 410

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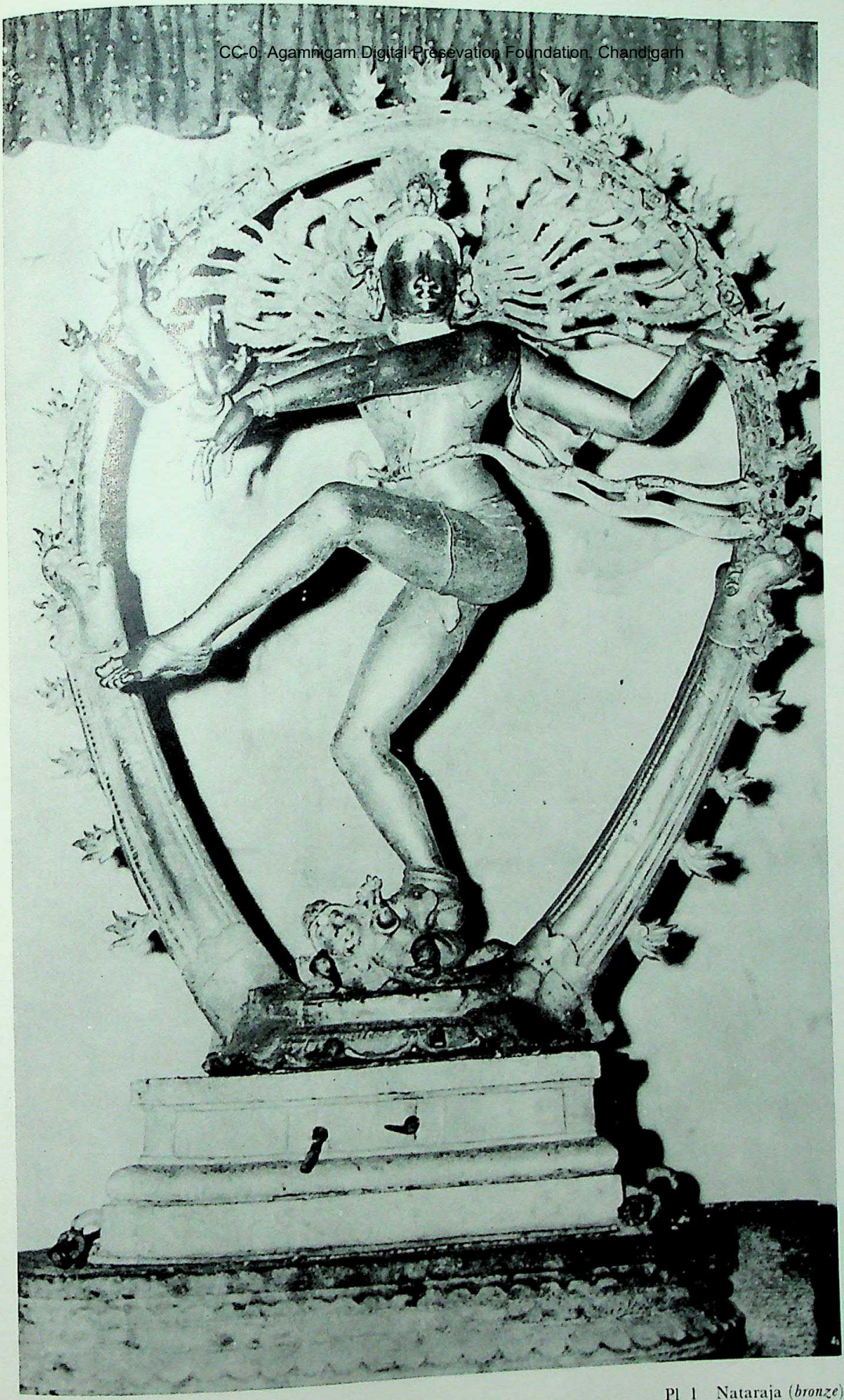

Pl 1 Nataraja (*bronze*)

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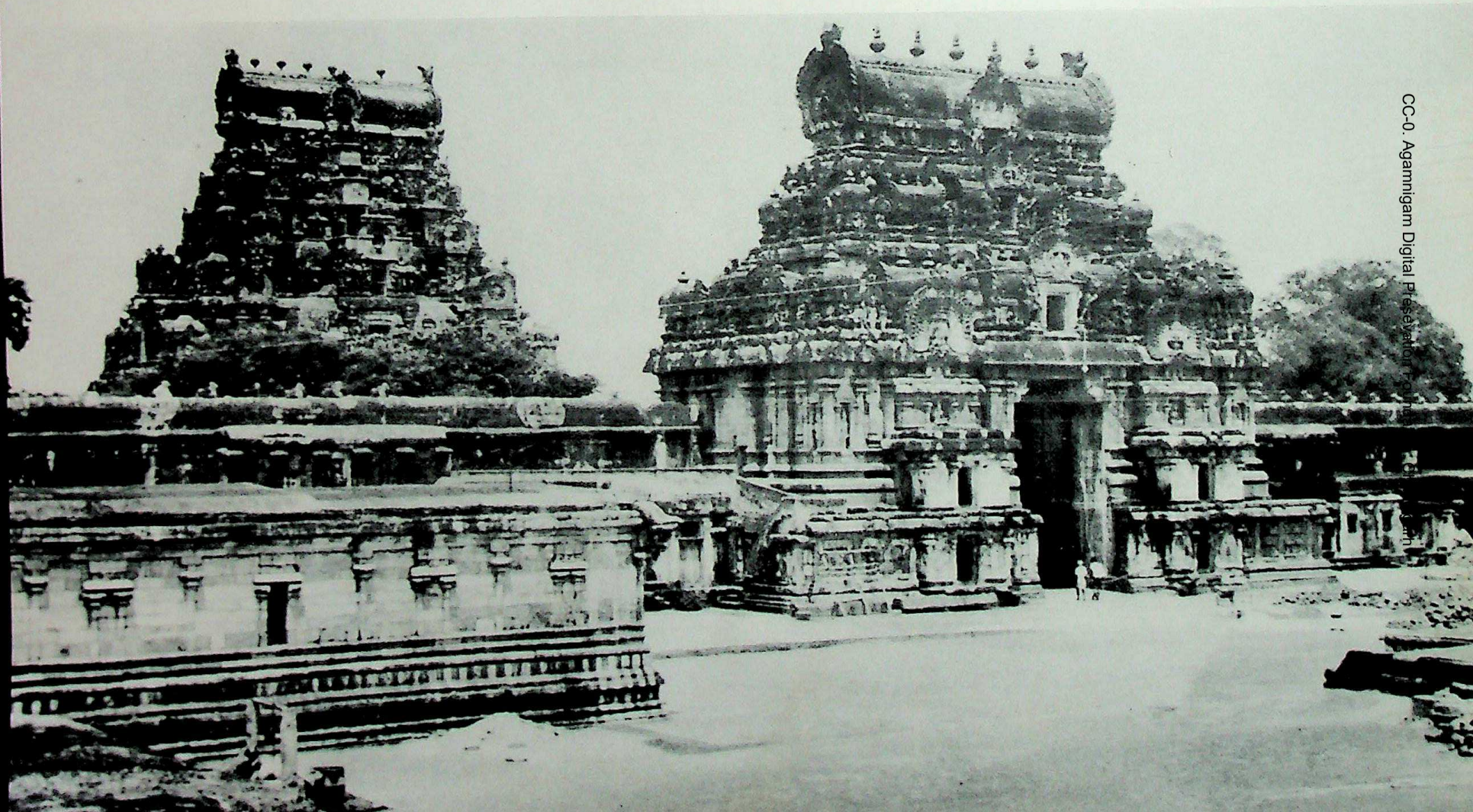
Pl 2 View of temple complex

TANJAVUR, Rajarajesvaram

TANJAVUR, Rajarajesvaram

Pl 3 The two gopurams



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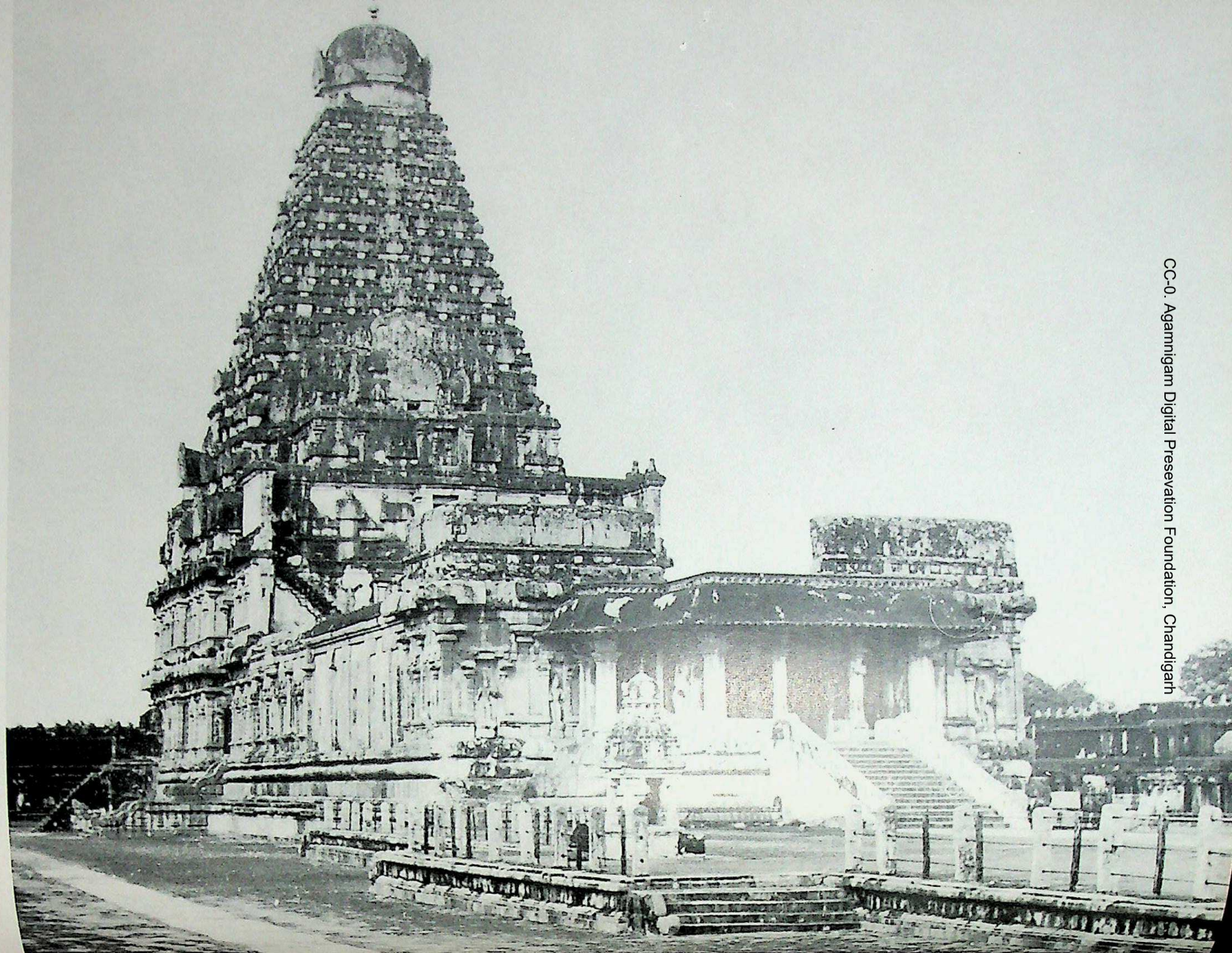
Pl 4 The temple general view



TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

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Pl 5 Dvarapala (*left*)

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl 6 Dvarapala (*right*)

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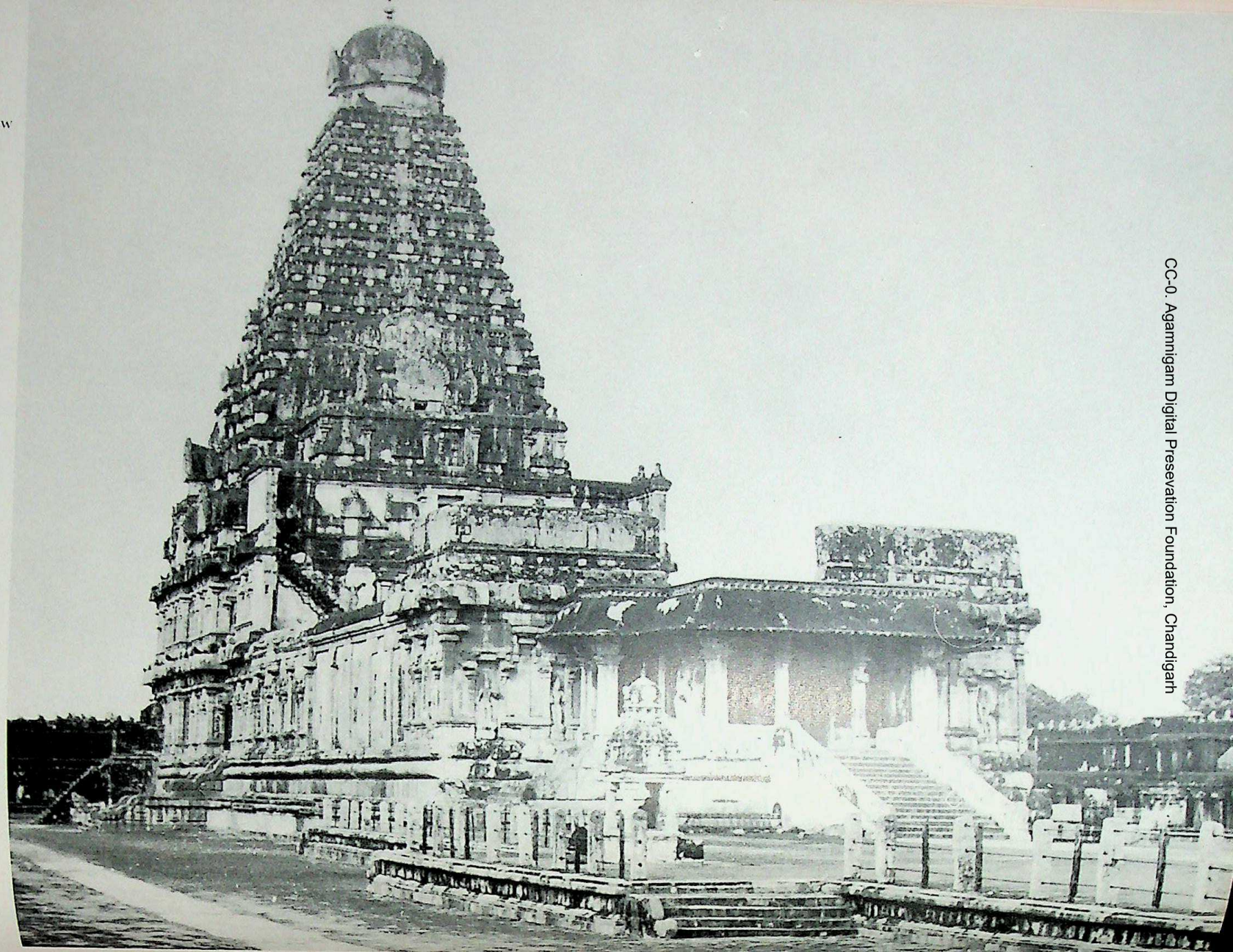
Pl 4 The temple general view



TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

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Pl 5 Dvarapala (*left*)

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl 6 Dvarapala (*right*)

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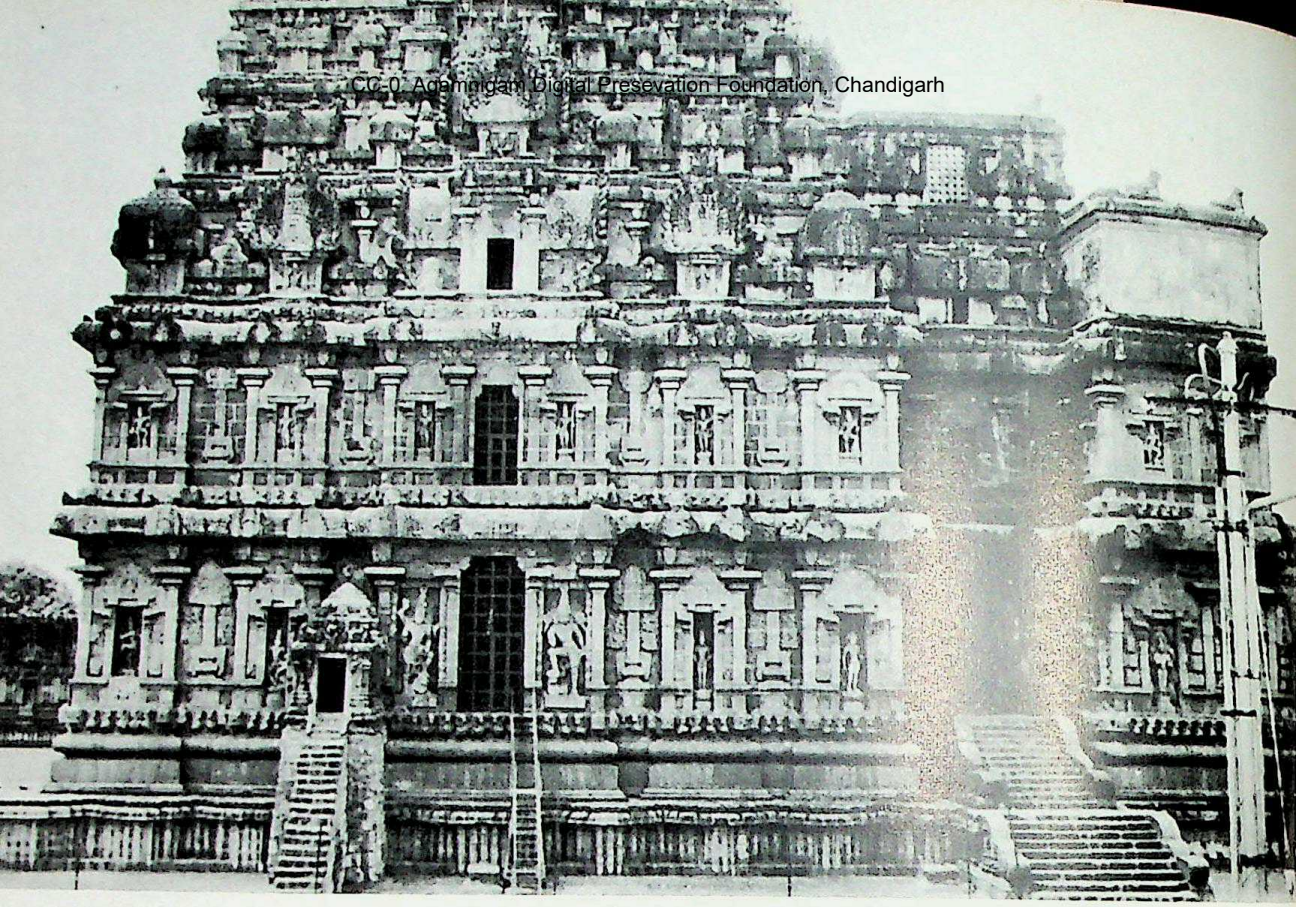
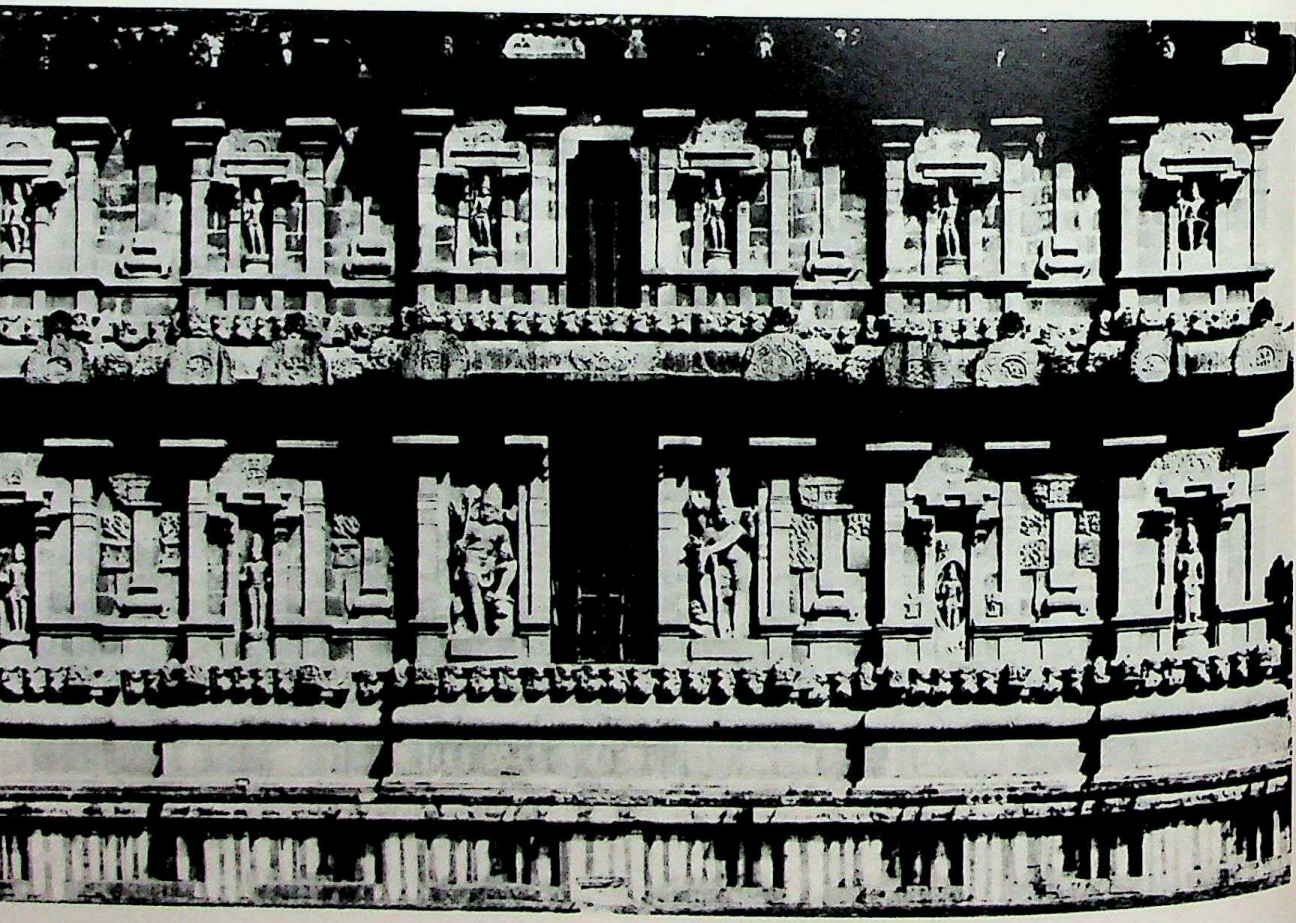
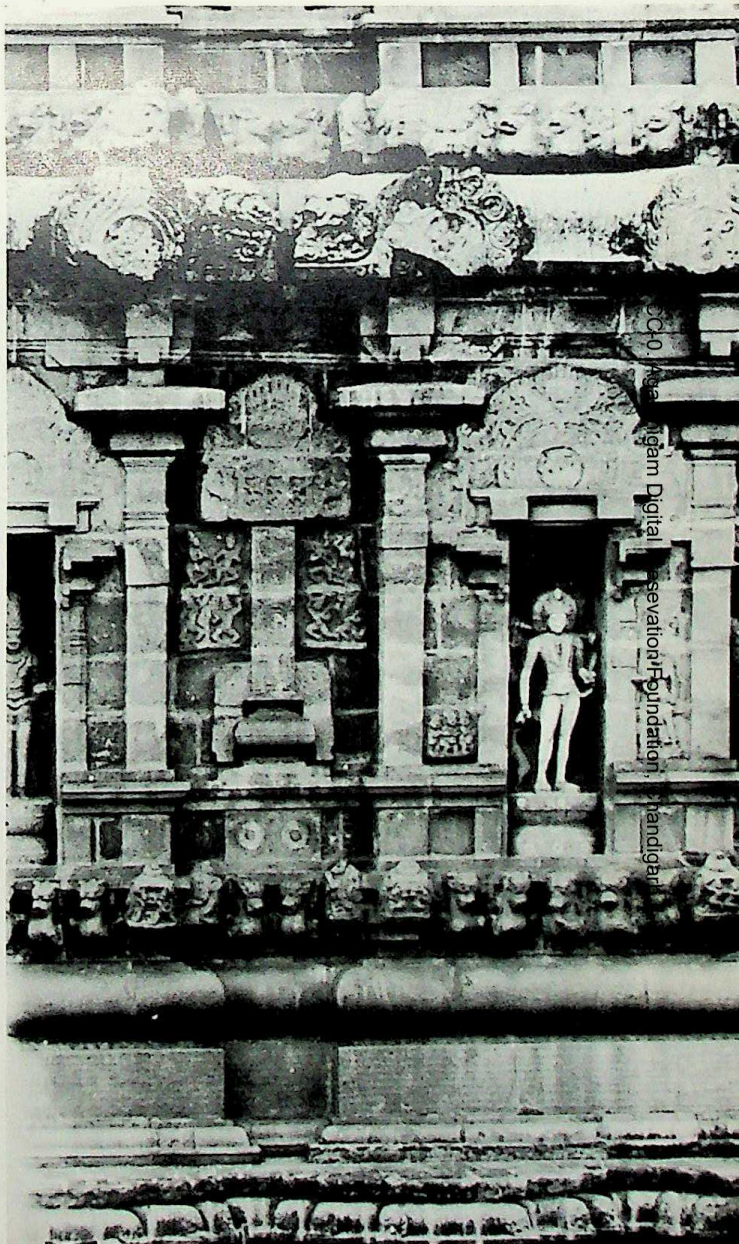




Pl 7 Garbhagriha, south face (*with Vikramasolan tiruvasal*) (*top*)

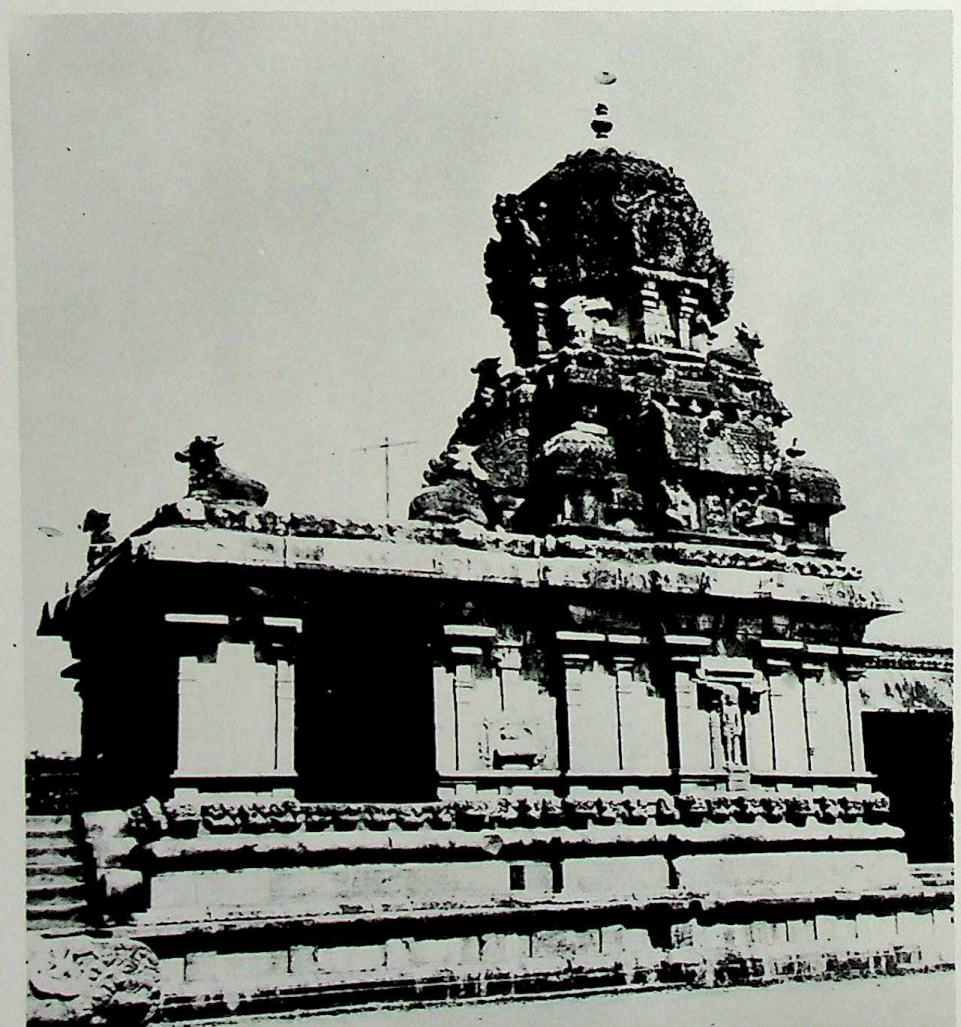
Pl 8 Garbhagriha, west face (*below*

Pl 9 Bhikshatanar and kumbha panchara—garbhagriha, south face



TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl 10 Chandesvarar shrine



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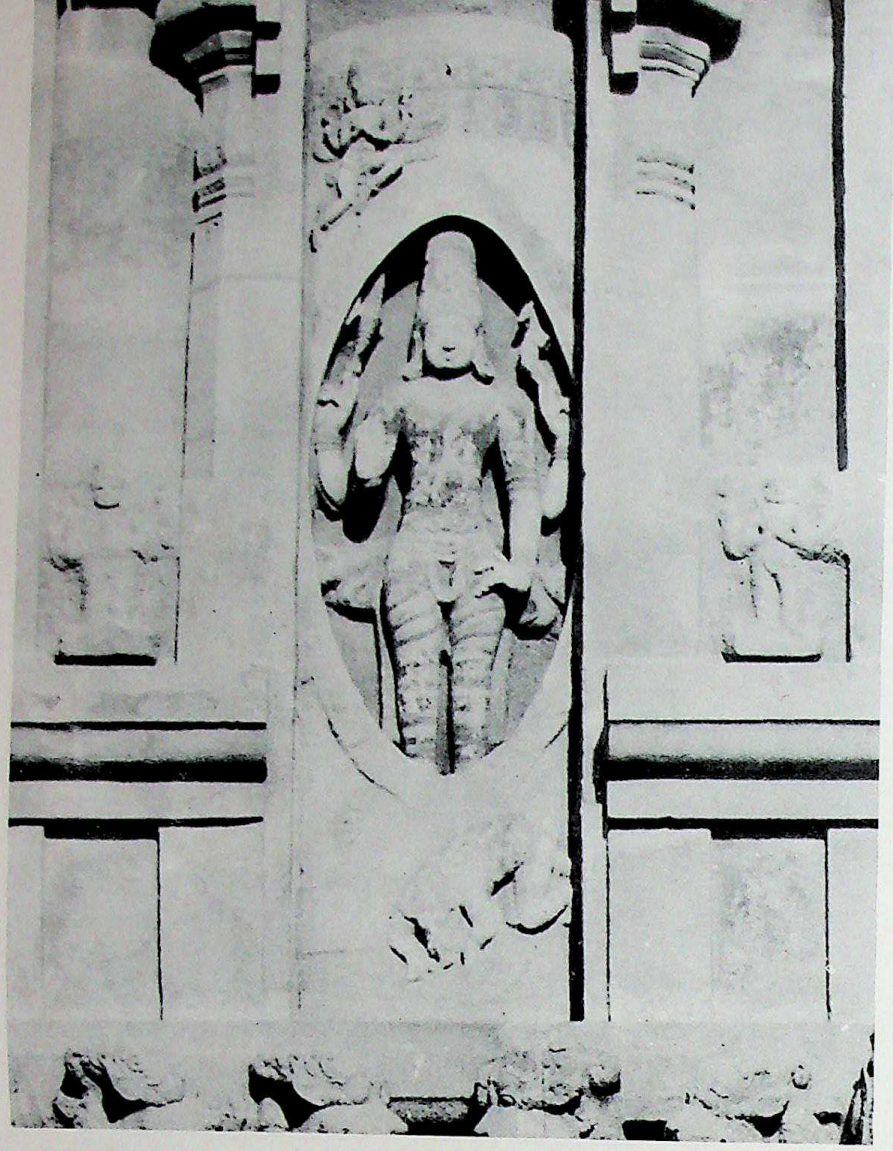
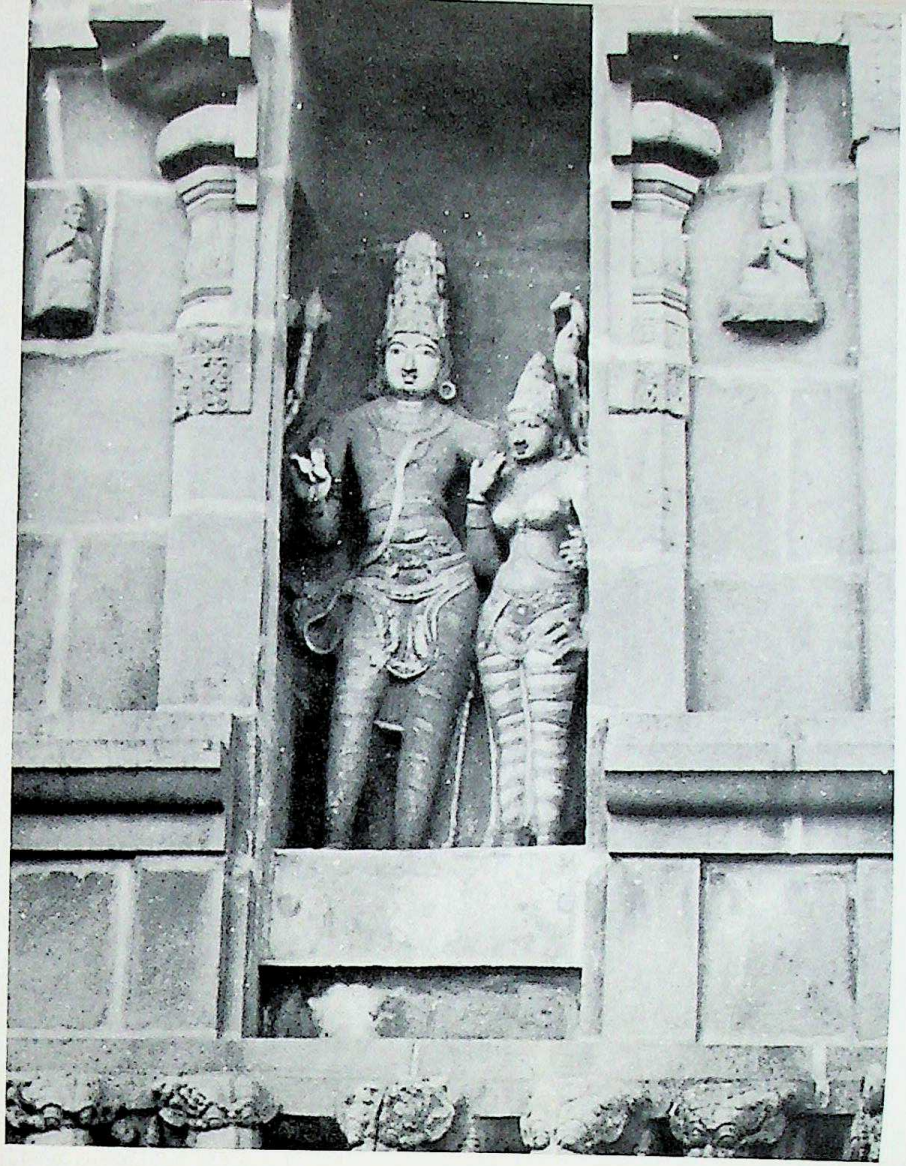


Pl 11 Lingodbhavar



Pl 12 *Siva-Uma Alinginamurti*

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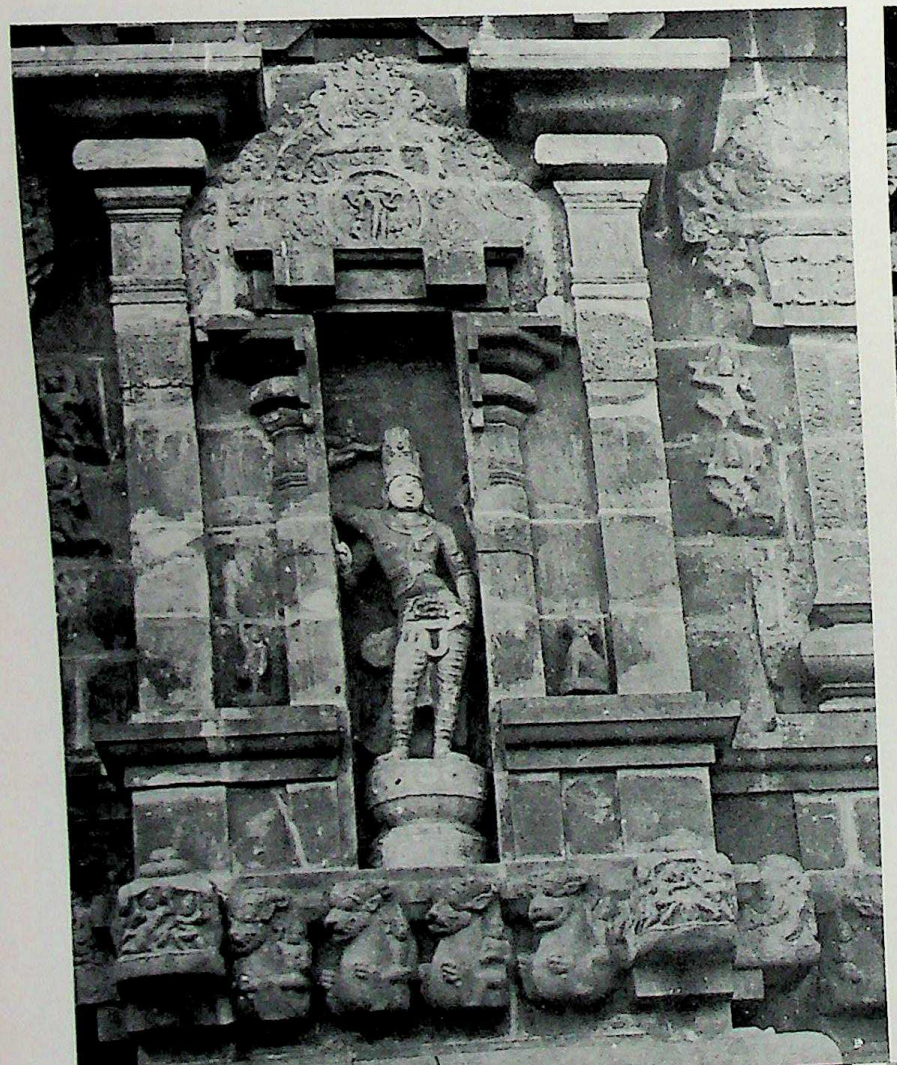
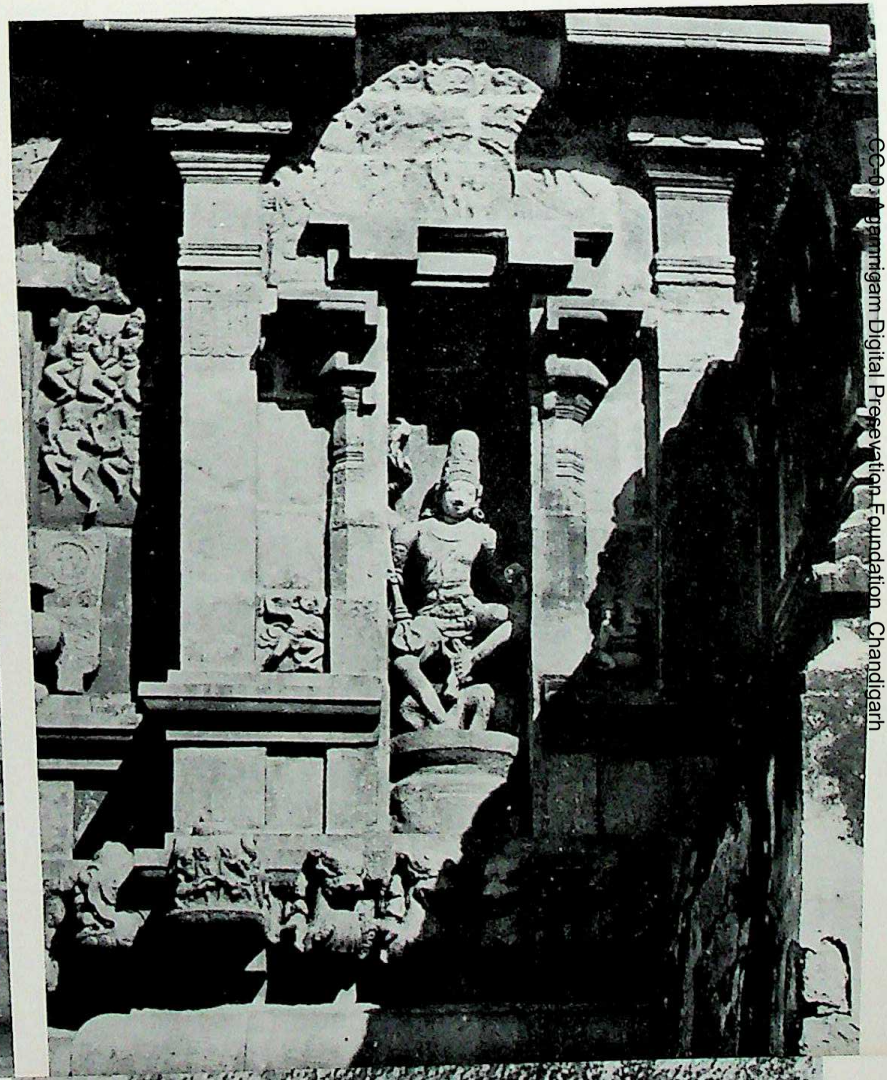
TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl 13 Gangadharar



Pl 14 Kalarimurti



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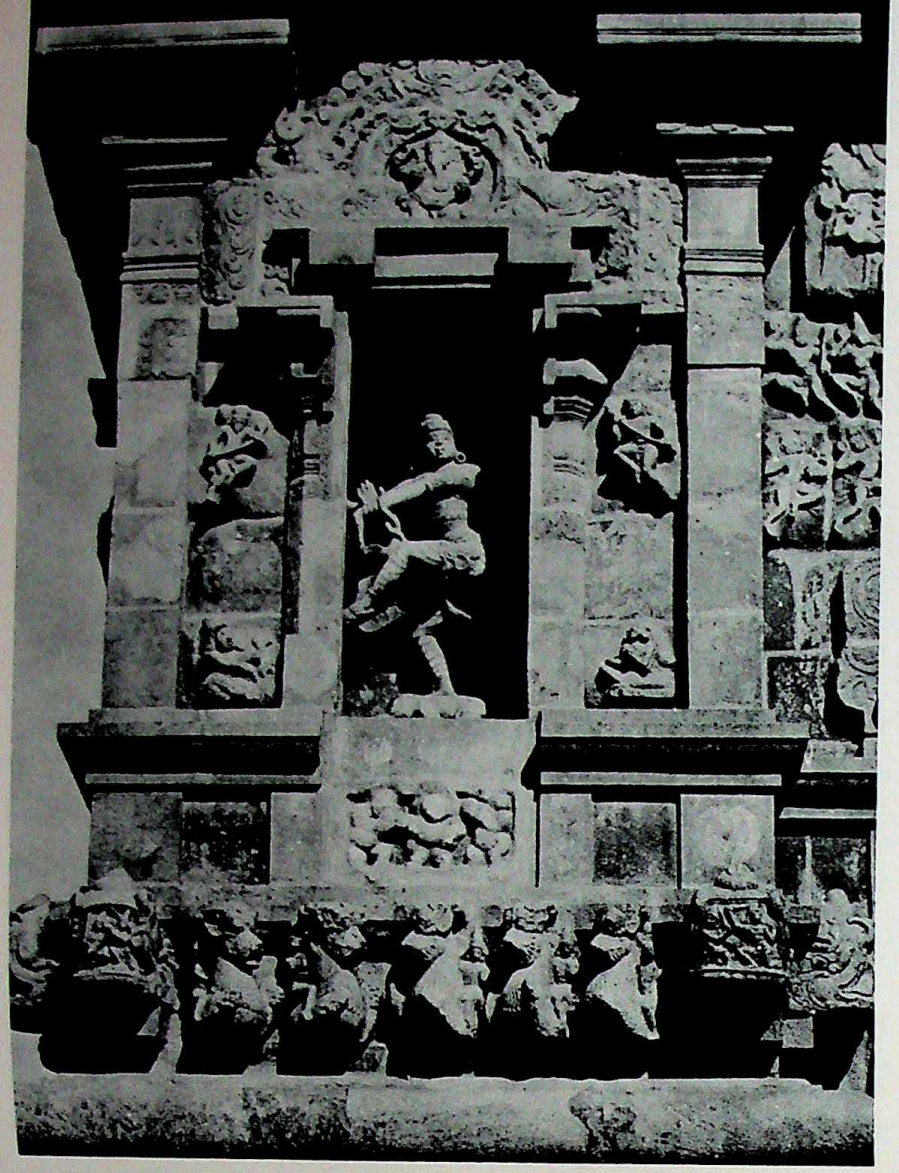
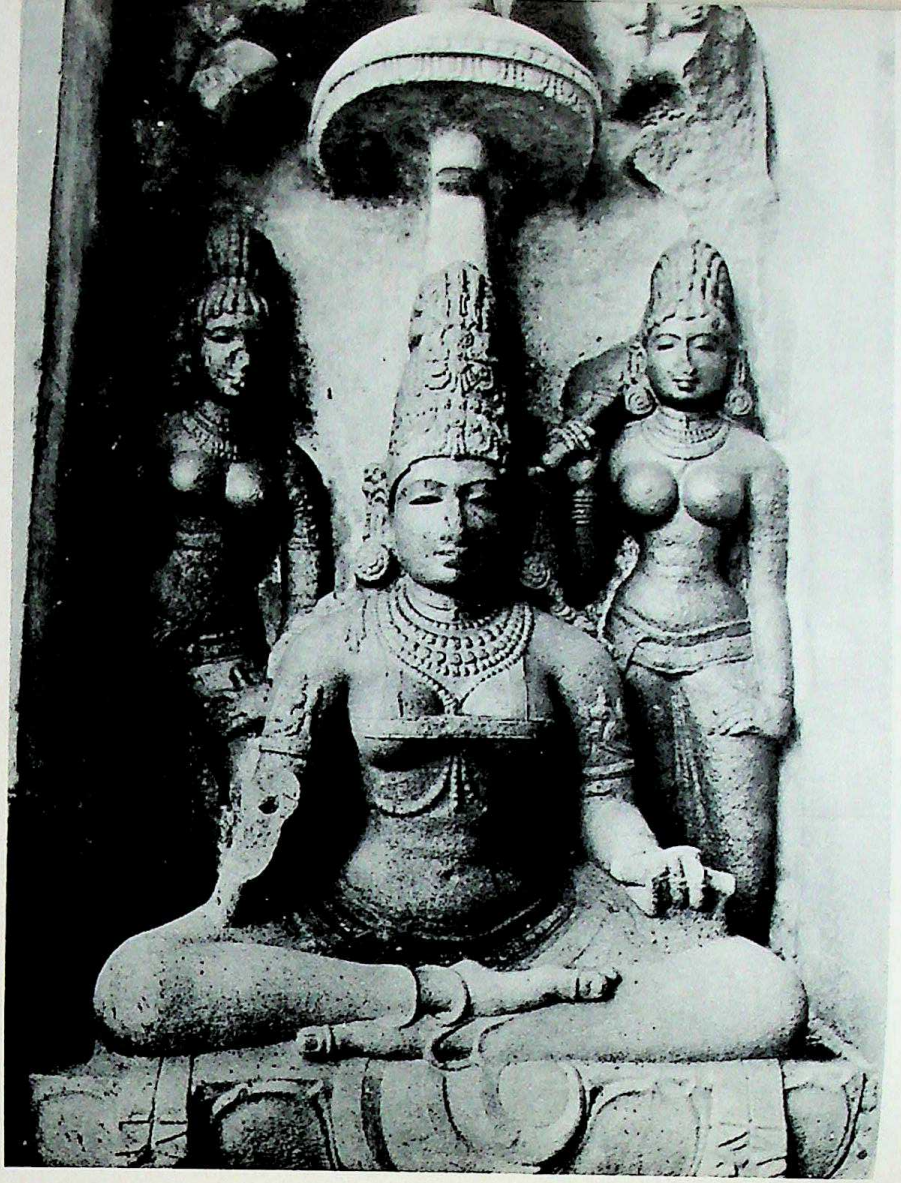


Pl 15 Nataraja



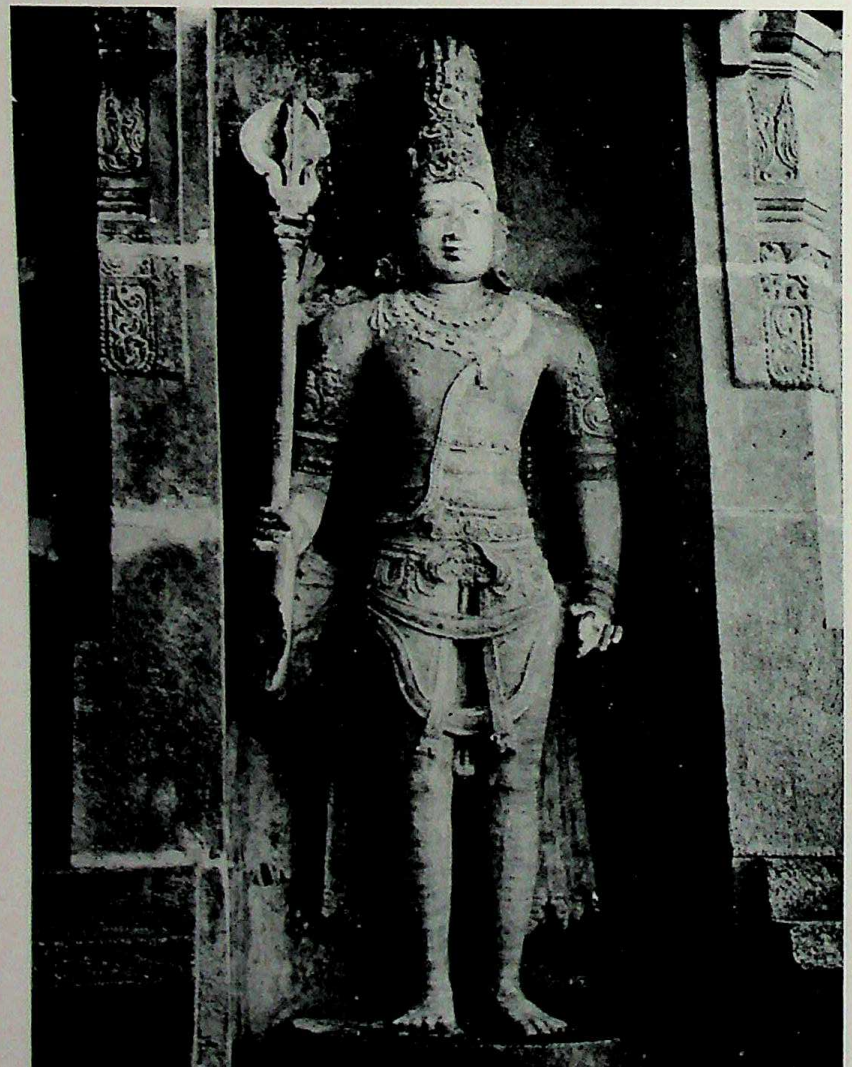
Pl 16 *Sarasvati*

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

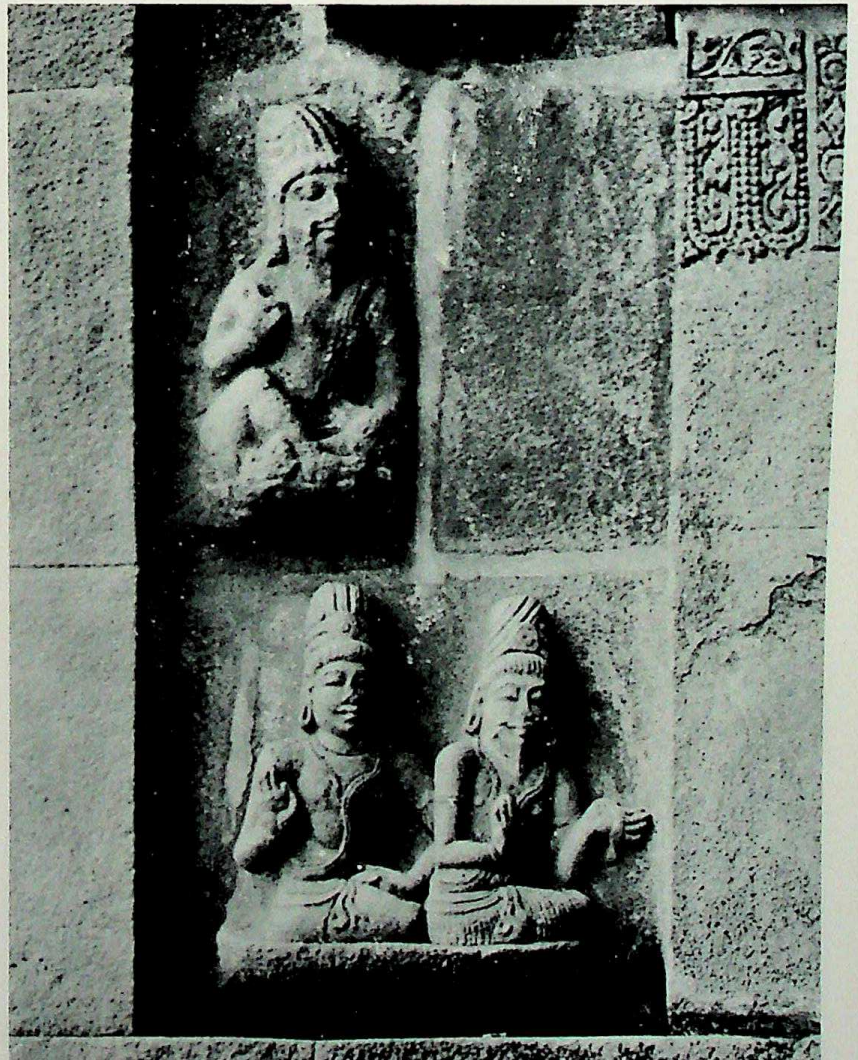
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

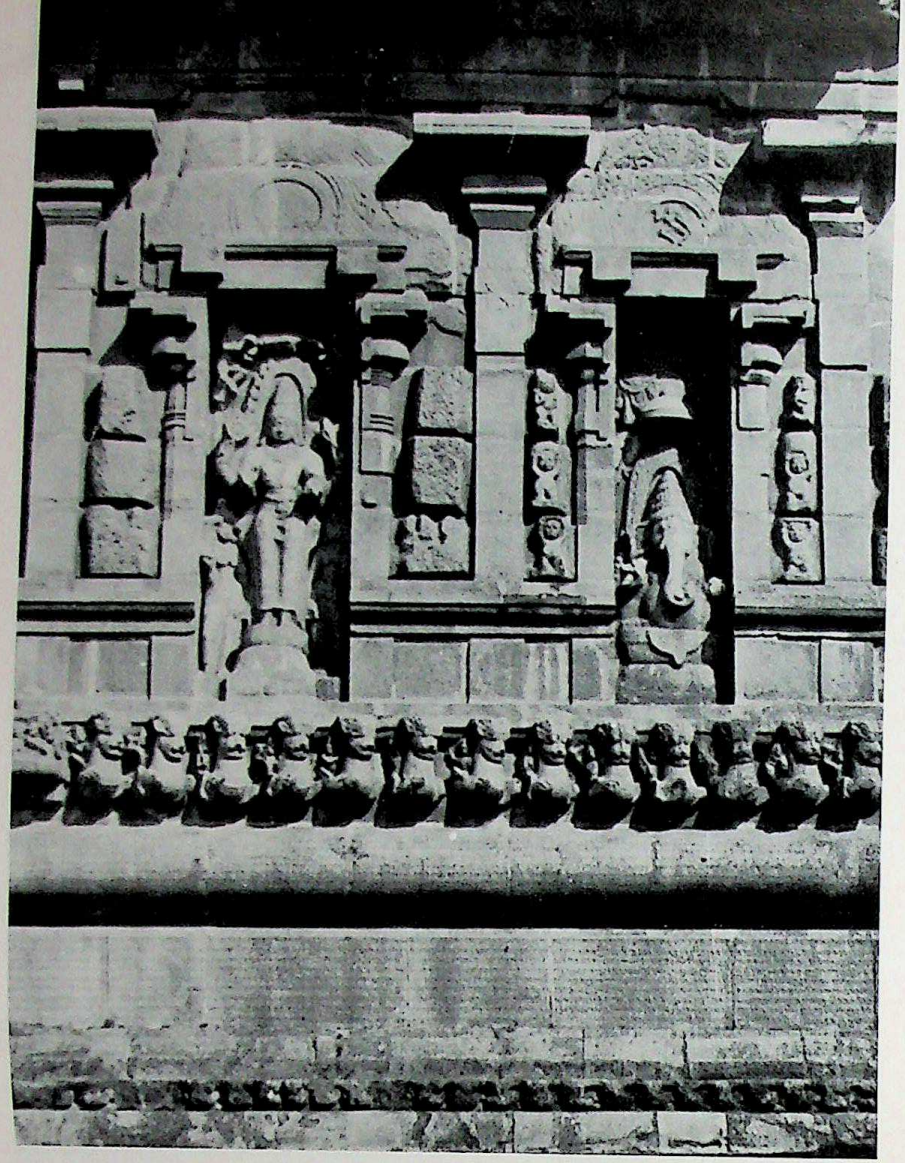
Pl 17 Siva



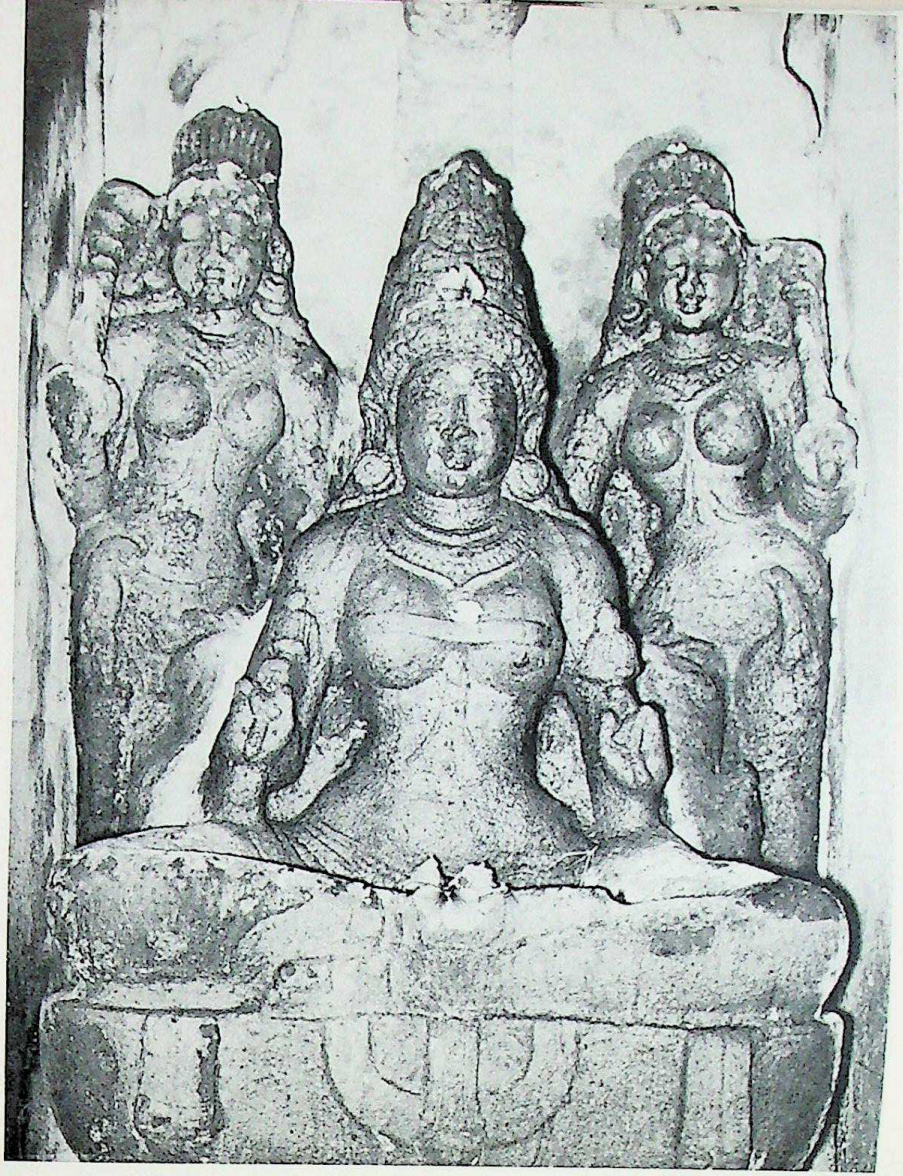
Pl 18 Rajaraja and Karuvur Devar



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 19 Vishnu and Ganapati



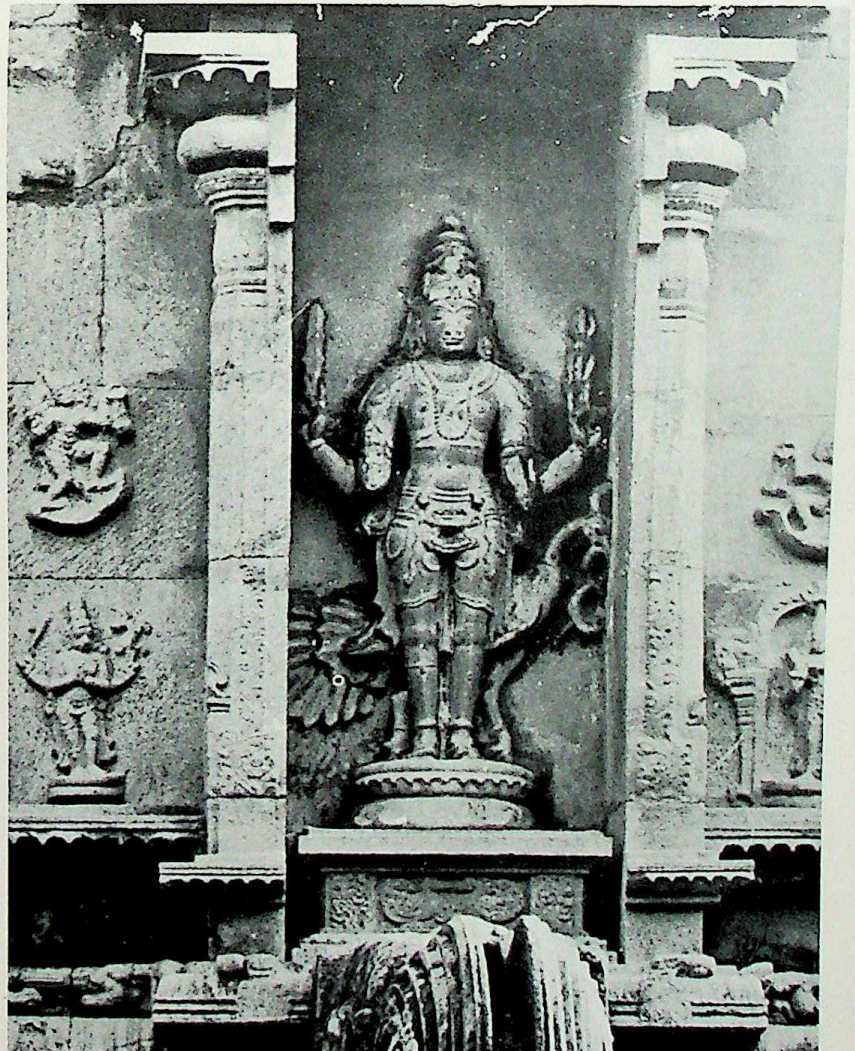
Pl 20 Mahalakshmi

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

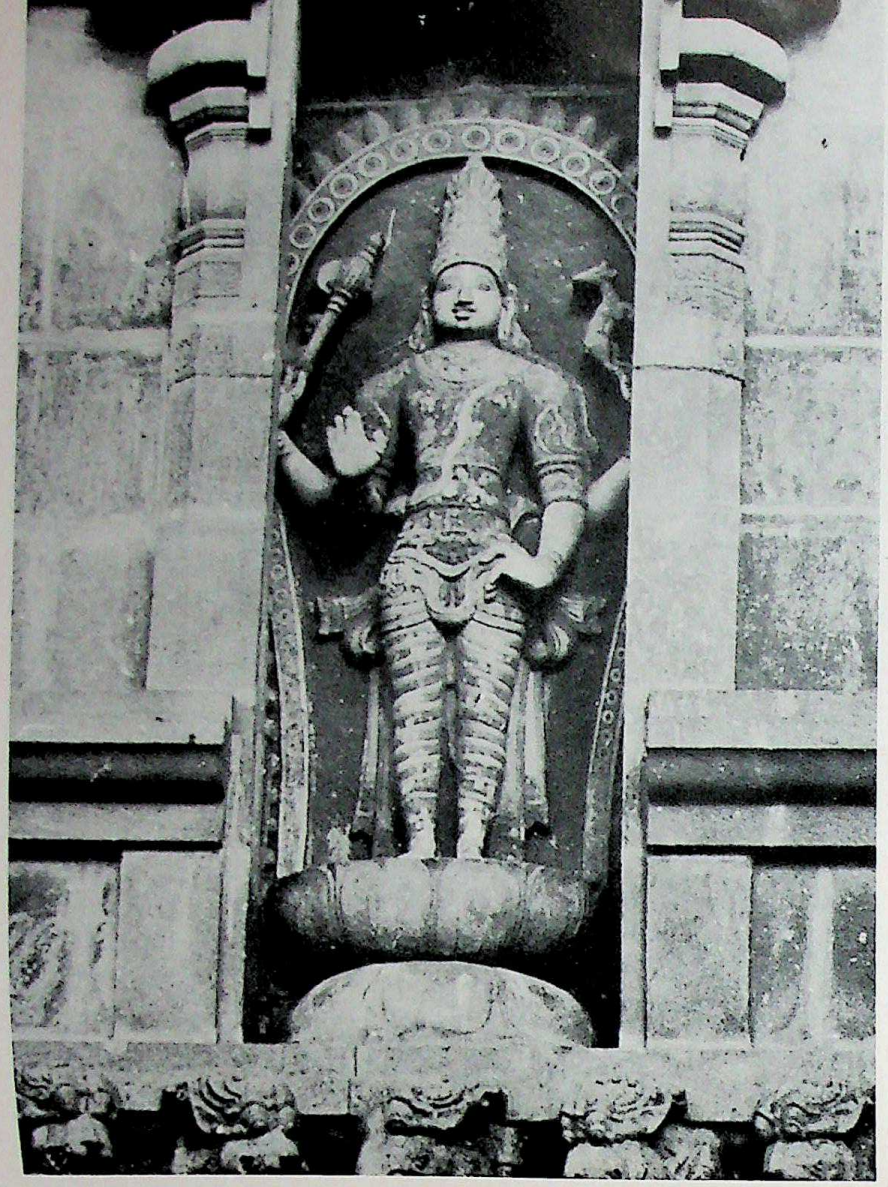
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 21 Chandesvarar

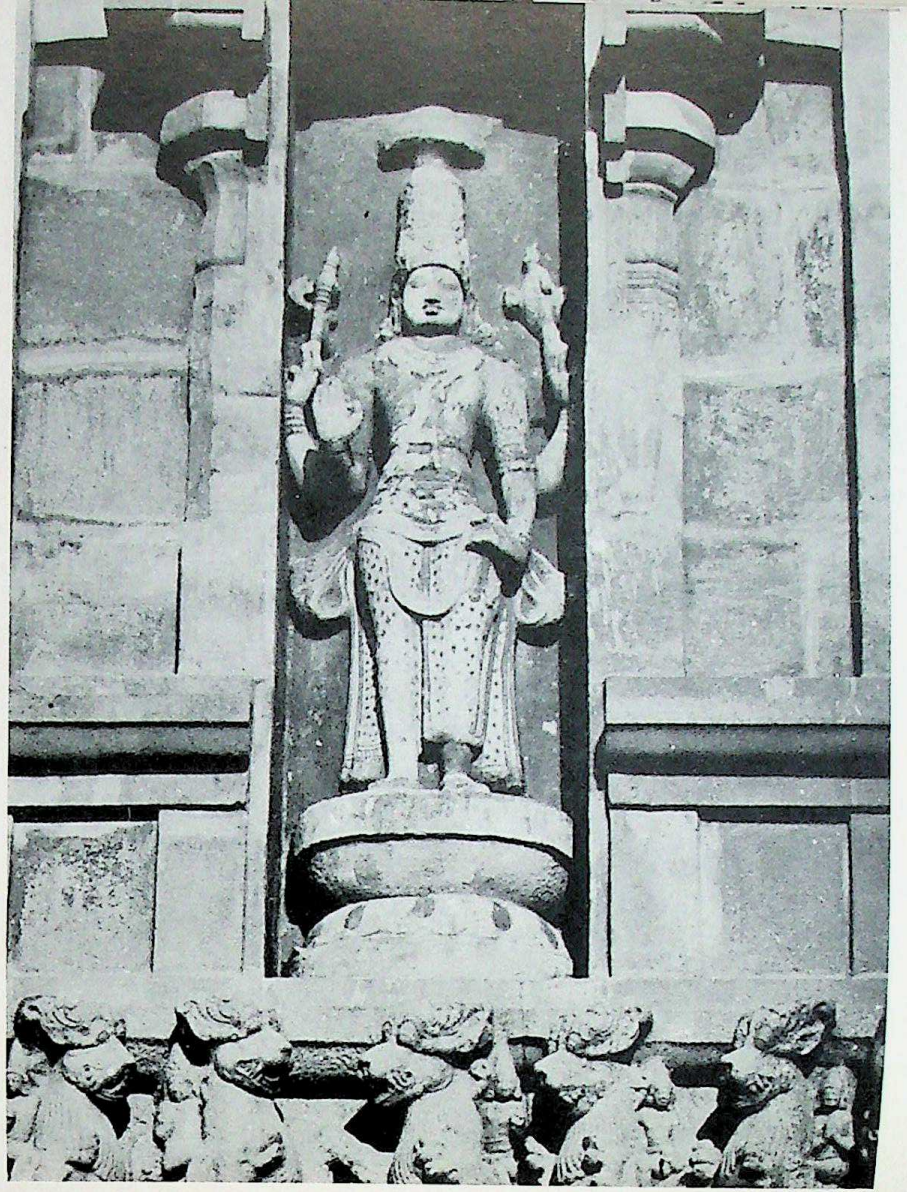
Pl 22 Subrahmanyar



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 23 Chandrasekharar

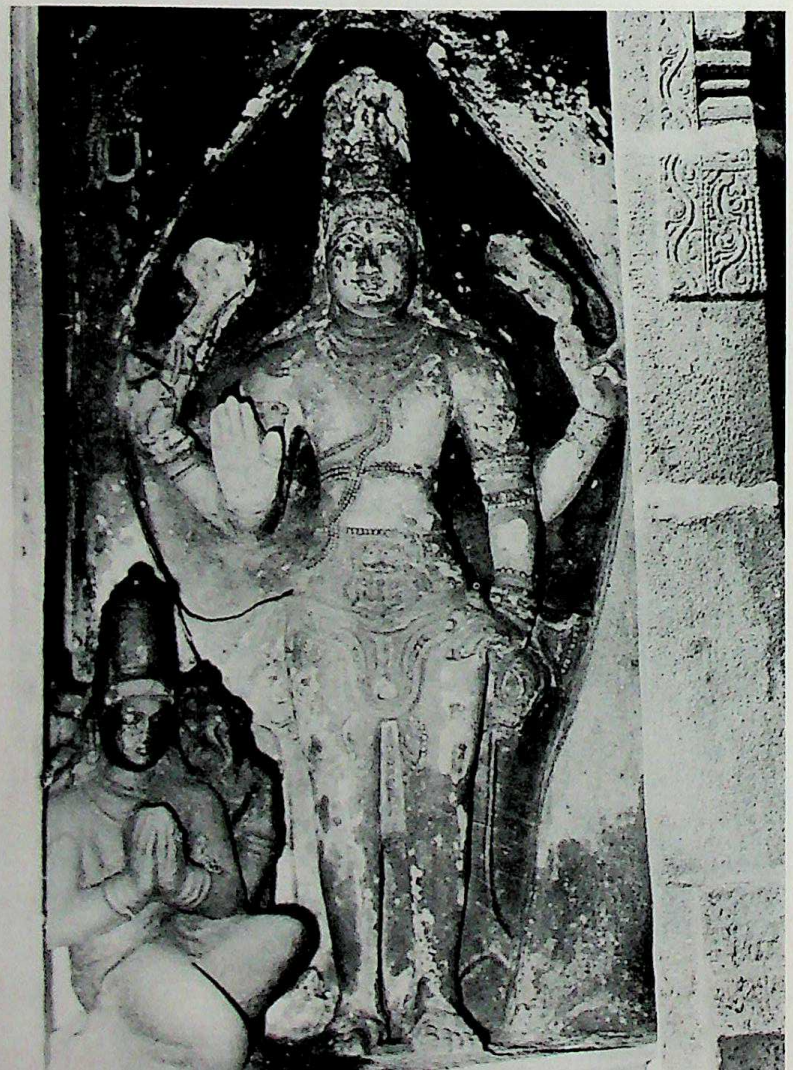


Pl 24 Hariharar

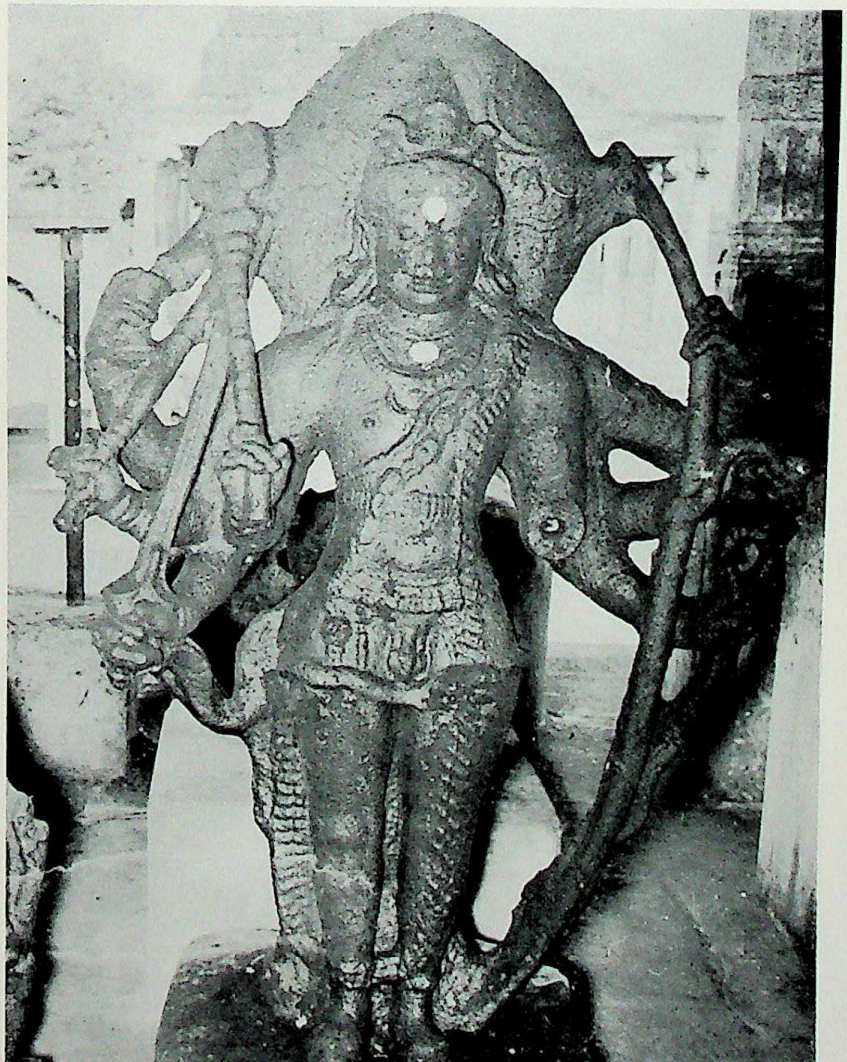
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

Pl 25 Lingodbhavar



Pl 26 Bhairavar



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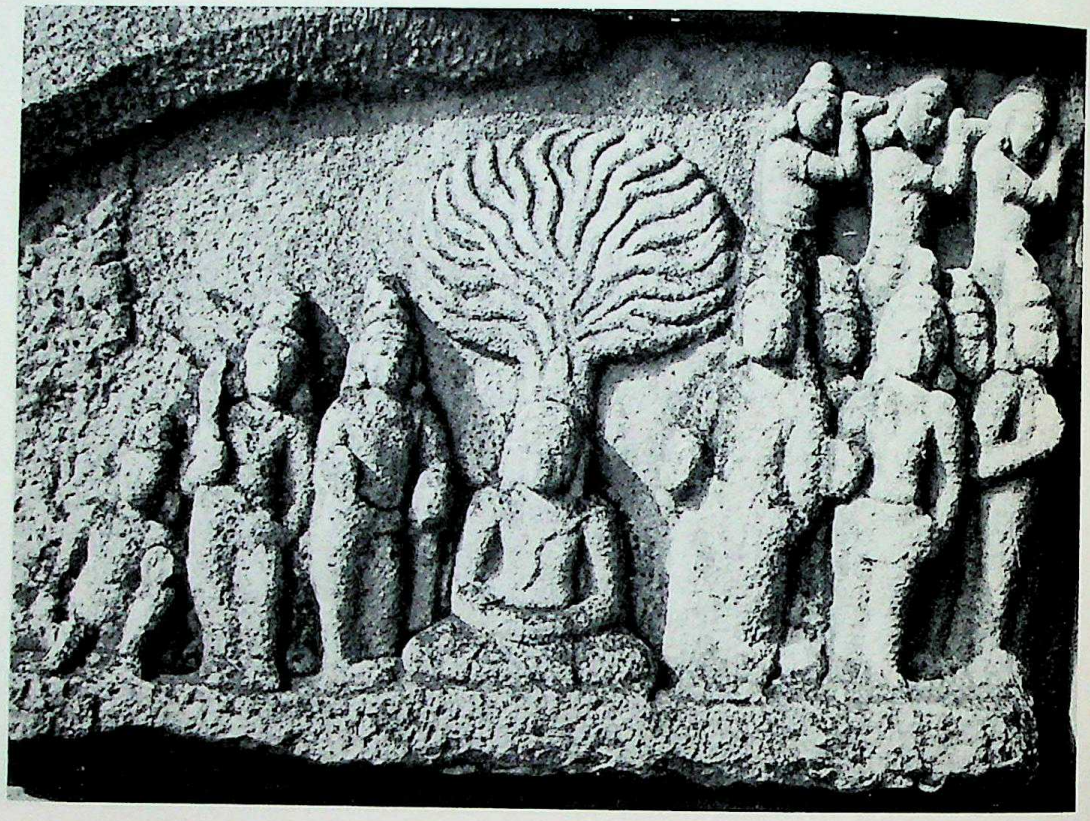
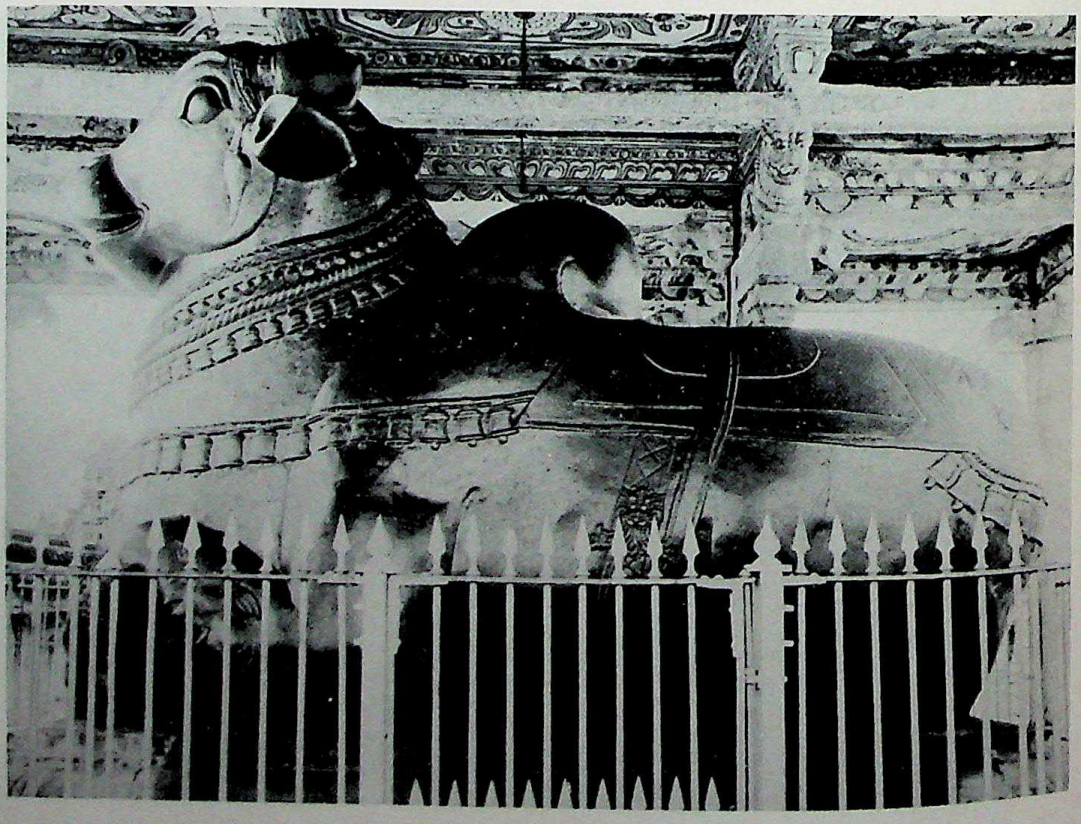
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 27 Buddha panel

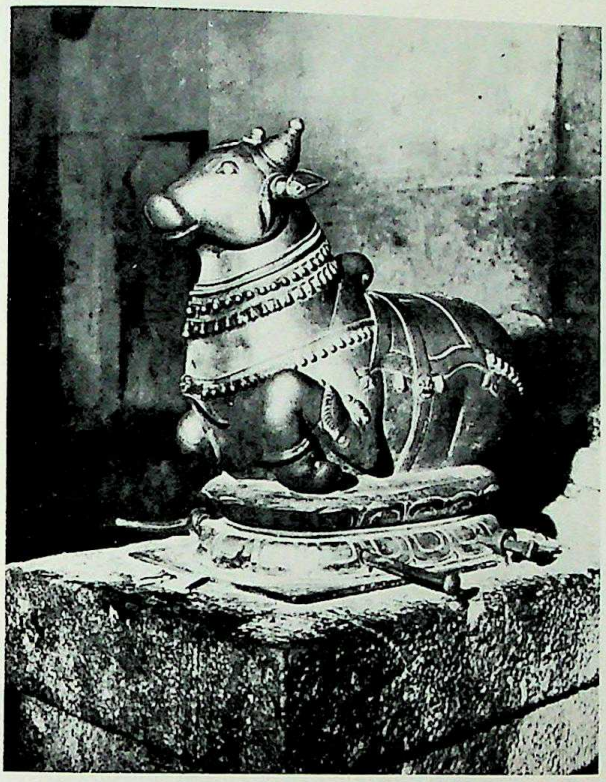




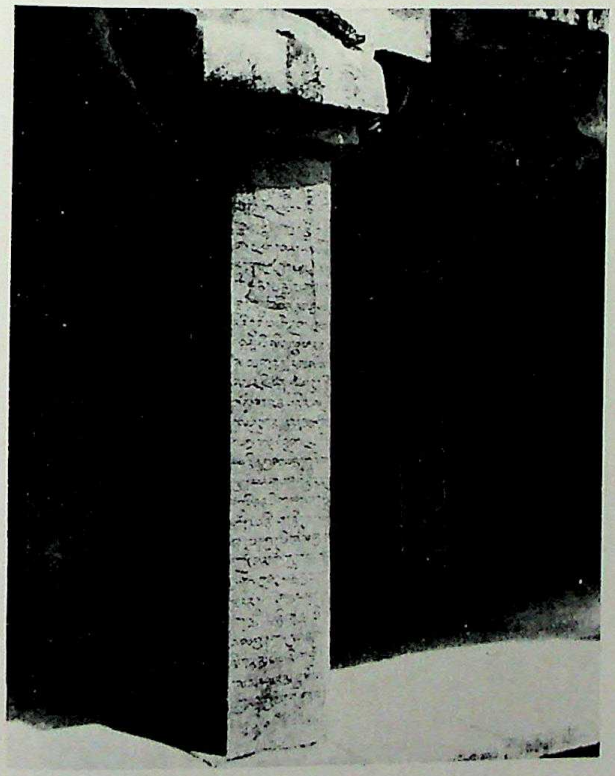
Pl 28 Nandi

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 29 Nandi (*metal*), ardhamandapa



Pl 30 Ganapati (*Pariwaralaya*)



TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

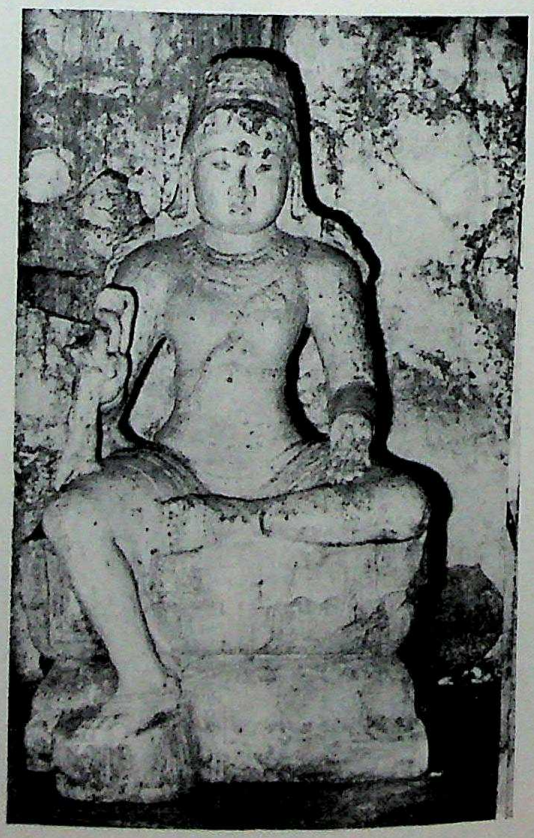
Pl 31 Inscribed pillar in peristyle

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 32 Varahi, Saptamatrika group

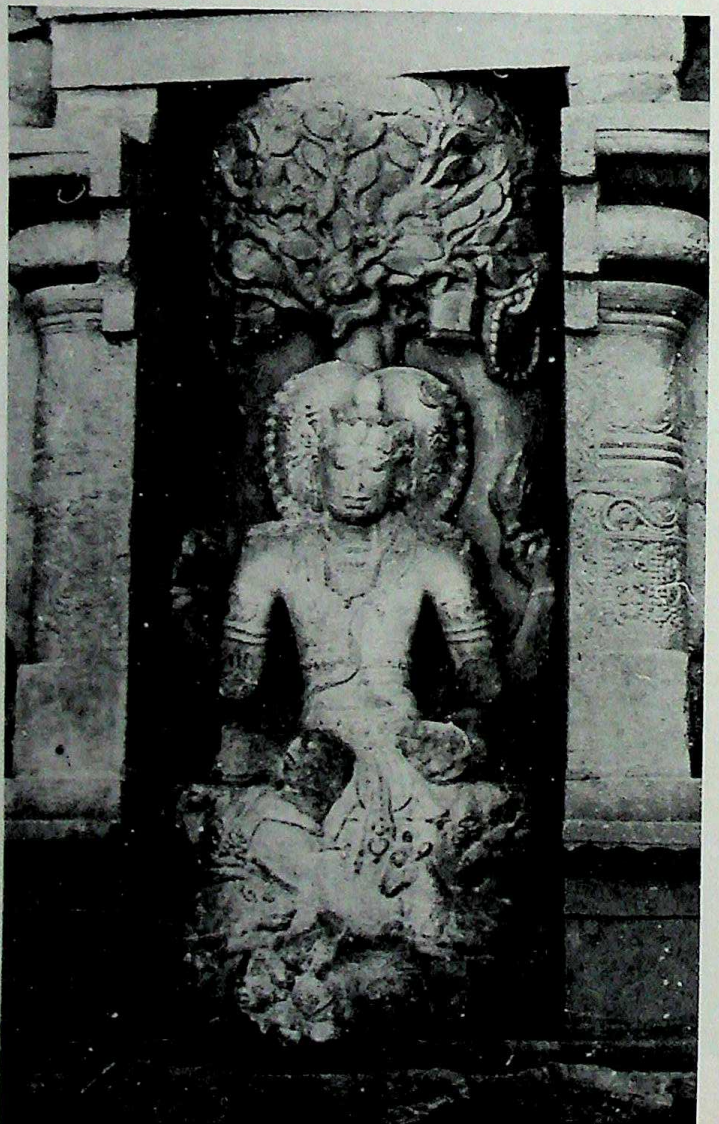
Pl 33 Isana, Dikpala

TANJAVUR
Rajarajesvaram

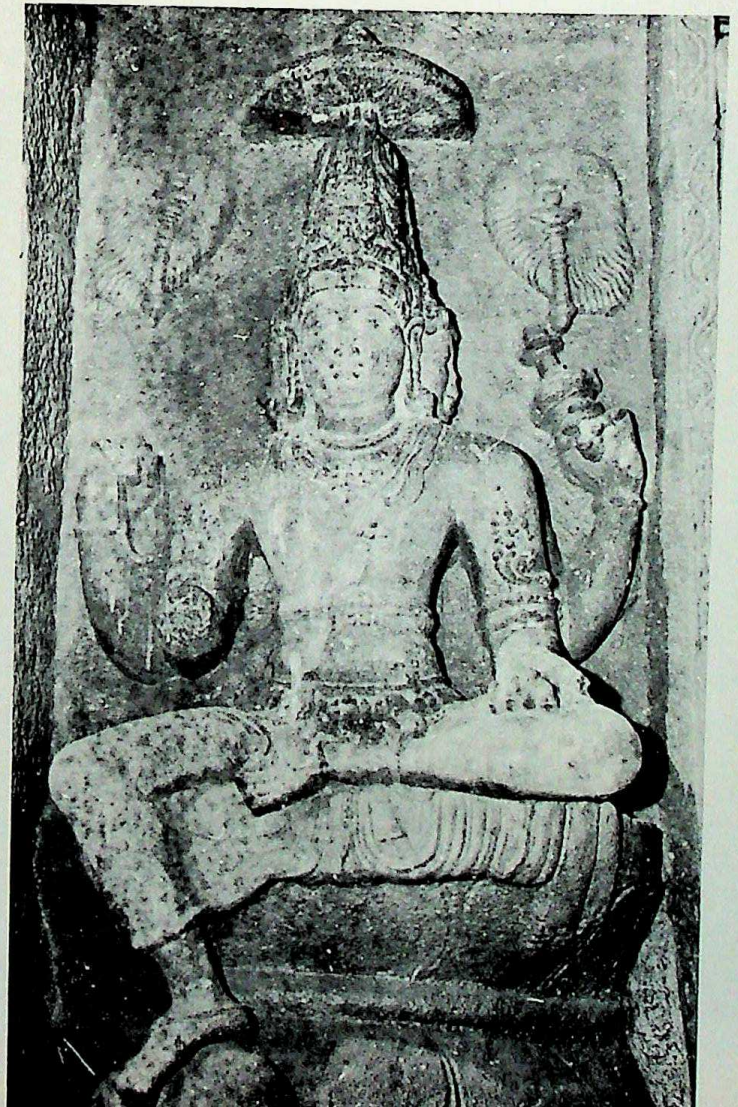


Pl 34 Varuna, Dikpala

Pl 35 Dakshinamurti



Pl 36 Brahma



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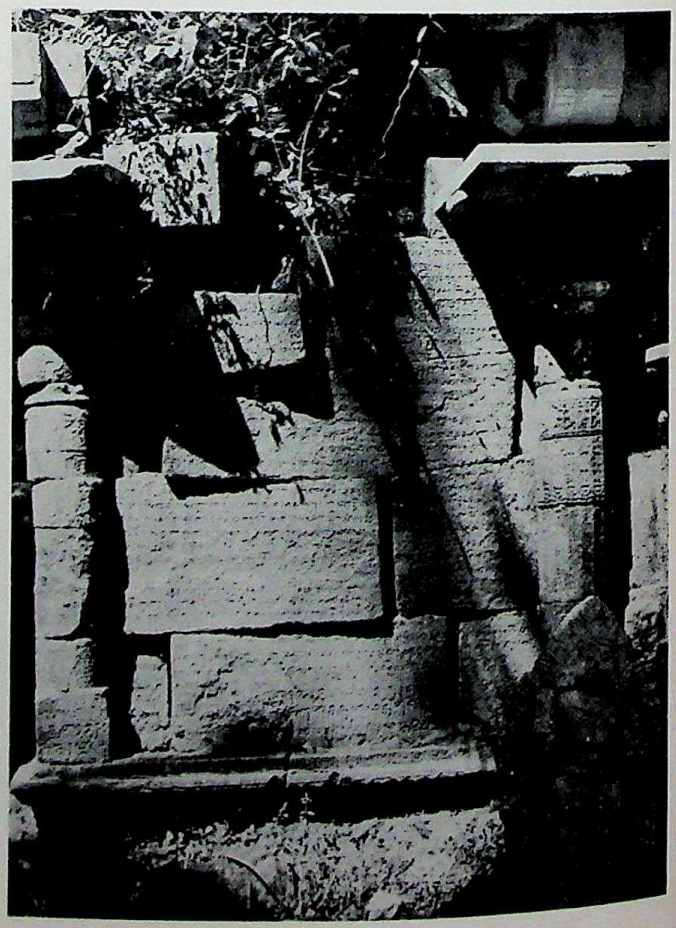
Pl 37 Srivimana (*in ruins*)

TIRUVALANJULI
Kshetrapalar shrine

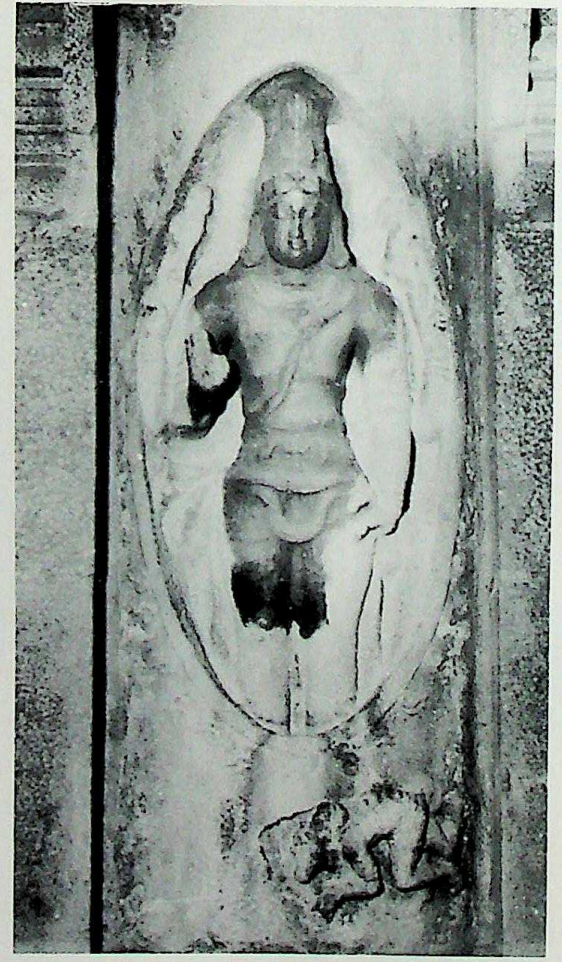


Pl 38 Garbhagriha wall (*inscribed*), with Kshetrapalar sculpture

ALAGADRIPUTTUR
Svarnapurisvarar temple

Pl 39 Dvarapala

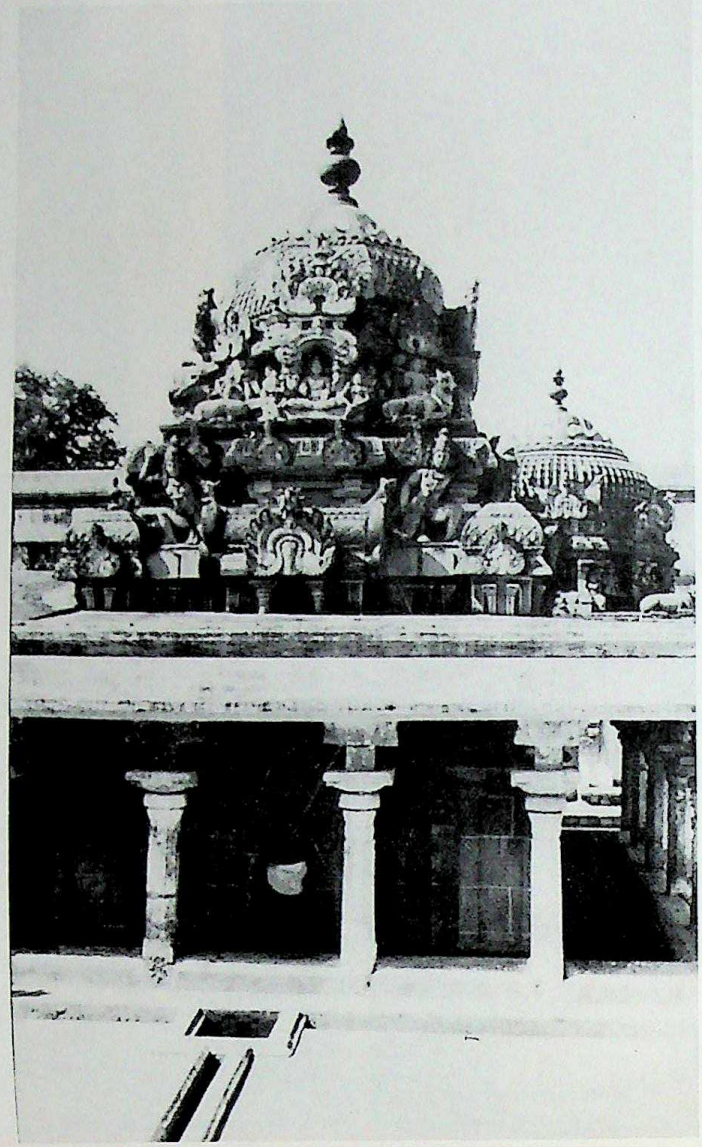
Pl 40 Lingodbhavar



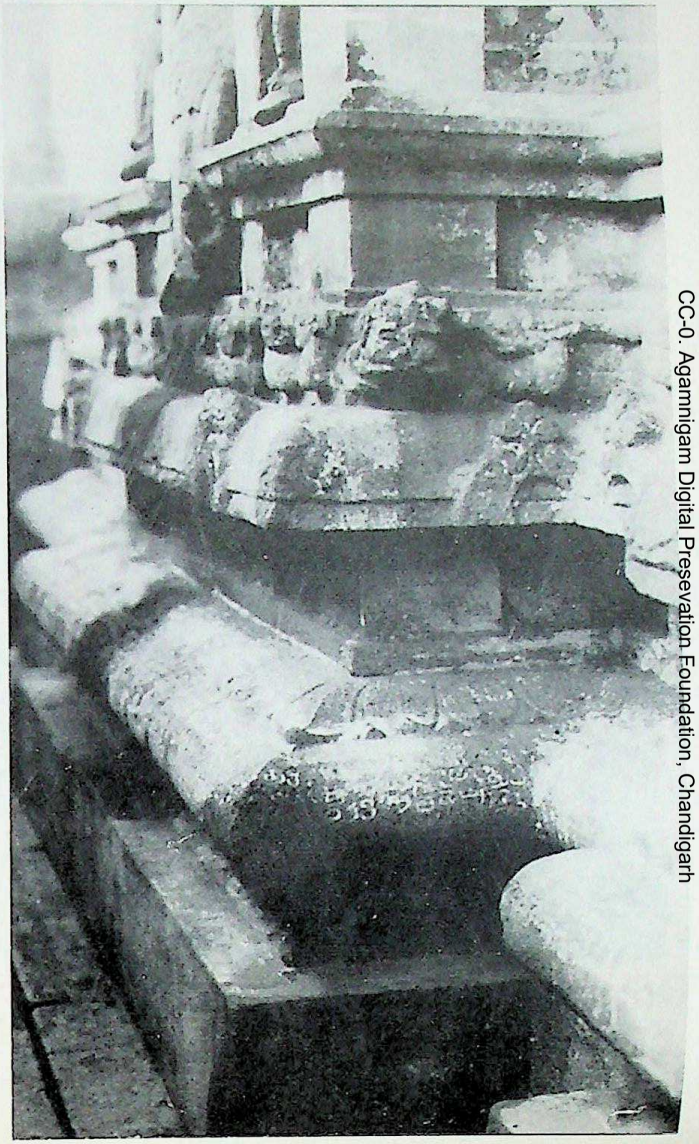
Pl 41 Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple

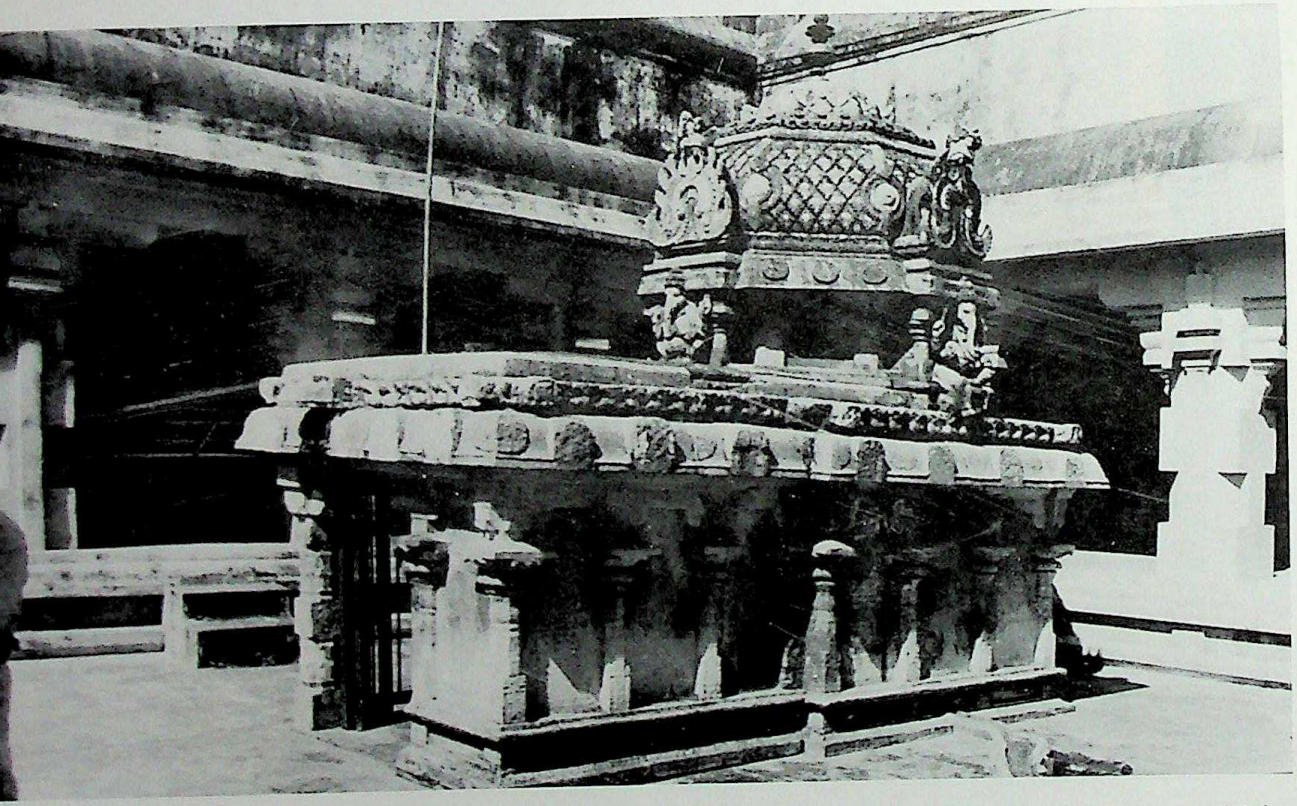


Pl 42 Central shrine, srivimana *(left)*



Pl 43 Central shrine, srivimana, adhishthanam *(right)*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



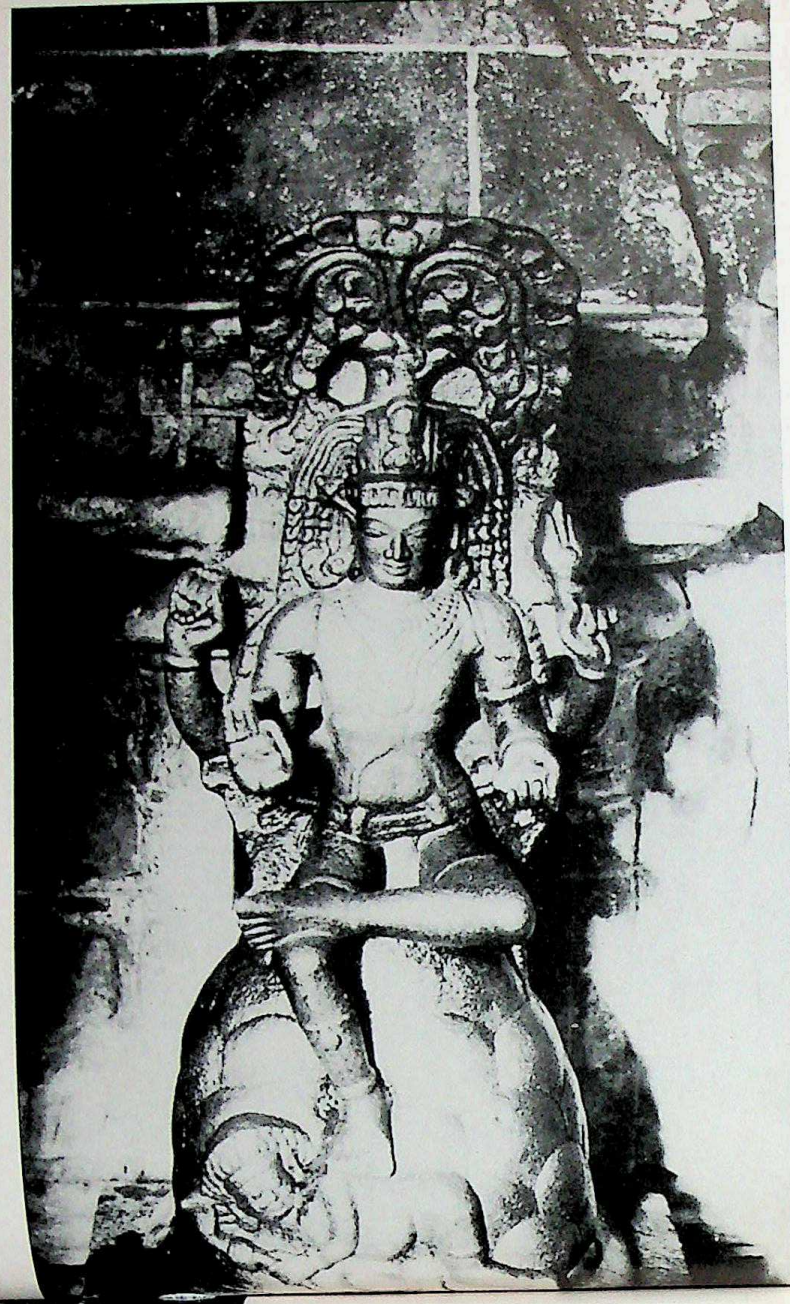
Pl 44 Vatapi Ganapati shrine

TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple

Pl 45 Vatapi Ganapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Found

TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple

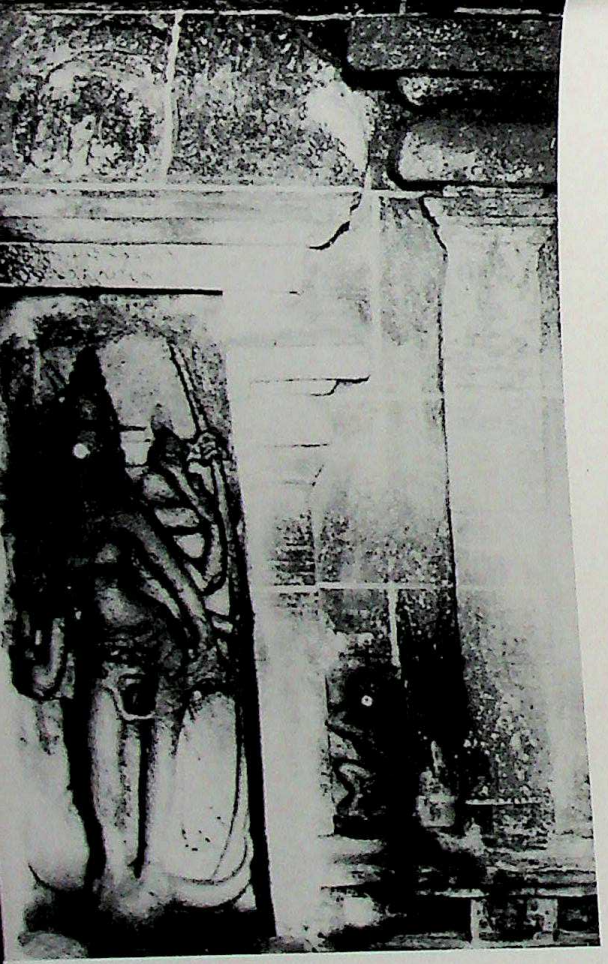


Pl 46 Dakshinamurti, devakoshta figure (*left*)

Pl 47 Lingodbhavar, devakoshta figure (*right*)

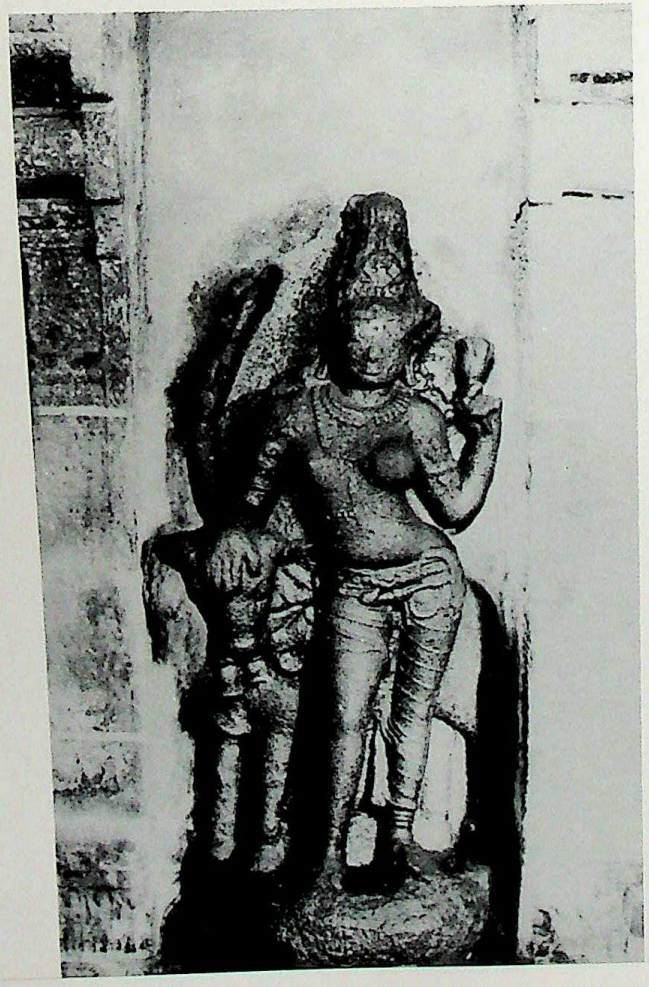
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

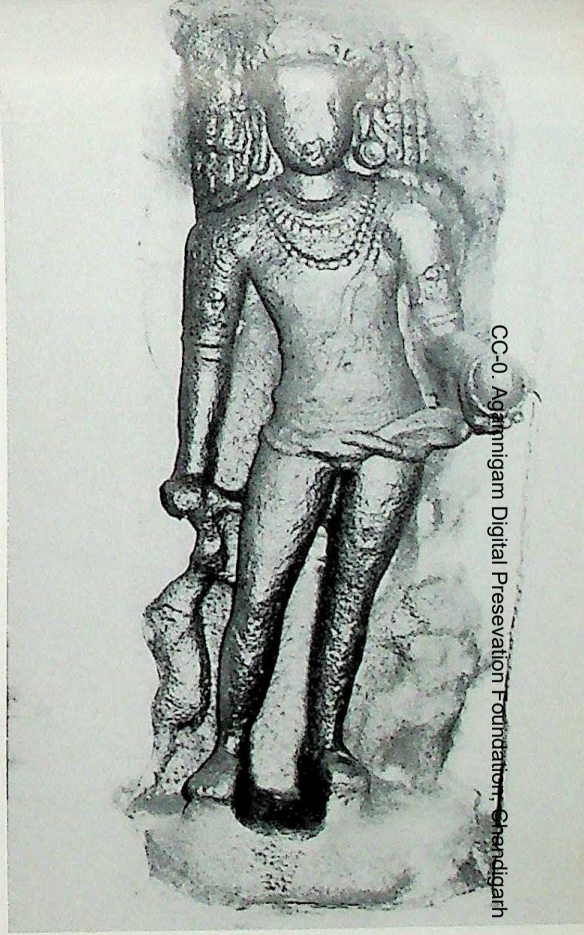
TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple



Pl 48 Durga

Pl 49 Ardhanari

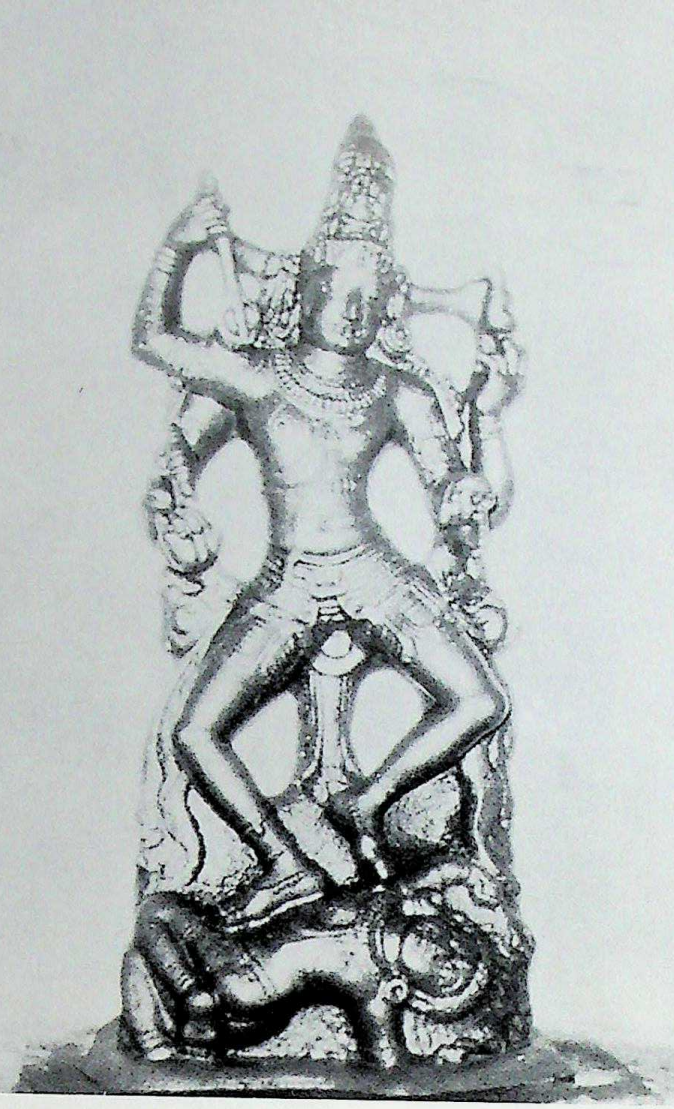




Pl 50 Bhikshatanar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 51 (a) Urdhva-tandavamurti



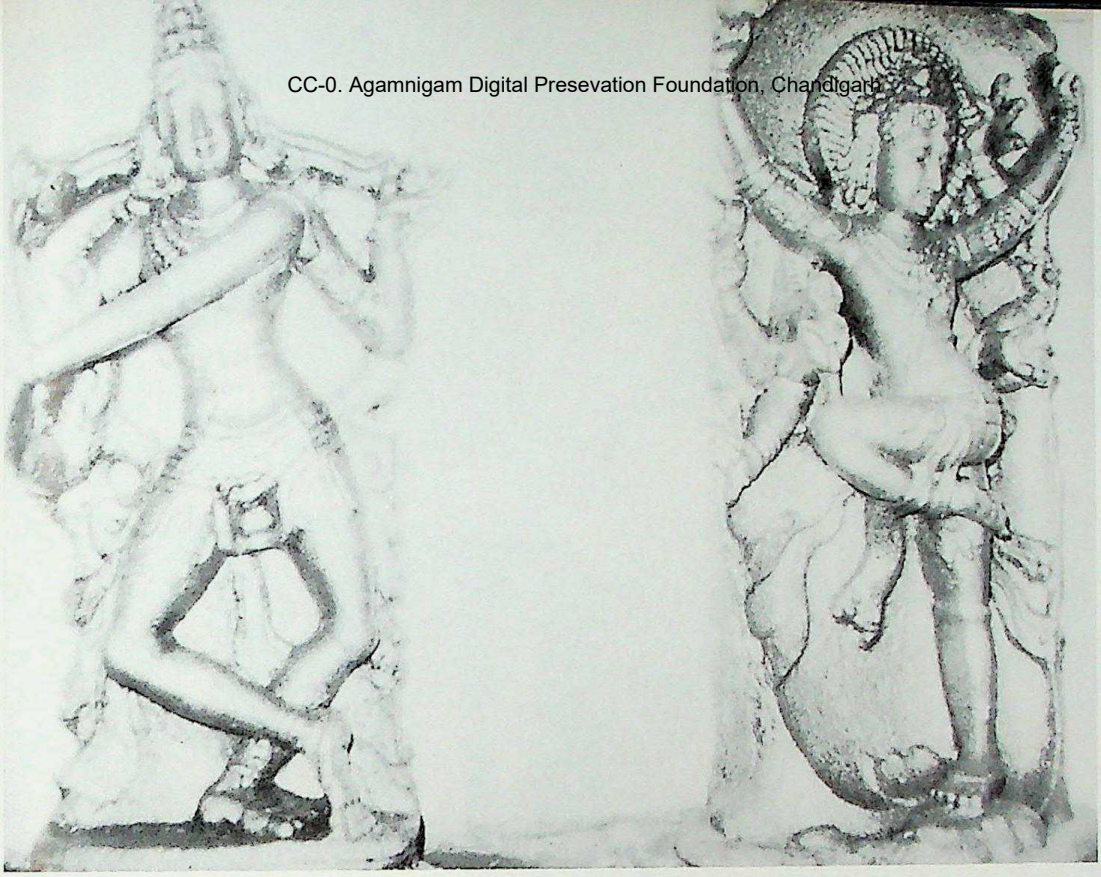
Pl 51 (b) Kalasamharamurti,

Pl 51 (c) Kankalamurti,

TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

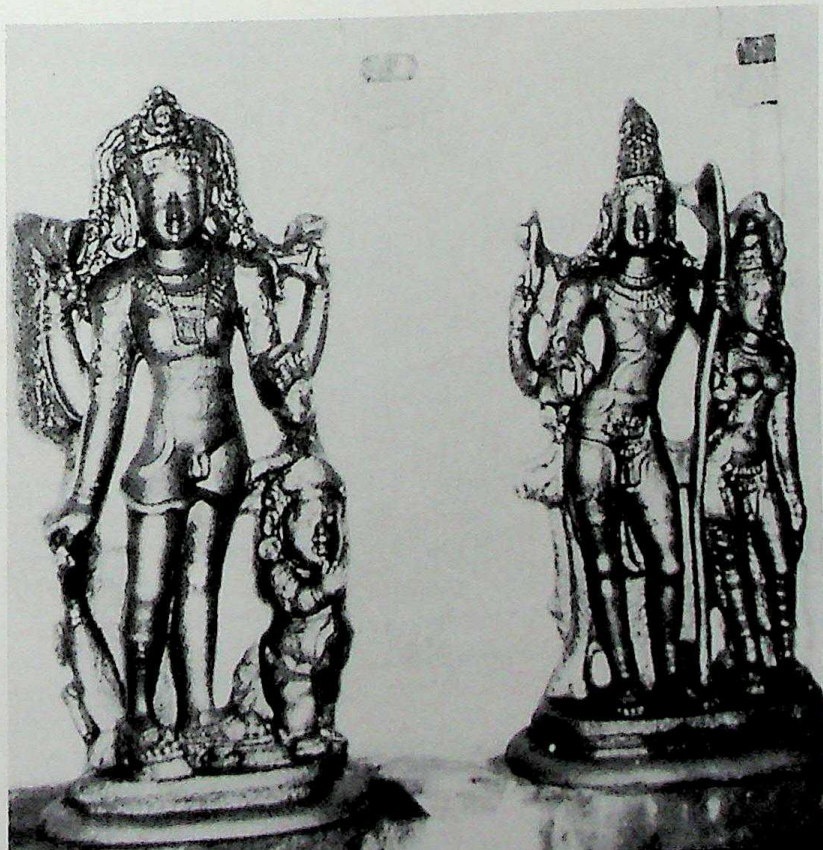
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 52 Tandava murti (*left*) and Gajasamhara murti (*right*)

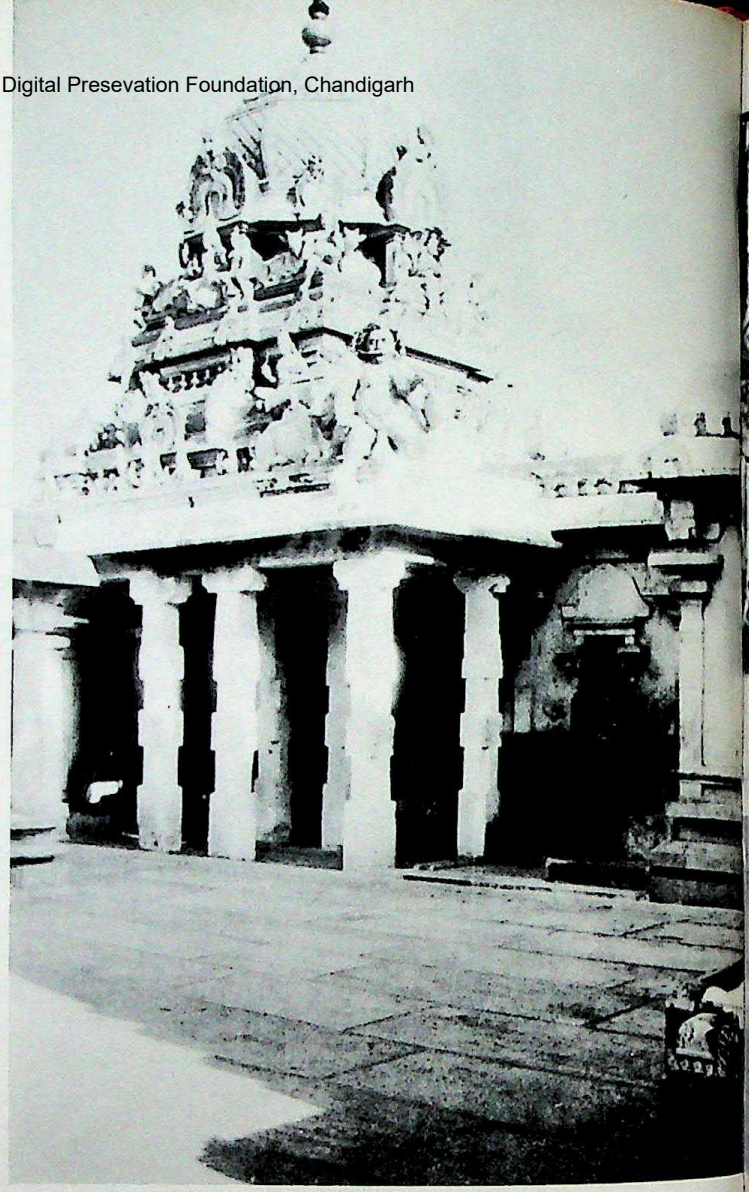
TIRUCHCHENGATTANGUDI
Uttarapatisvarar temple

Pl 53 Bhikshatanar (*left*) and Tripurantakar (*right*)



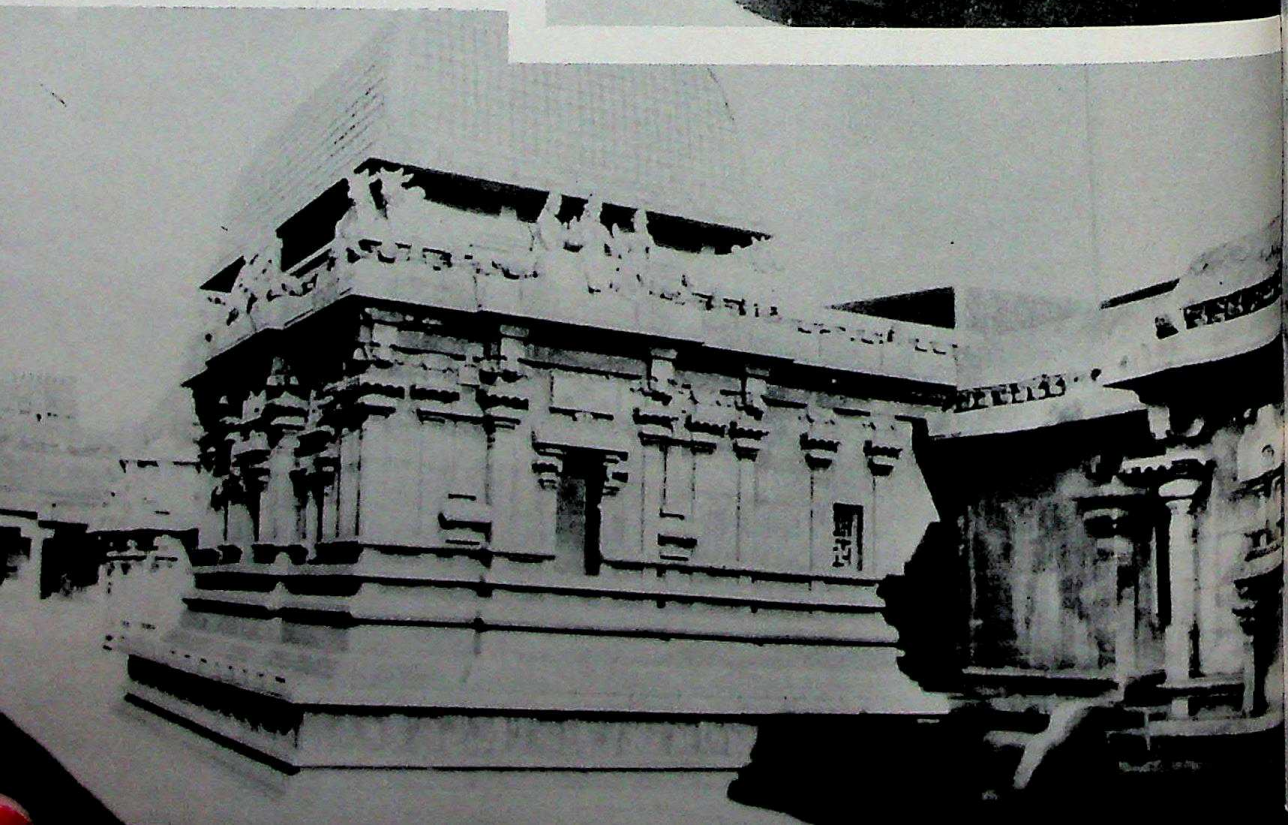
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 54 Sriyimana and ardhamandapa

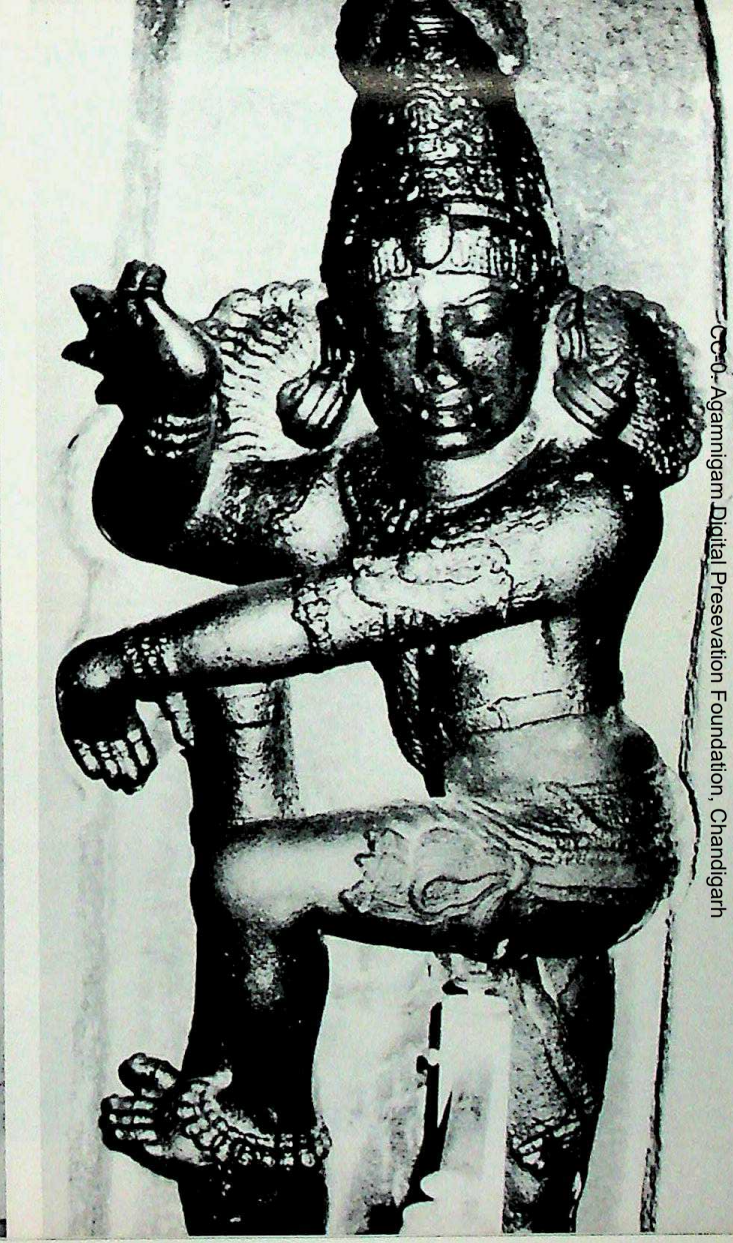


TIRUKKADAIYUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple

Pl 55 Kalakala devar shrine



TIRUKKADAIYUR
Amritaghatesvarar temple

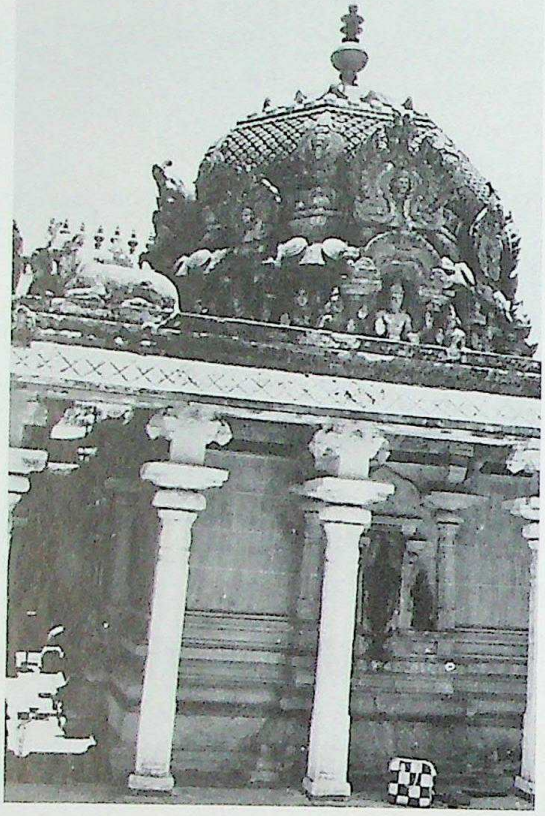


Pl 56 Dvarapala (*left*)

Pl 57 Dvarapala (*right*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

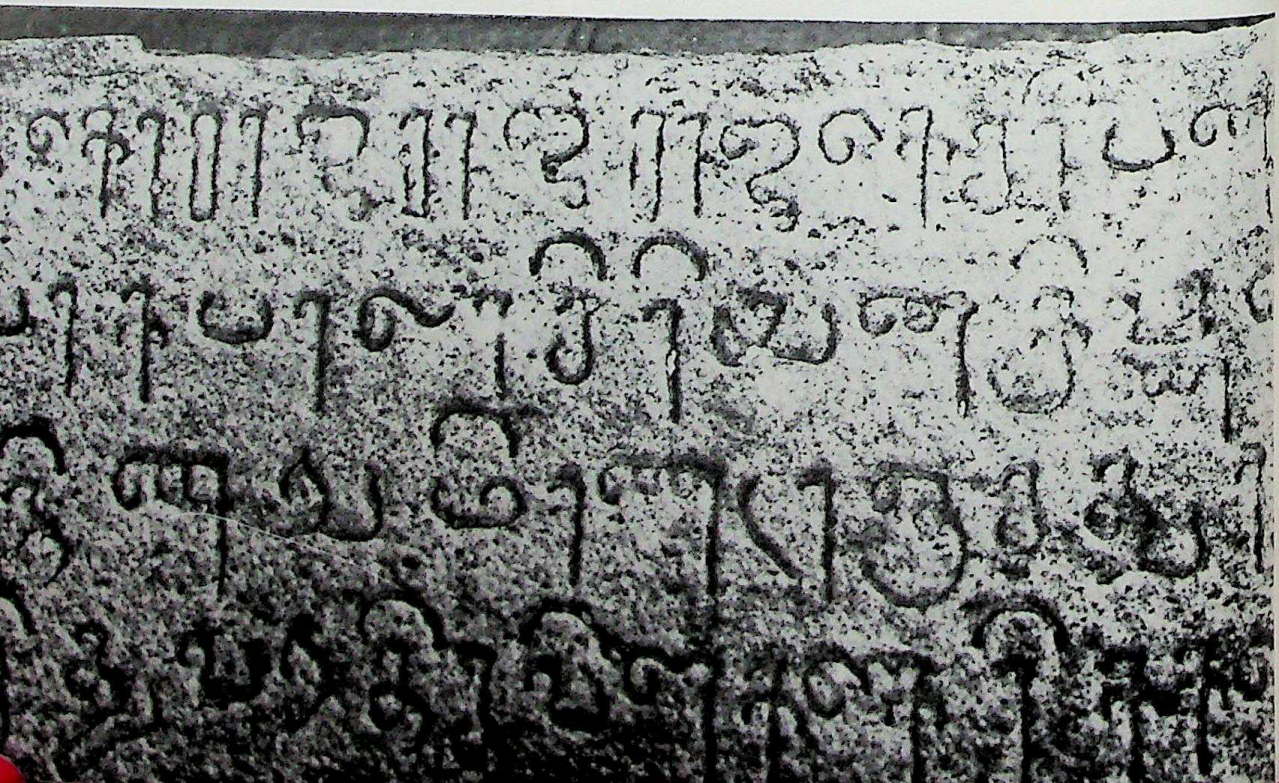


Pl 58 Srivimana

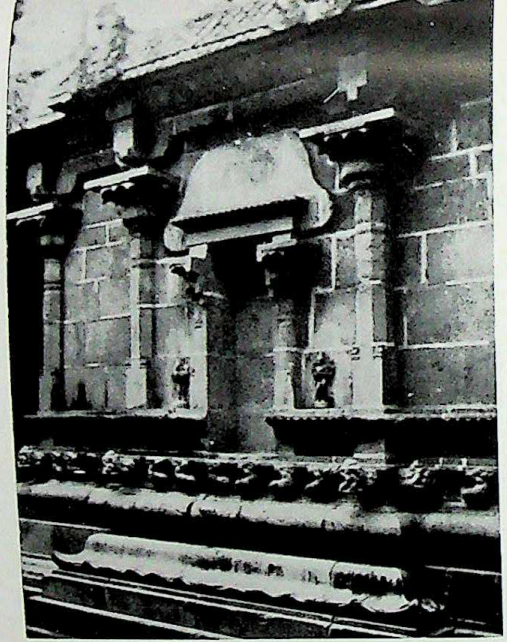
Pl 59 Bhikshatanar

TIRUPPUGALUR
Konapiran temple

Pl 60 Rajaraja I's inscription

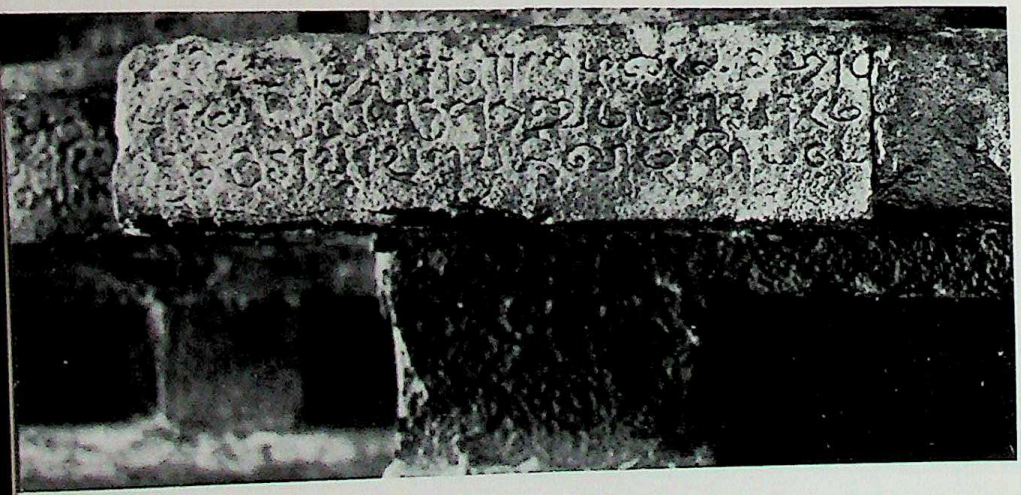


Pl 61 Garbhagriha—
Thyagaraja shrine (left)



NAGAPATTINAM
Karonasvamin temple

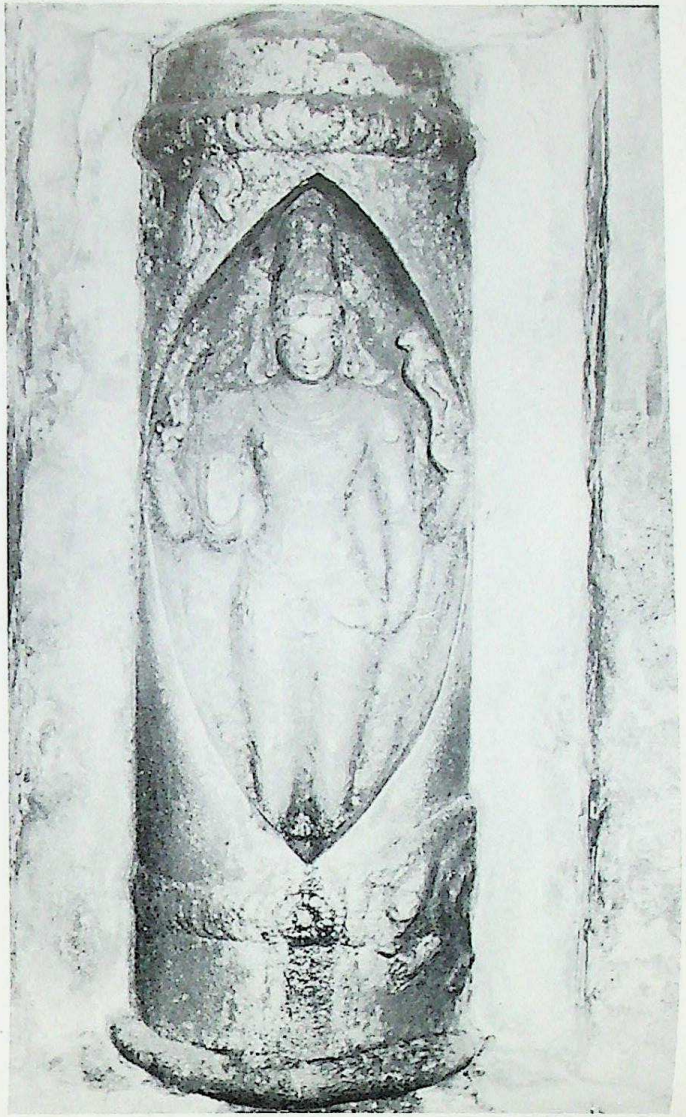
Pl 61 (a) Inscription



Pl 62 Nataraja, ardha-mandapa, central shrine

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

NAGAPATTINAM
Karonasvamin temple

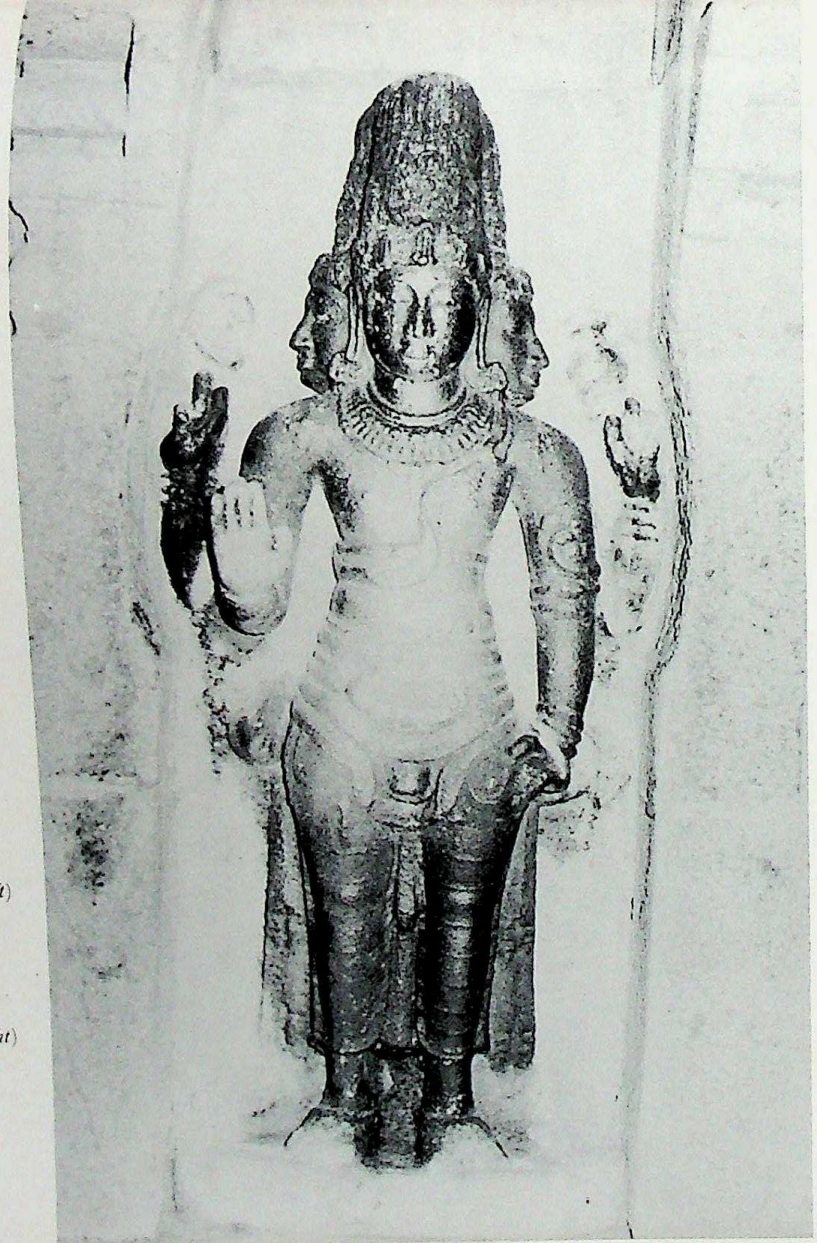


Pl 63 Dakshinamurti (*left*)

Pl 64 Lingodbhavar (*right*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

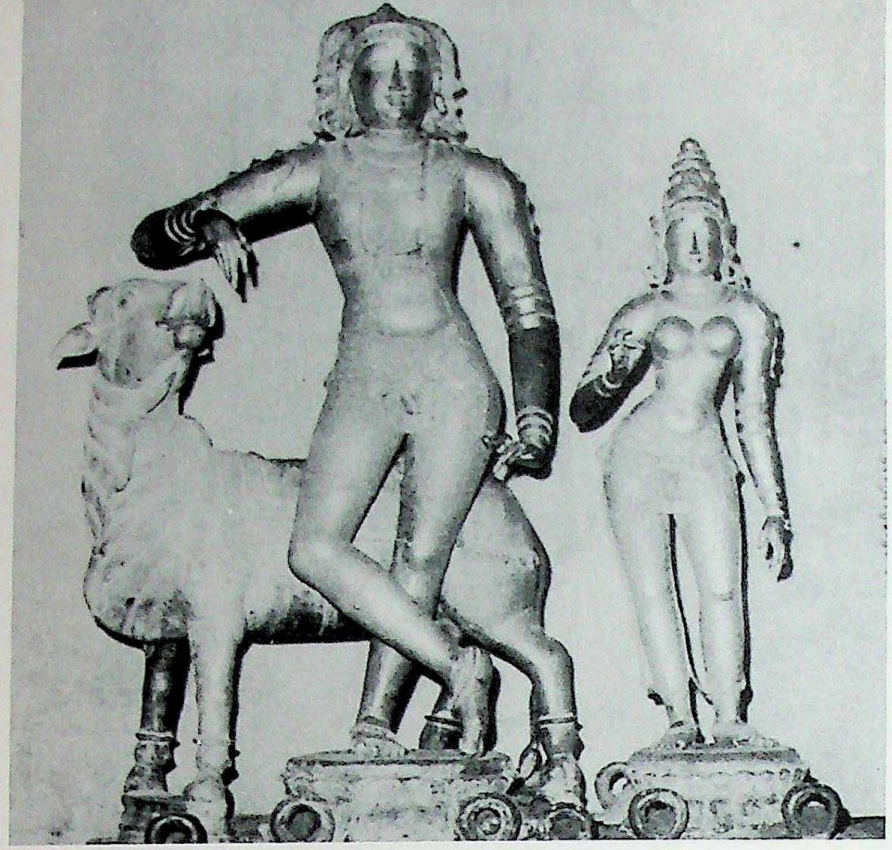
NAGAPATTINAM
Karonasvamin temple



Pl 65 Brahma (*left*)

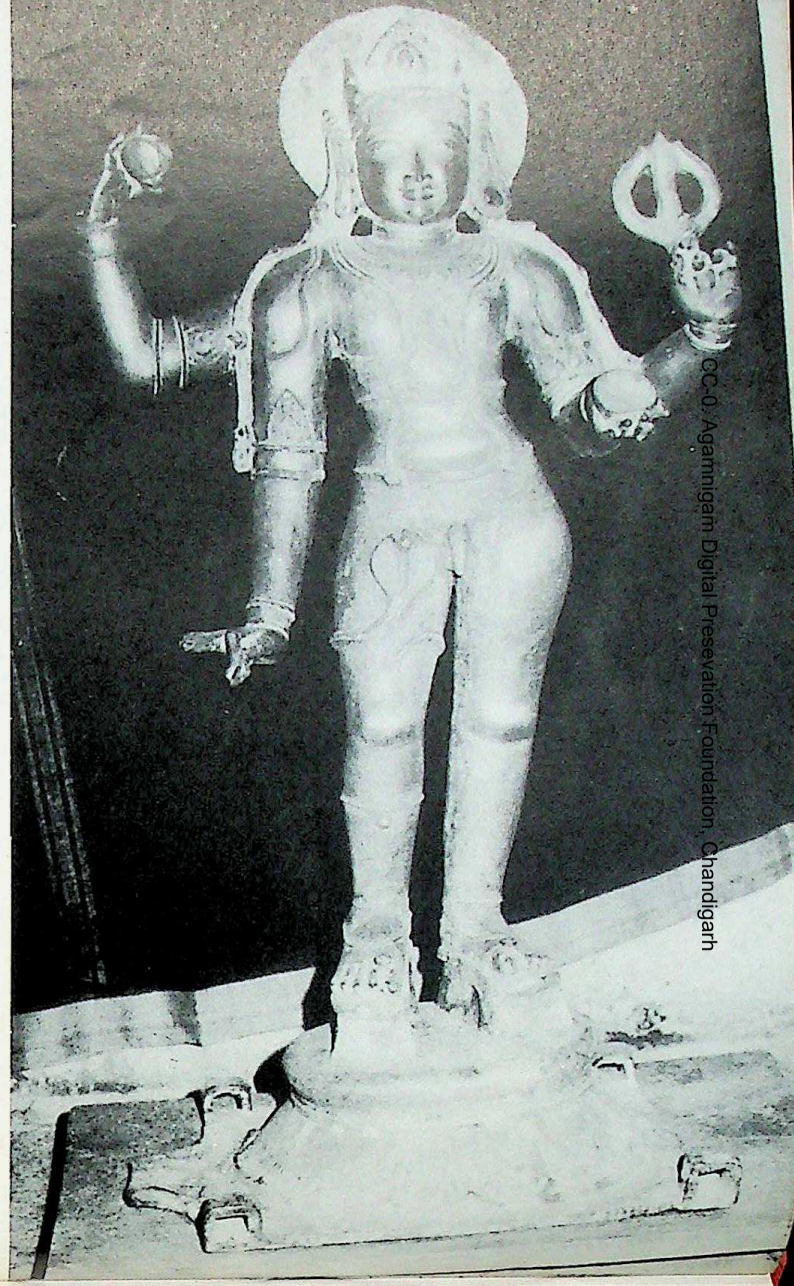
Pl 66 Durga (*right*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 67 Vrishabharudhar (*bronze*)

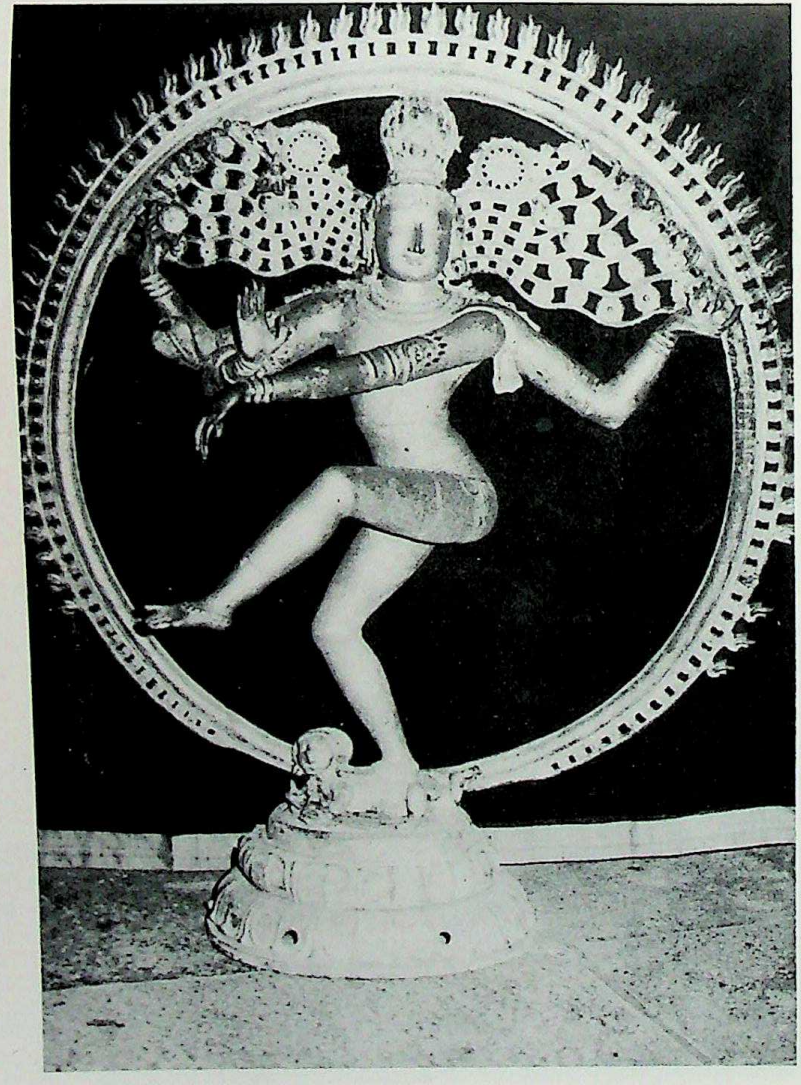
NAGAPATTINAM
Karonasvamin temple



Pl 68 Bhikshatanar (*bronze*)

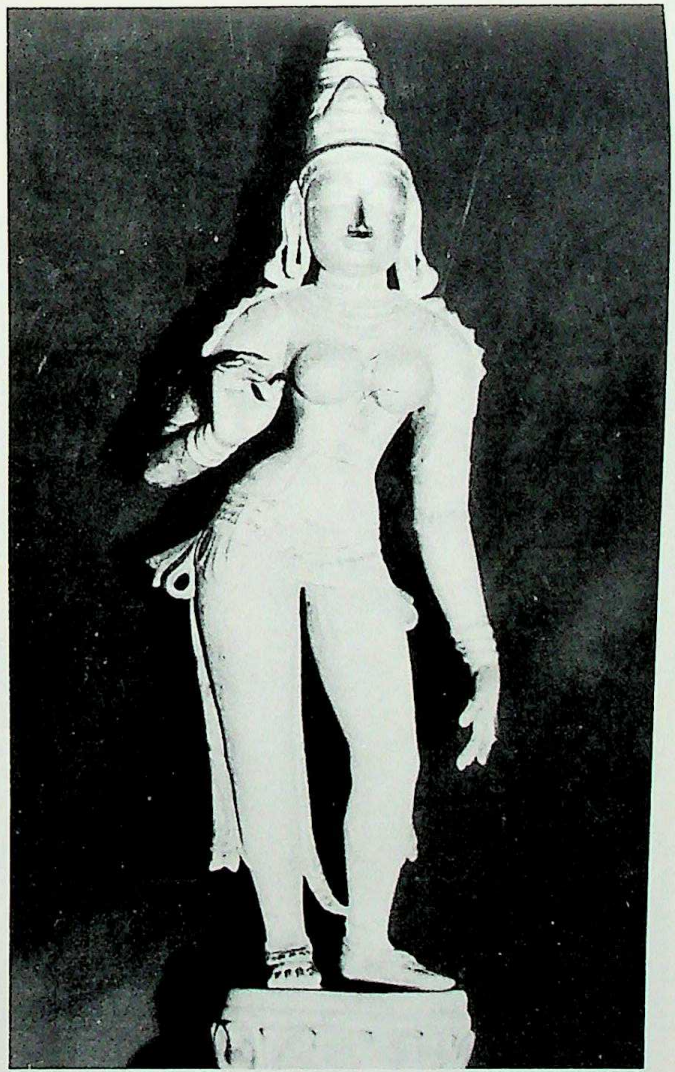
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 69 Nataraja (*bronze*)



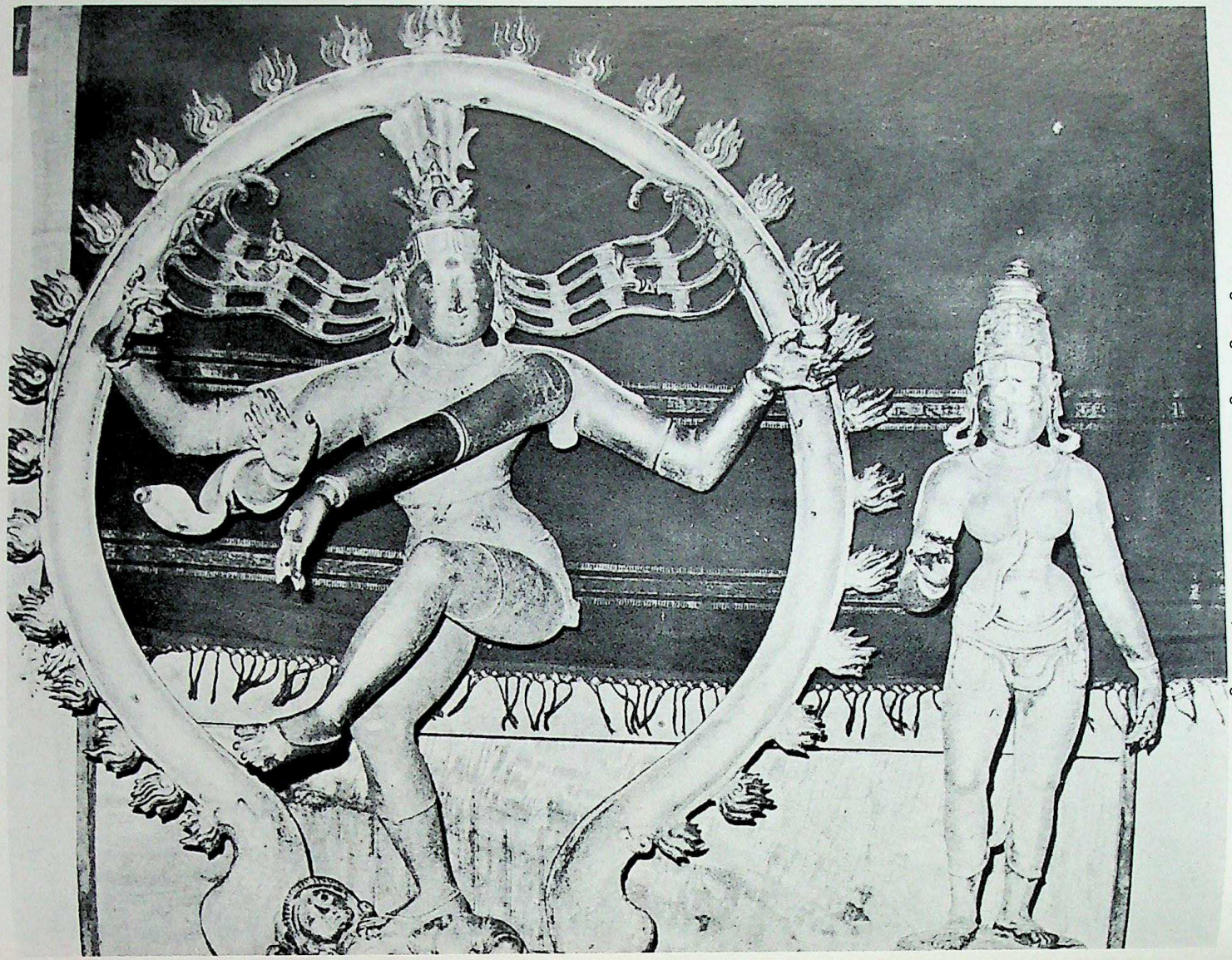
NAGAPATTINAM
Karonasvamin temple

Pl 70 Sivakami (*bronze*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

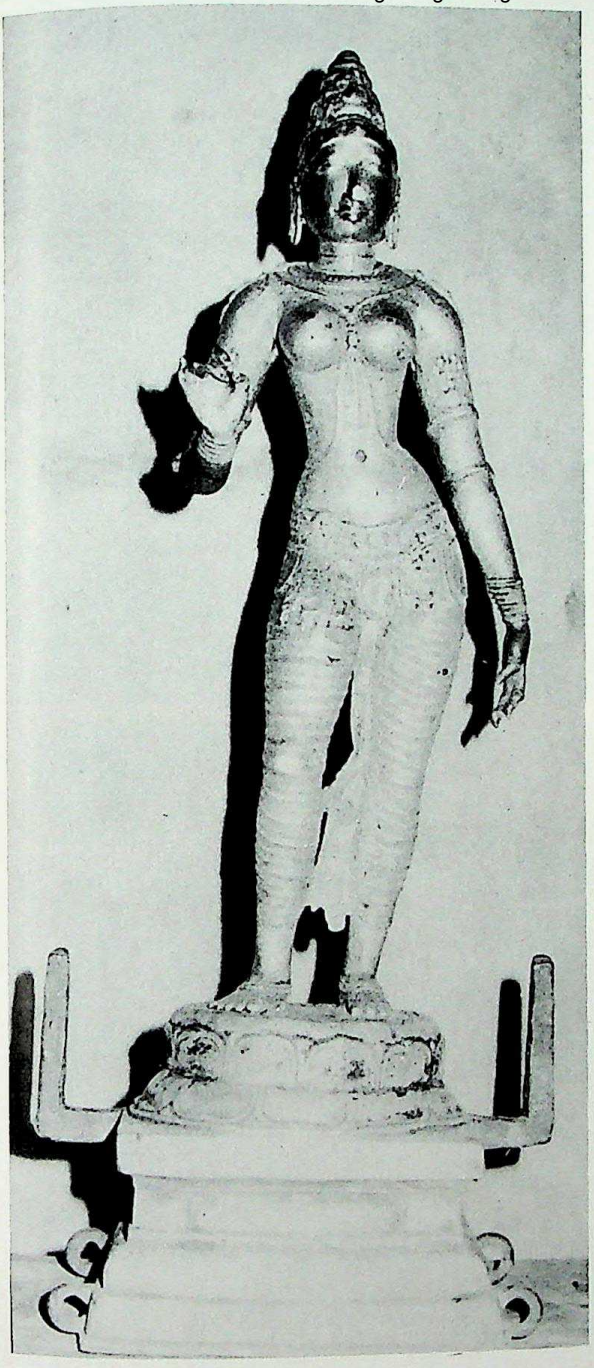
Pl 71 Nataraja and
Sivakami (*bronze*)



TIRUKKALAR
Parijatavanesvarasvami temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

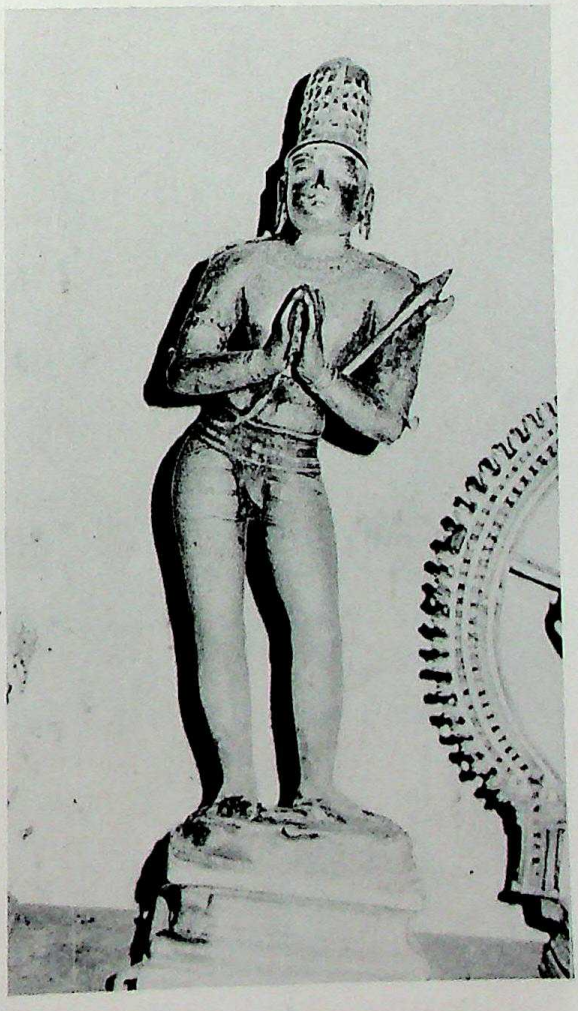
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



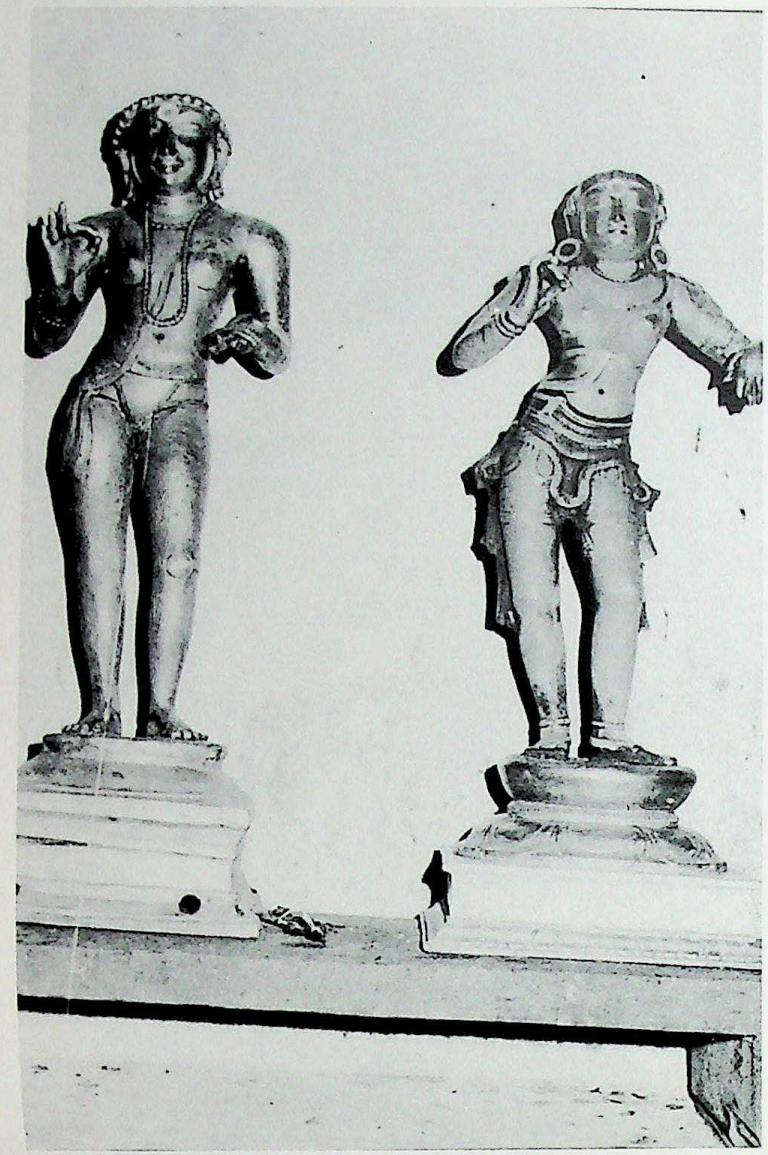
Pl 72 Tani Amman (*bronze*)

TIRUKKALAR
Parijatavanesvarasvami temple

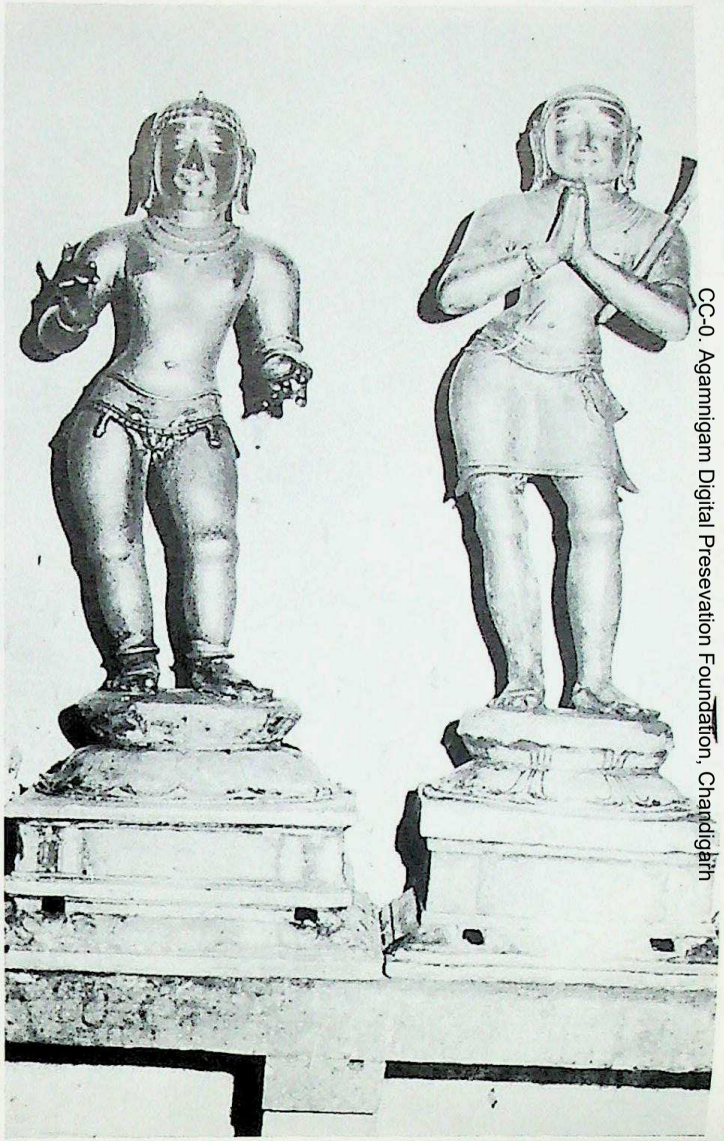
Pl 73 Chandesvarar (*bronze*)



TIRUKKALAR
Parijatavanesvarasvami temple



Pl 74 Manikkavasagar (*left*) and Sundarar (*right*) (*bronze*)



Pl 75 Sambandar (*left*) and Appar (*right*) (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

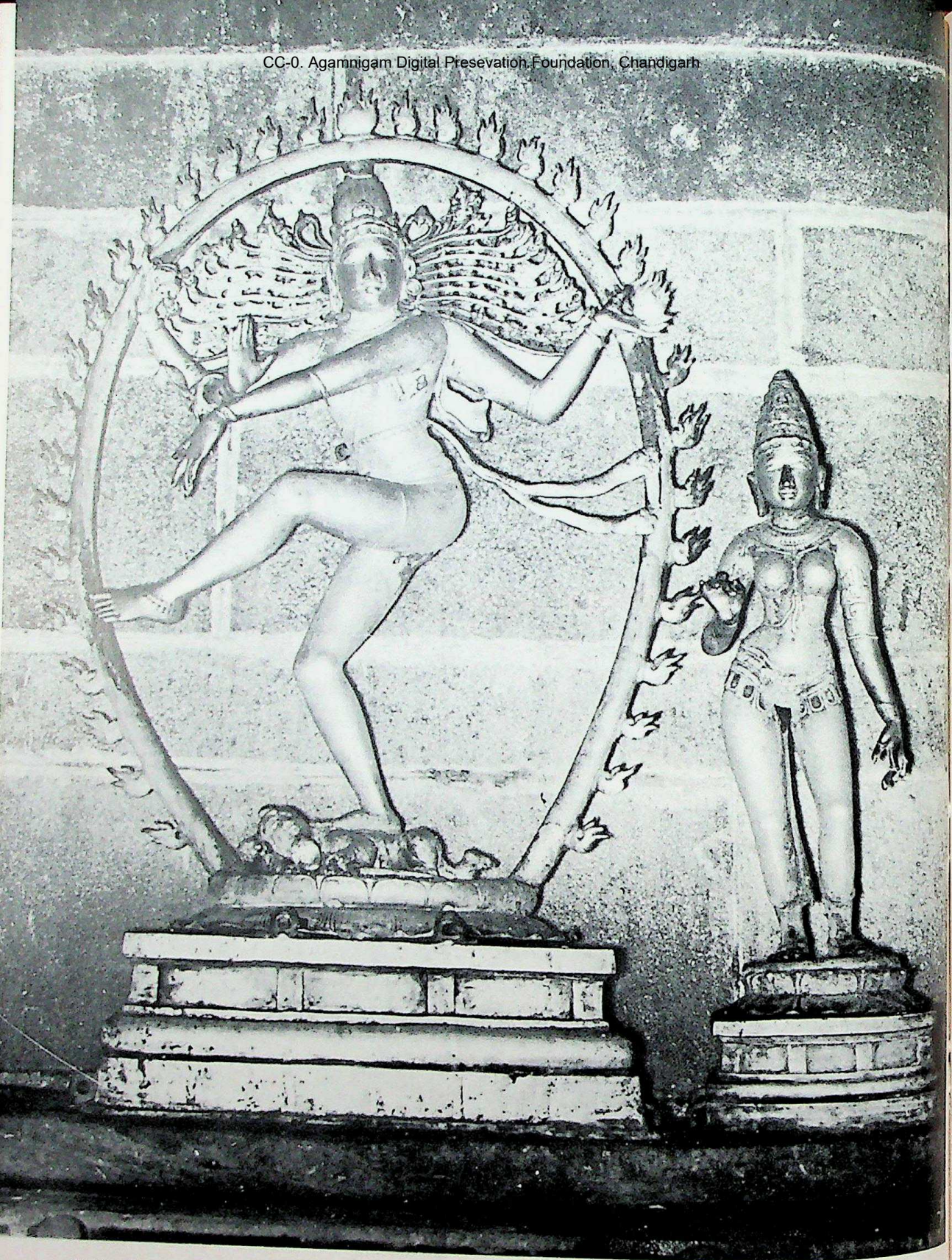
TIRUKKARAVASAL
Kannayiranathasvami temple

Pl 76 Dakshinamurti (*left*)

Pl 77 Bhikshatanar (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

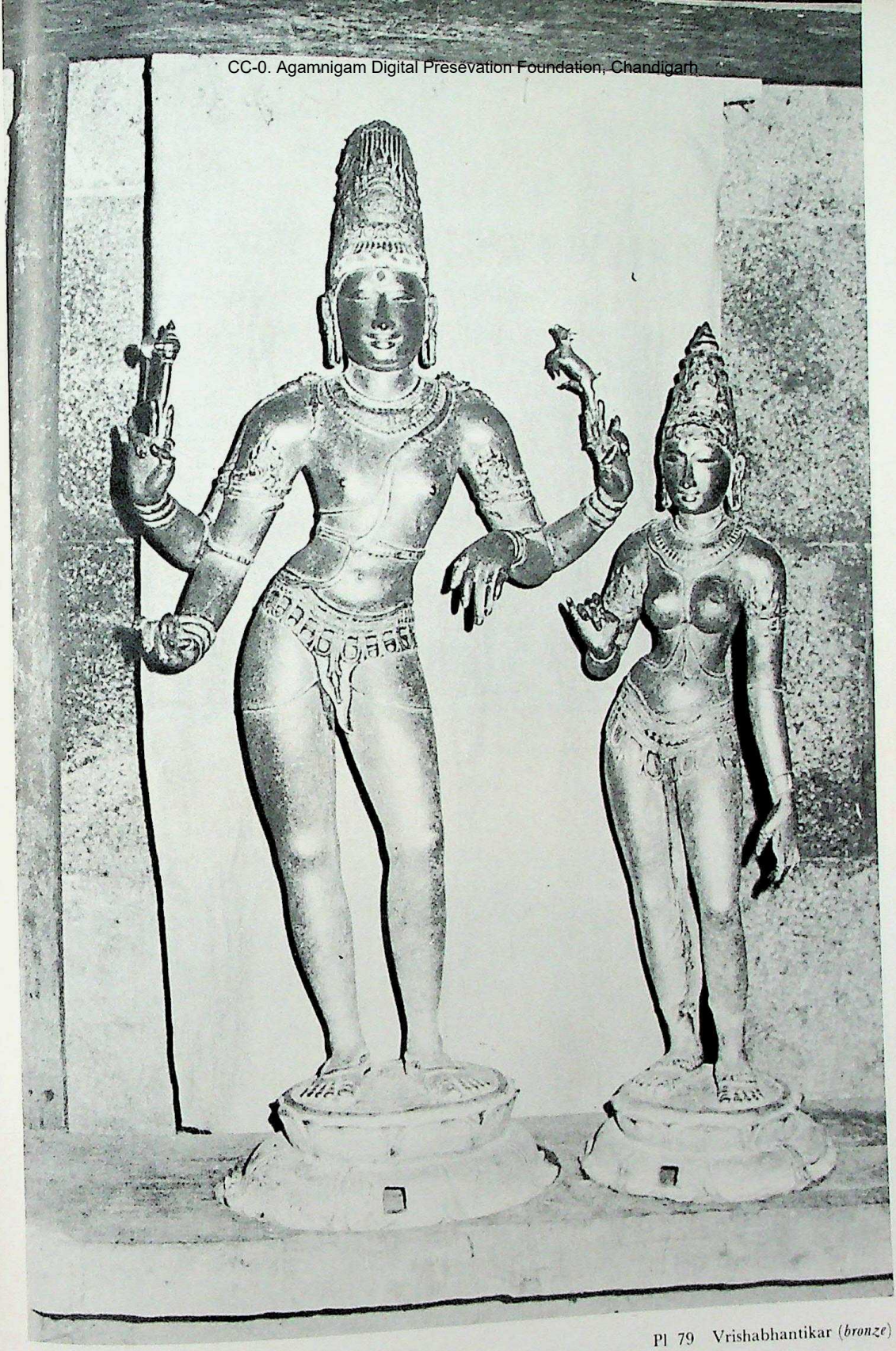
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 78 Nataraja and Sivakami *(bronze)*

TIRUKKARAVASAL
Kannayiranathasvami temple

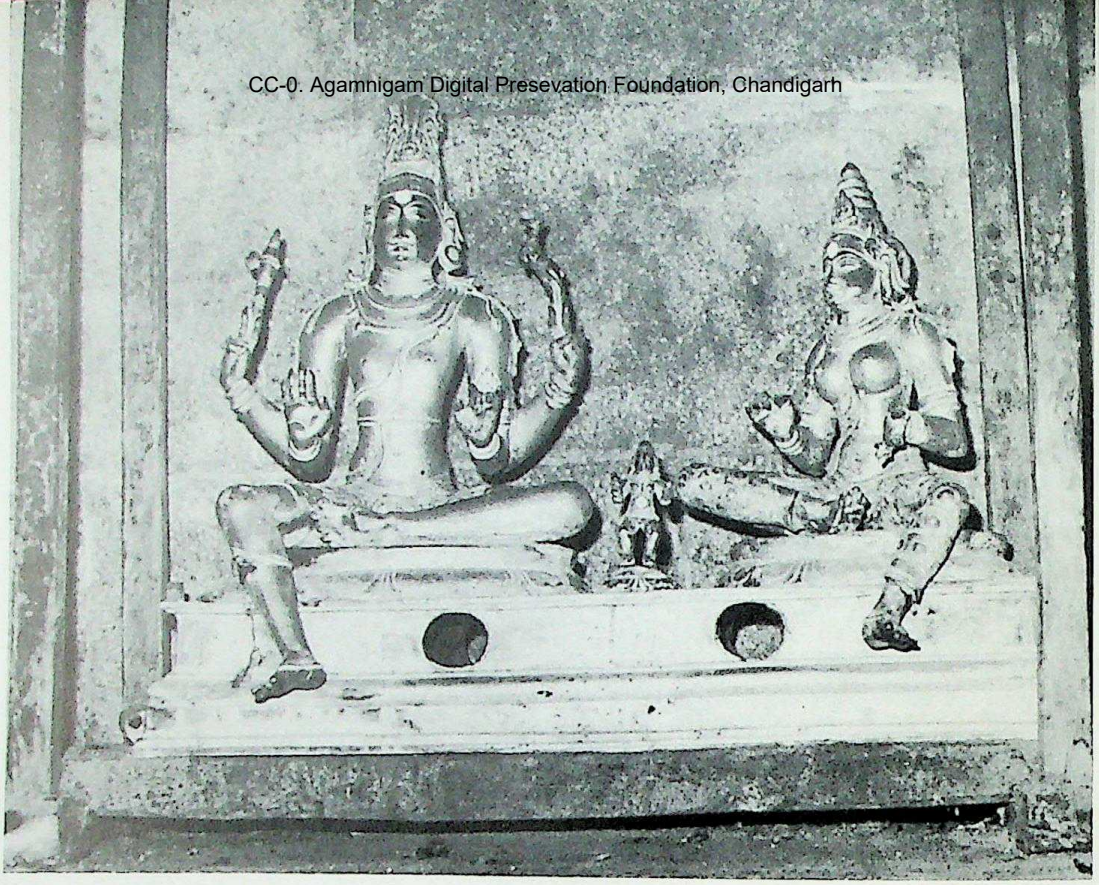
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 79 Vrishabhantikar (*bronze*)

TIRUKKARAVASAL
Kannayiranathasvami temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 80 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

TIRUKKARAVASAL
Kannayiranathasvami temple

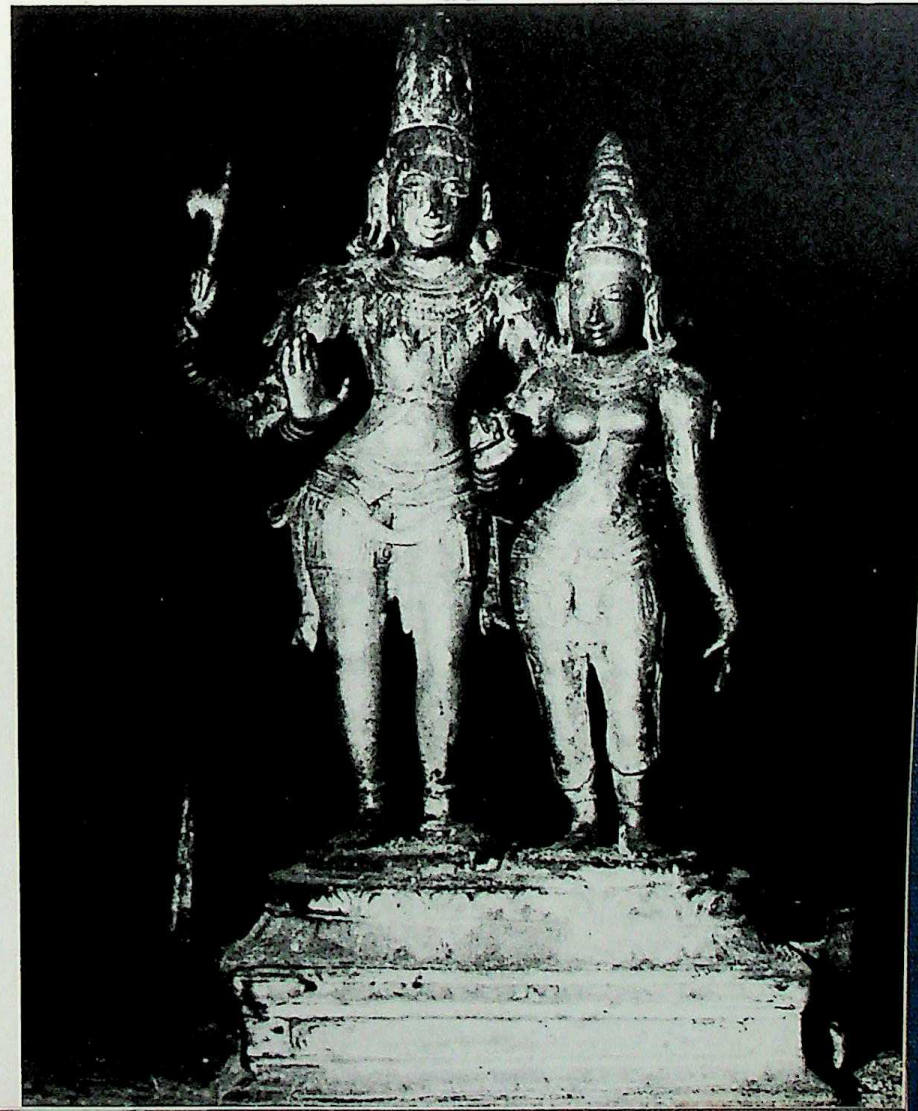
TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Tirunedungalanathar temple

Pl 81 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Tirunedungalanathar temple

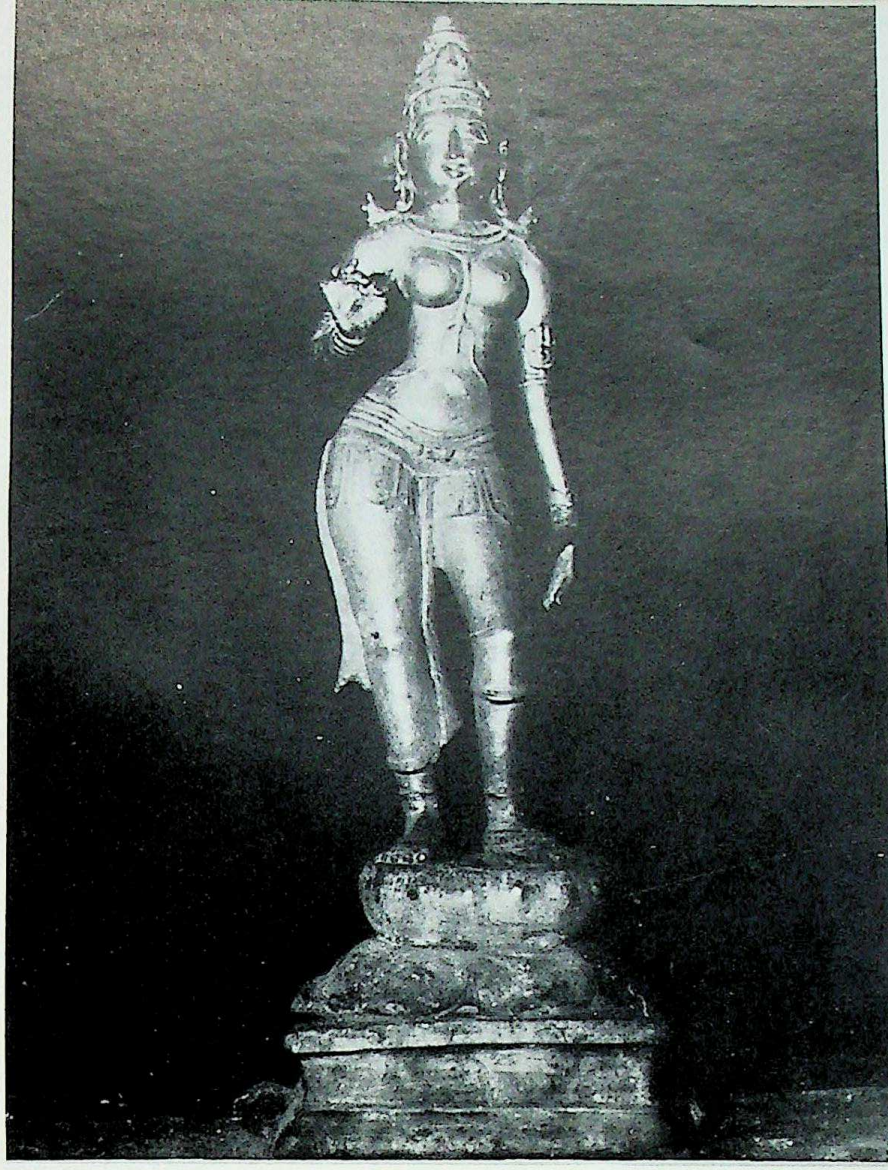
Pl 82 Uma (Somaskandar group) (*bronze*)

Pl 83 Siva-Uma Alinginamurti (*bronze*)



Pl 84 Nataraja (*bronze*)

TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Tirunedungalanathar temple



Pl 85 Sivakami (*bronze*)

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TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Tirunedungalanathar temple

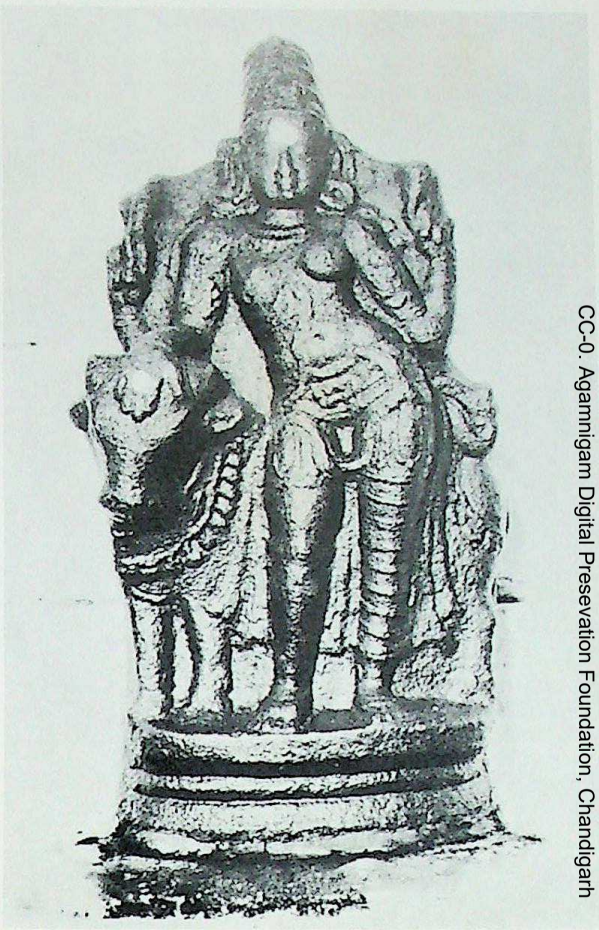
Pl 86 Dvarapala

Pl 87 Dvarapala

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 88 Yoga-Dakshinamurti

Pl 89 Ganapati (*parivaradevata*)



Pl 90 Ardhanari

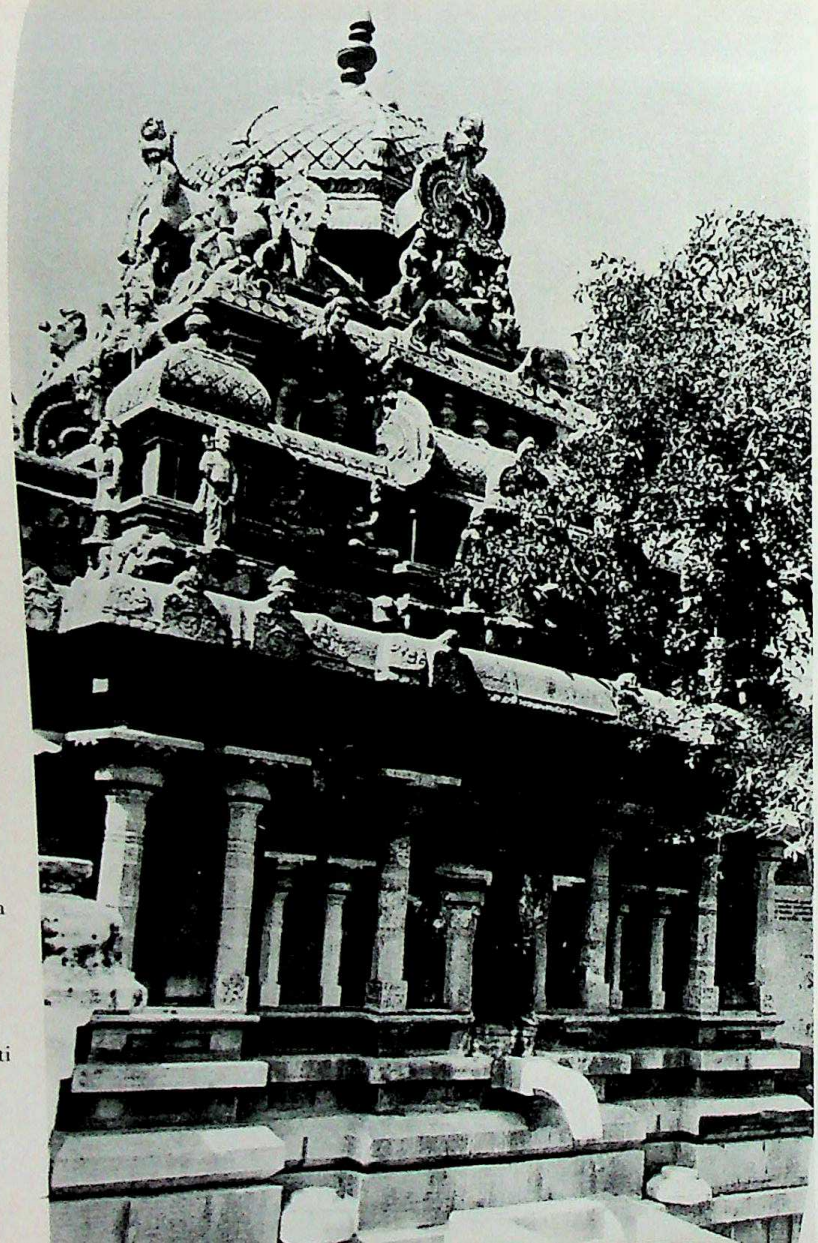
TIRUNEDUNGALAM
Tirunedungalanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUMANGALAM
Samavedisvarar temple

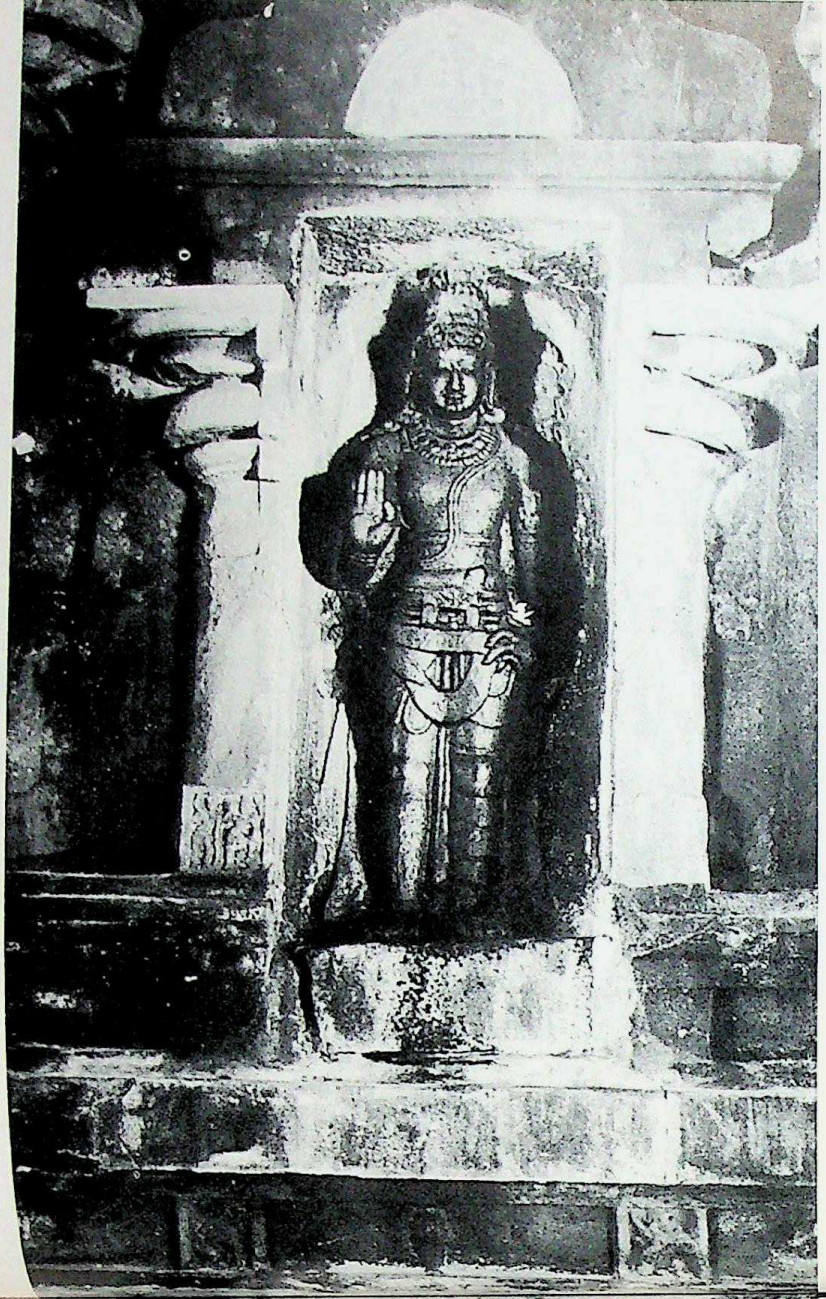
Pl 91 Srivimana

Pl 92 Dakshinamurti

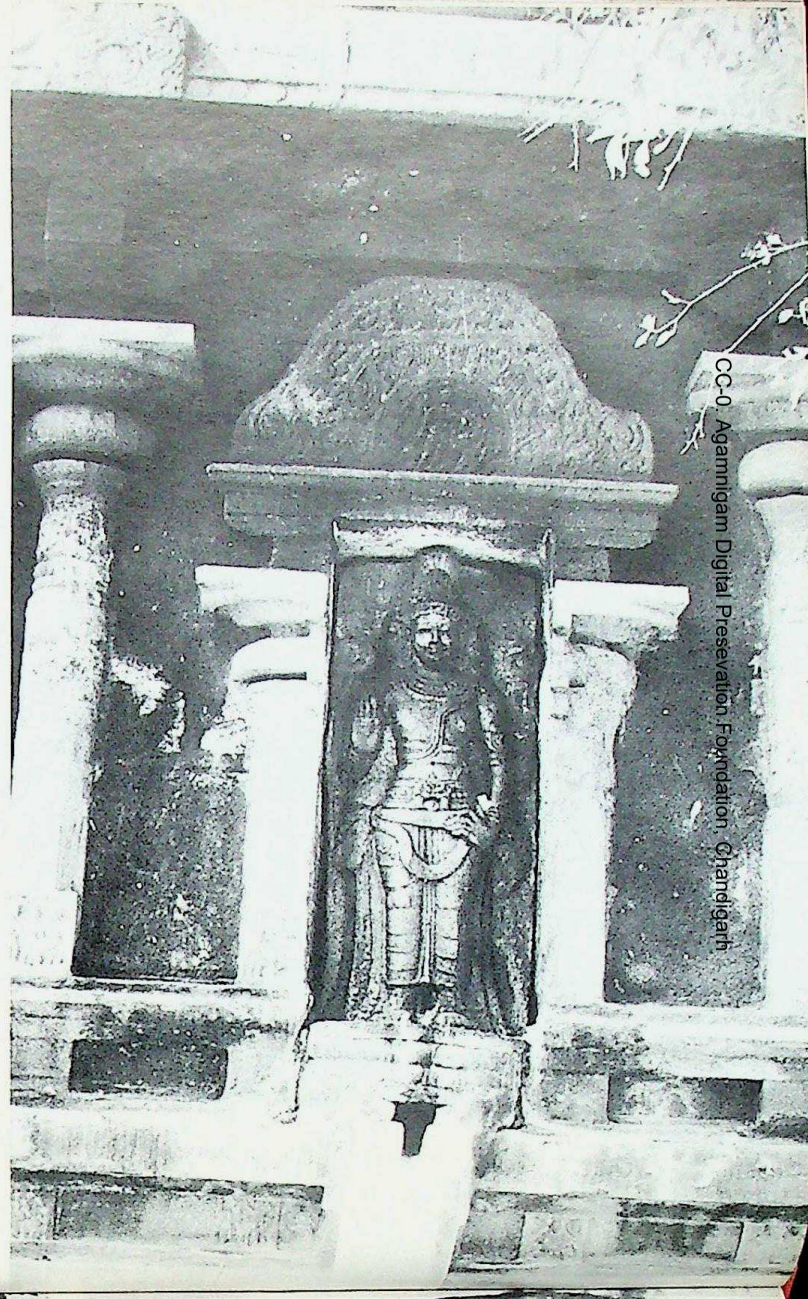


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIRUMANGALAM
Samavedisvarar temple



Pl 93 Sankara-Narayana, western devakoshtha



Pl 94 Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

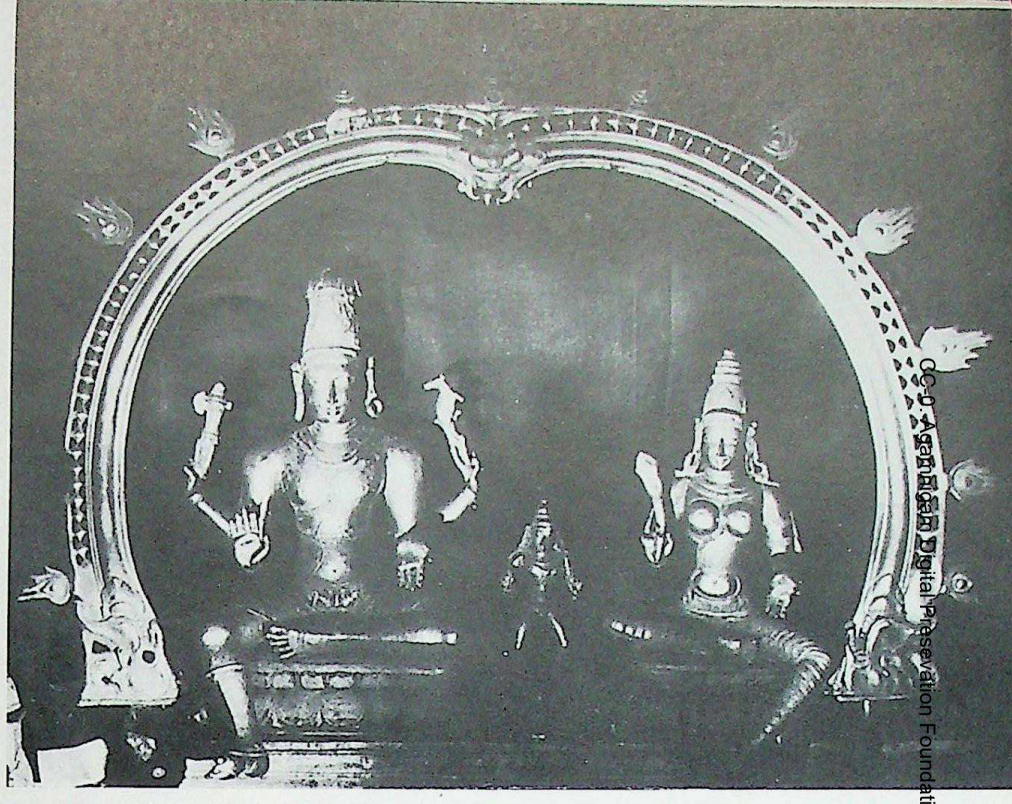
TIRUMANGALAM
Samavedisvarar temple

Pl 95 Durga (*left*)

Pl 96 Anaaya-Nayanar (*stone*) (*right*)

CC-0.Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 97 Ramayana Panel
(*Sugriva pattabhishekam*)

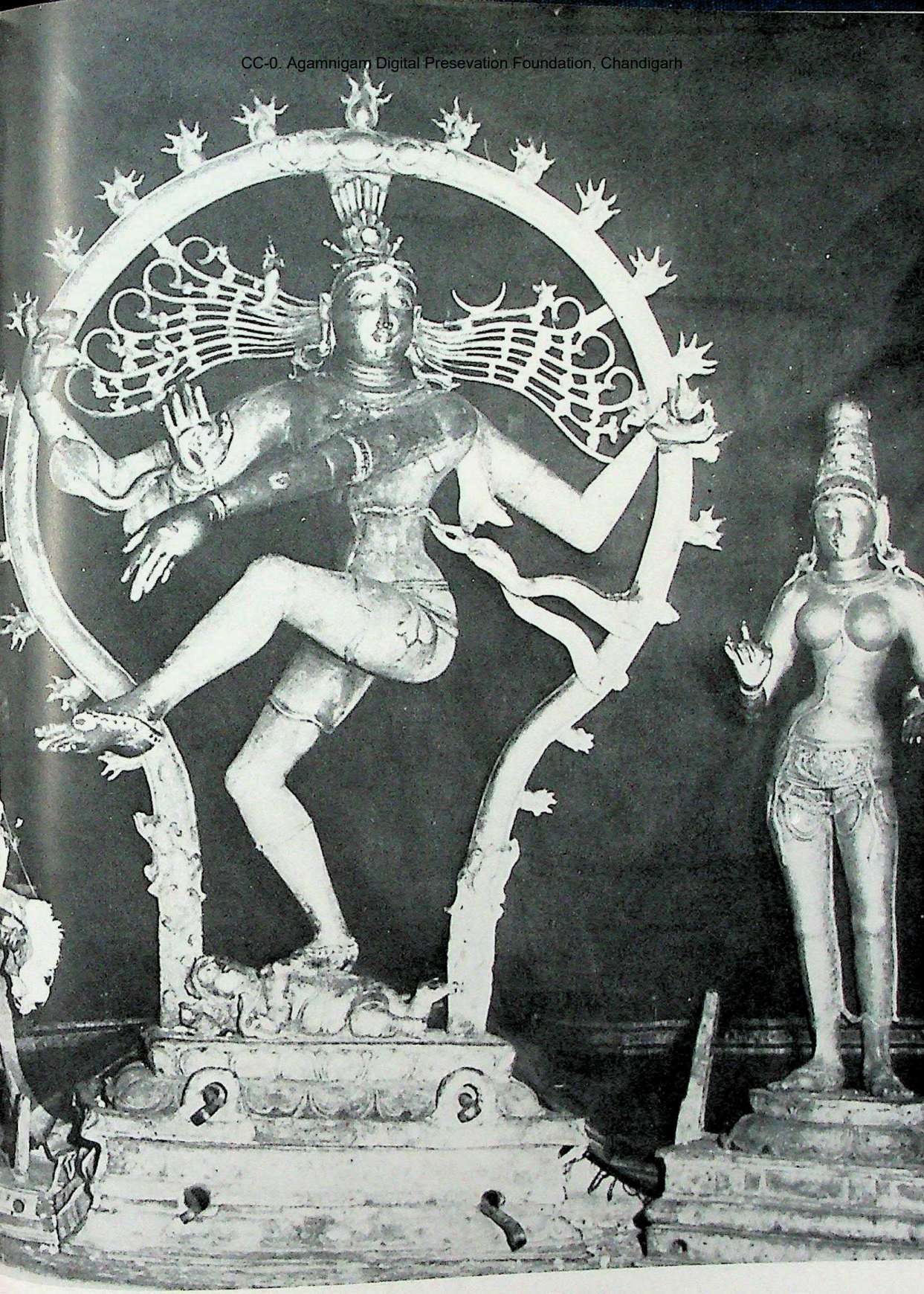


Pl 98 Somaskandar

TIRUMANGALAM
Samavedisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamic Collection. Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 99 Nataraja and Sivakami (*bronze*)

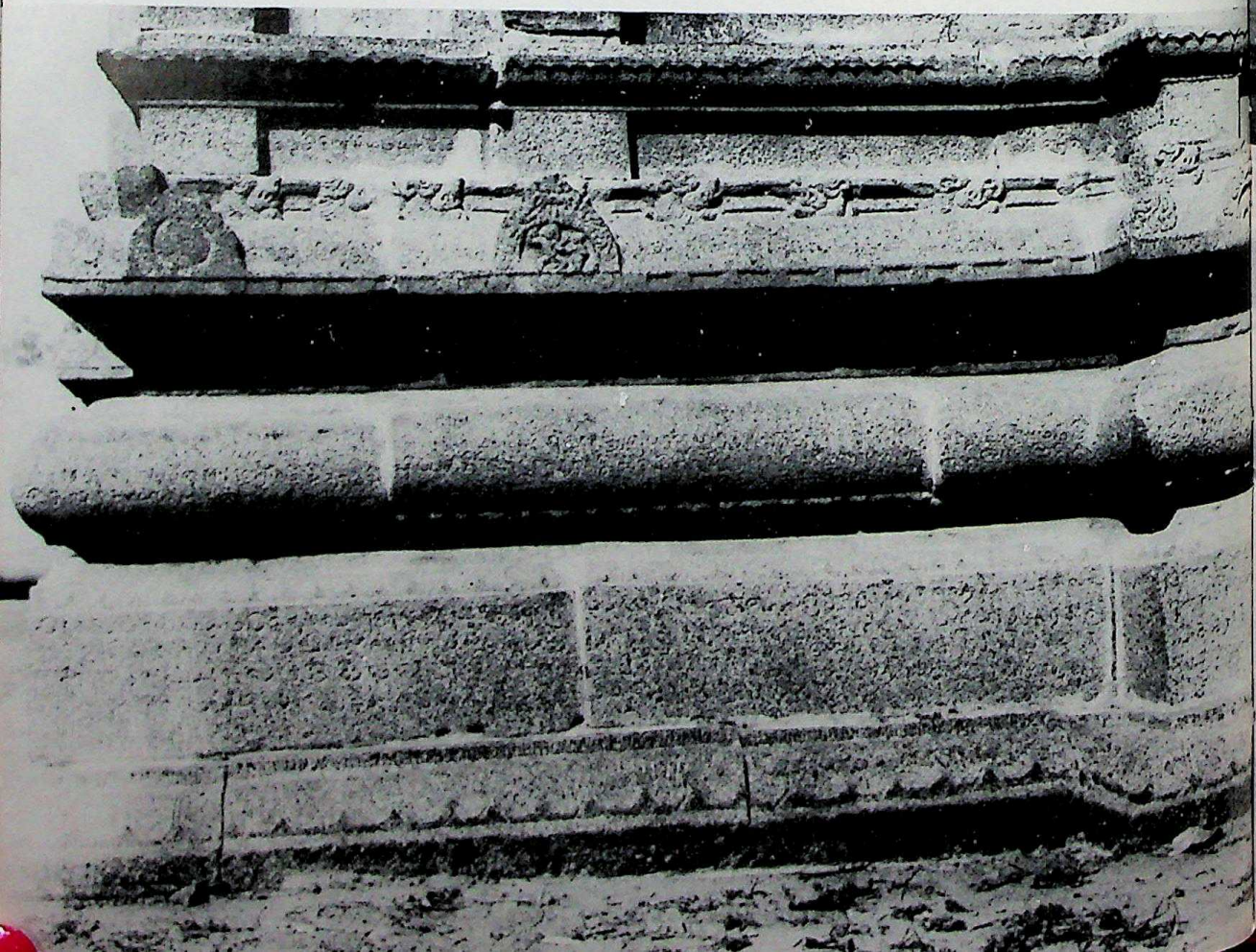
TIRUMANGALAM
Samavedisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 100 Srivimana, north view

MADAGADIPPATTU
Kundanguli Mahadevar temple

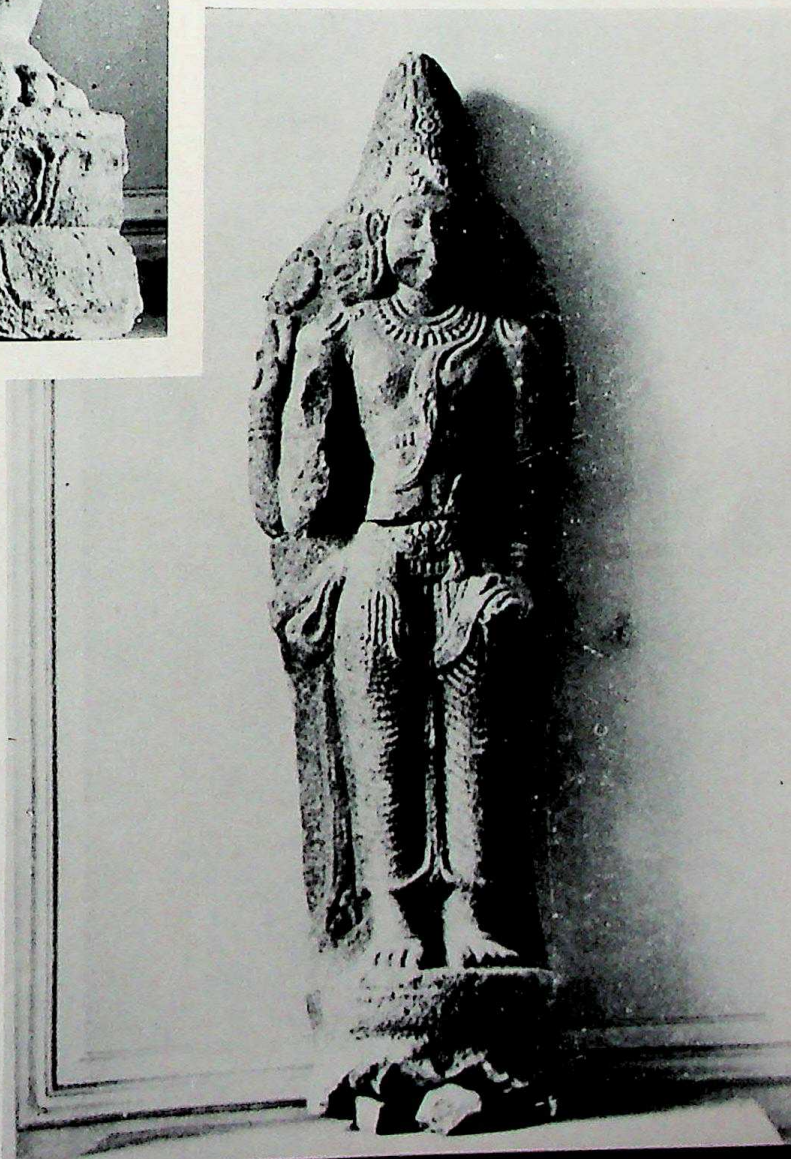
Pl 101 Adhishthanam



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 102 Ganapati

MADAGADIPPATTU
Kundanguli Mahadevar temple

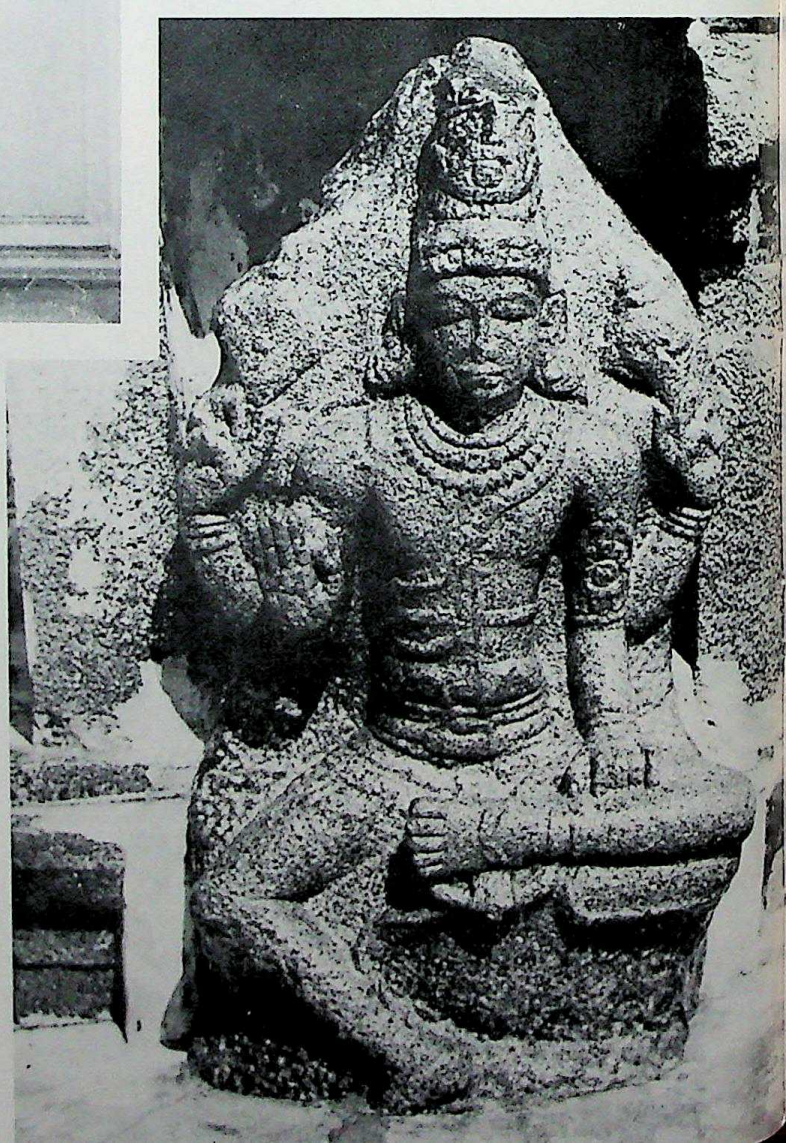


Pl 103 Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 104 Durga

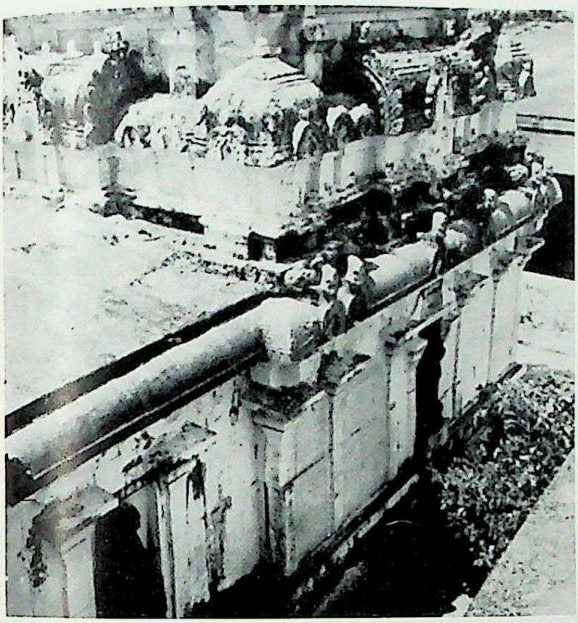
MADAGADIPPATTU
Kundanguli Mahadevar temple



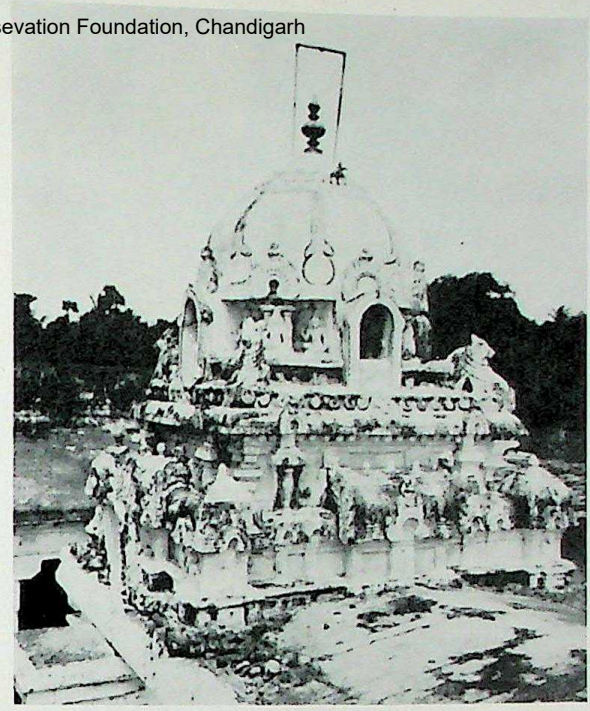
Pl 105 Vishnu
(griva koshtha)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

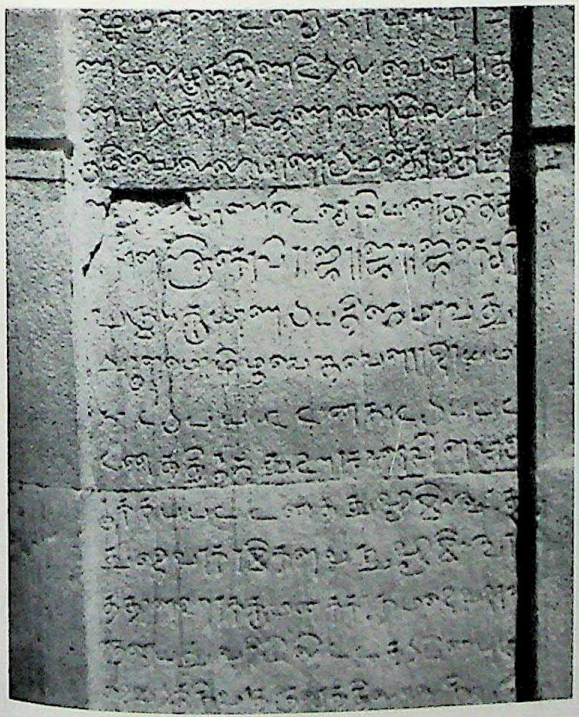
Pl 106 Garbhagriha



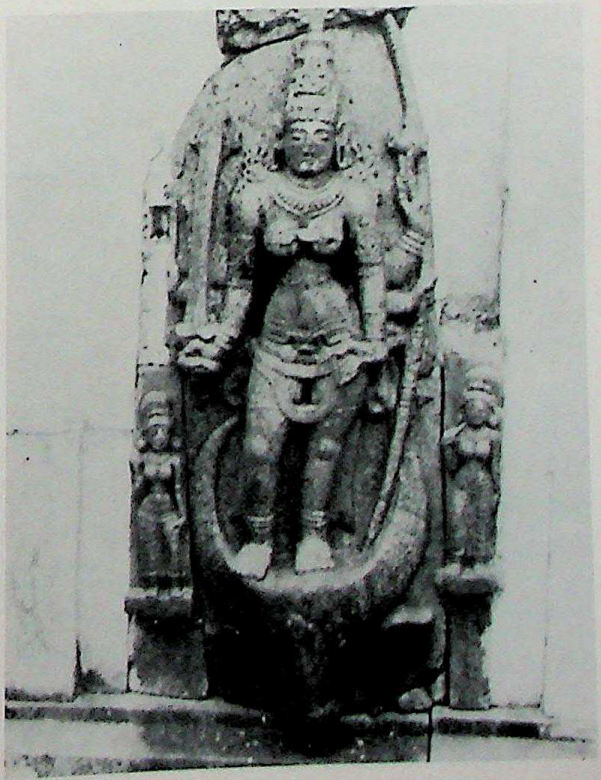
Pl 107 Srivimana



MARAKKANAM
Bhumisvarar temple



Pl 108 17th year inscription of Rajaraja I

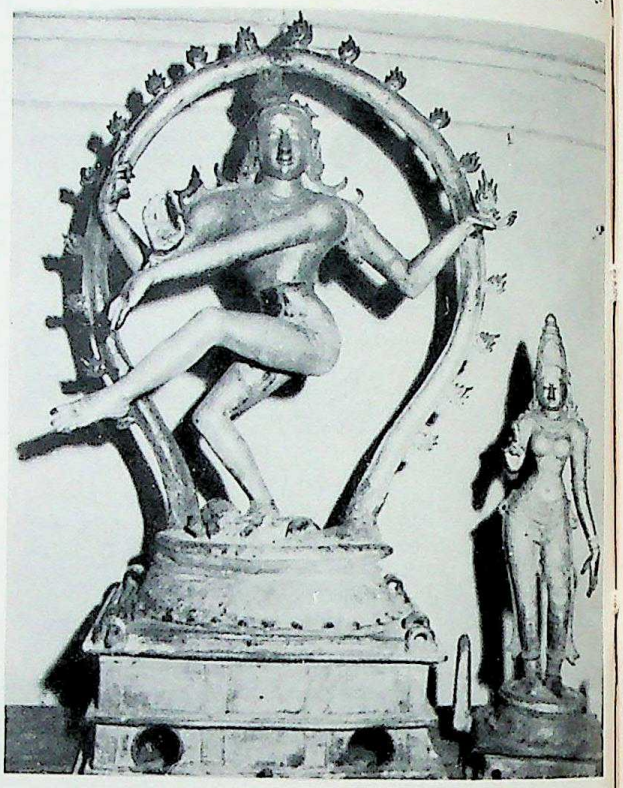


Pl 109 Durga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

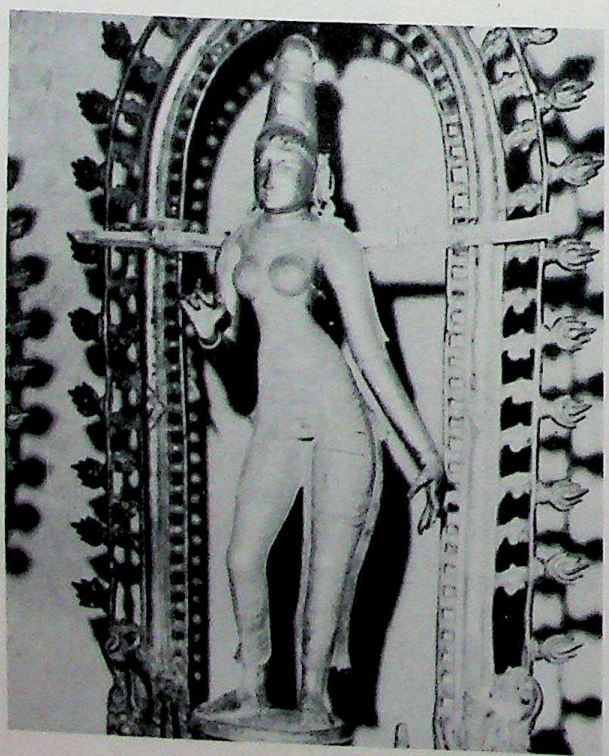
Pl 110 Bhikshatanar

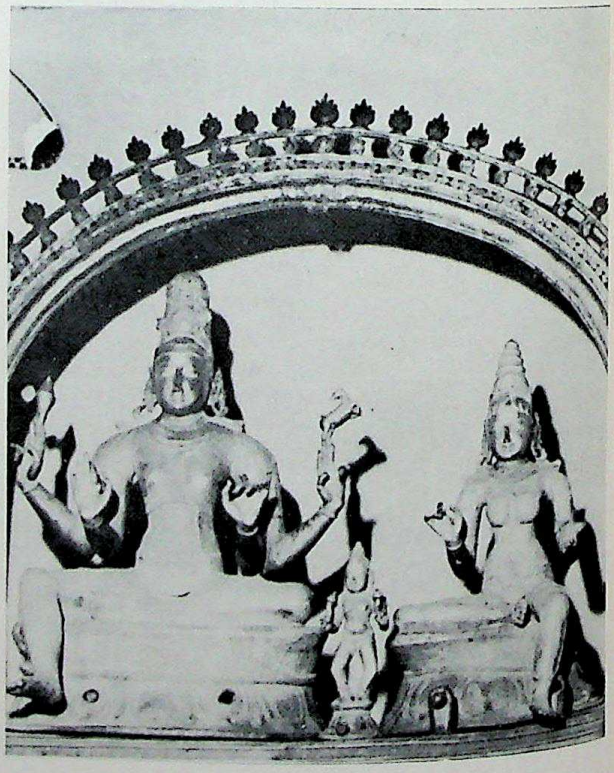
Pl 111 Nataraja and Sivakami (*bronze*)



MARAKKANAM
Bhumisvarar temple

Pl 113 Tani Amman (*bronze*)

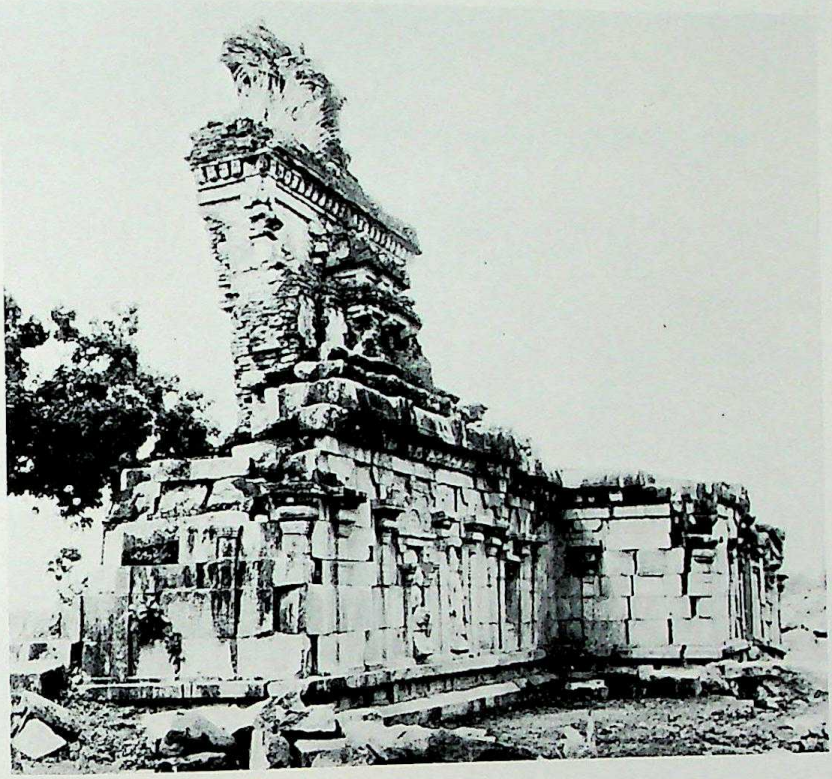


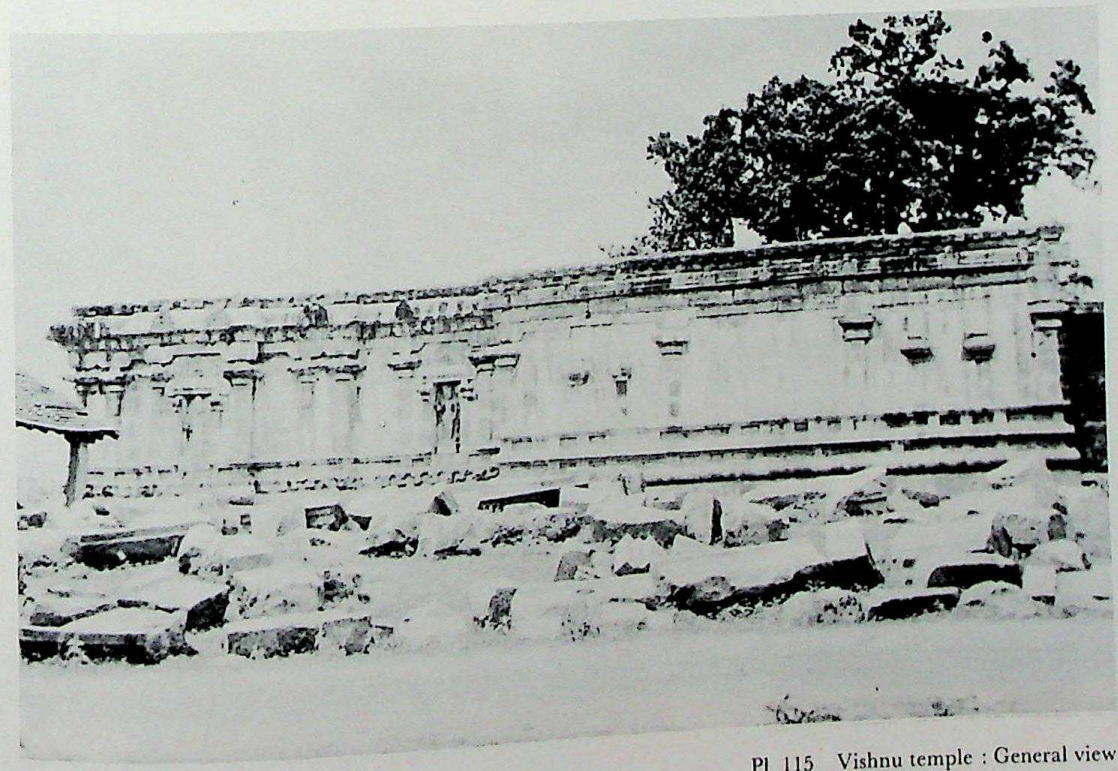


Pl 112 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

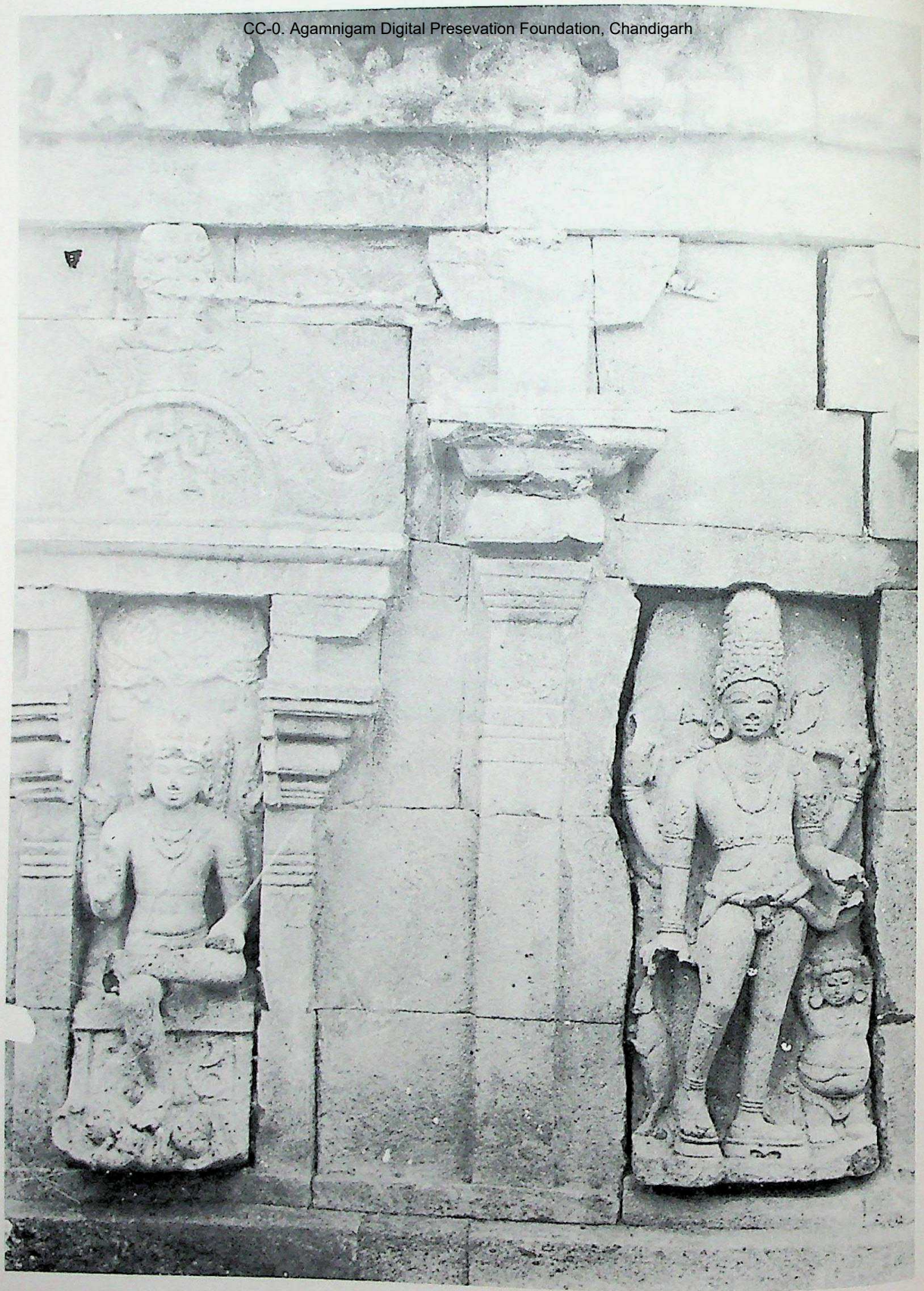
Pl 114 Siva temple : Srivimana (*in ruins*)





Pl 115 Vishnu temple : General view

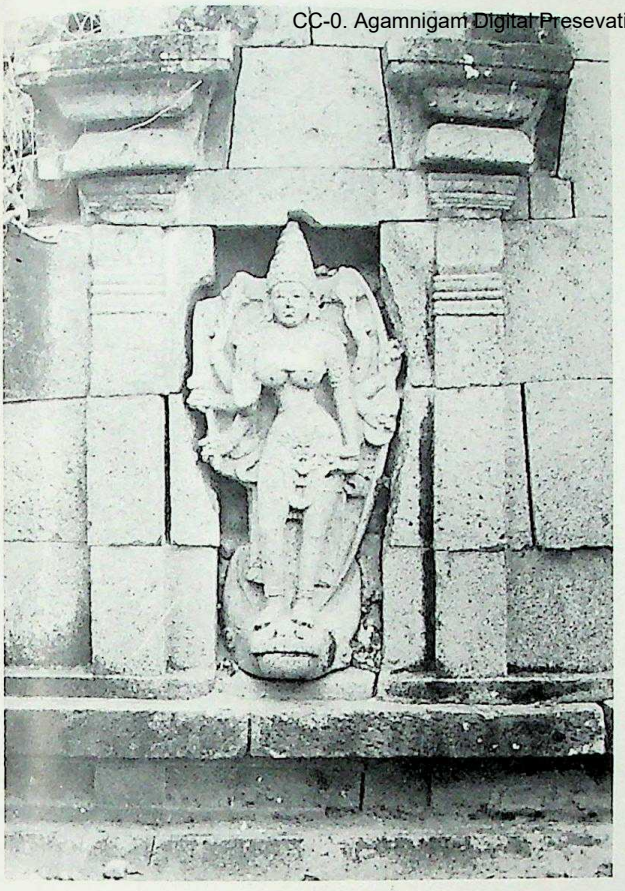
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 116 Dakshinamurti (*original*) and Bhikshatanar (*inserted*)

OLAGAPURAM
Siva temple

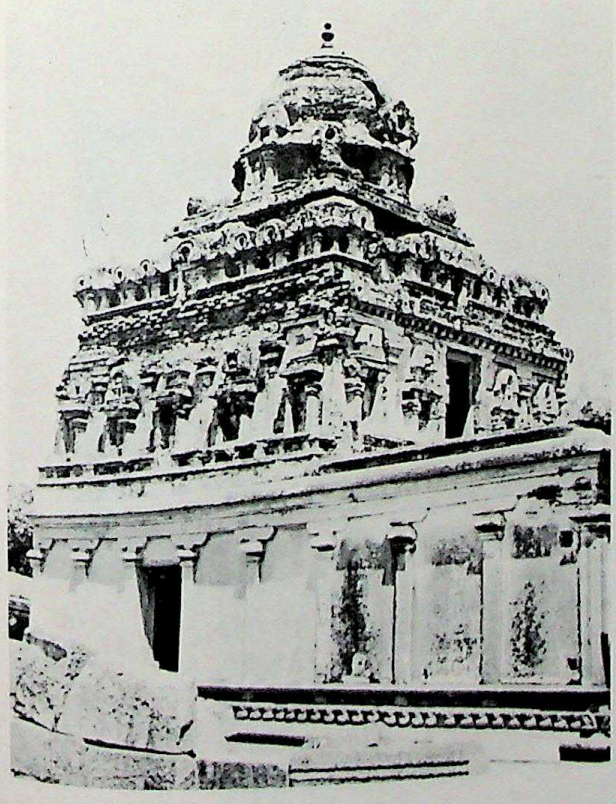
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 117 Siva temple : Durga

OLAGAPURAM

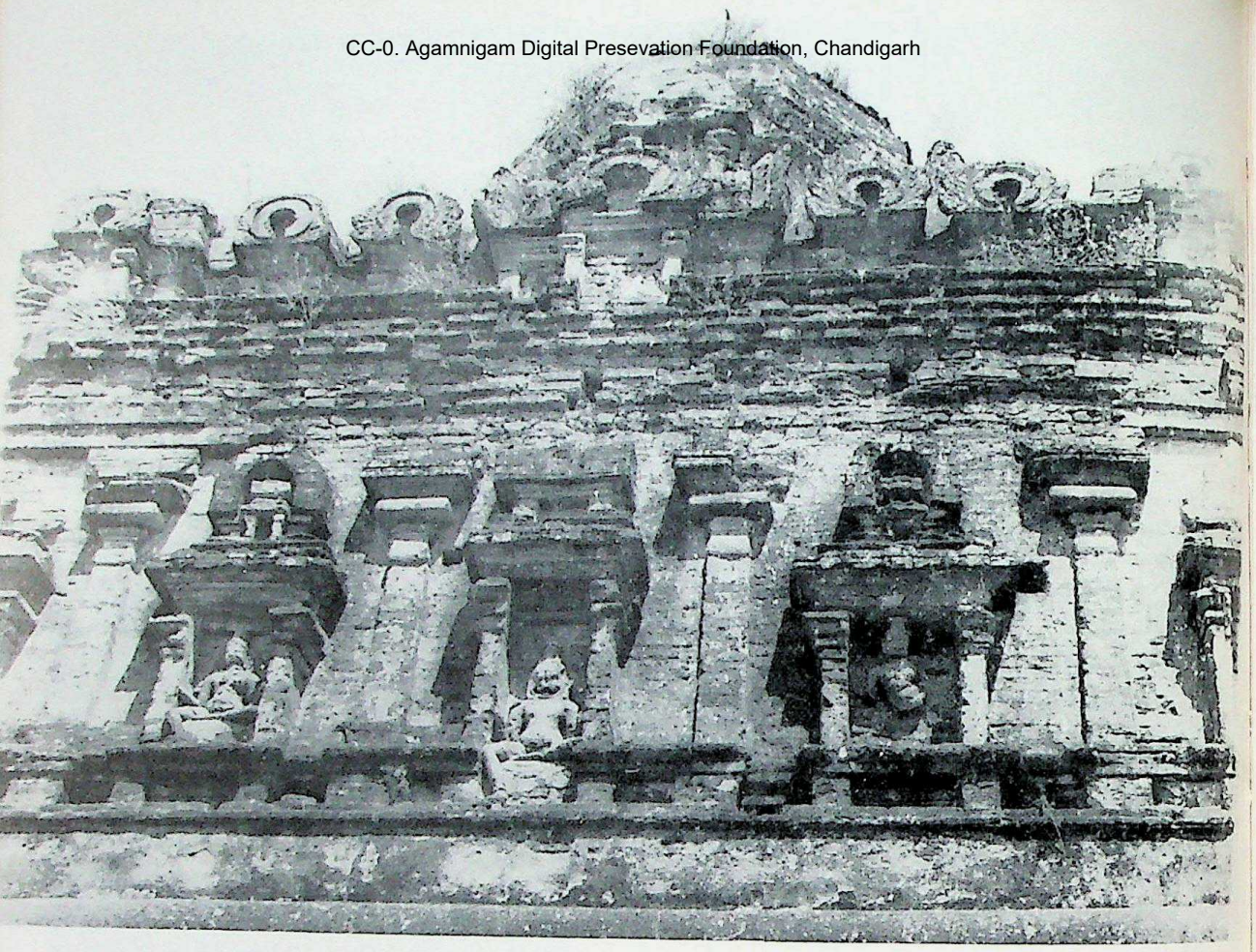
Pl 118 Vishnu temple : Vishnu



ENNAYIRAM
Alagiya Narasimhaperumal temple

Pl 119 General view

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

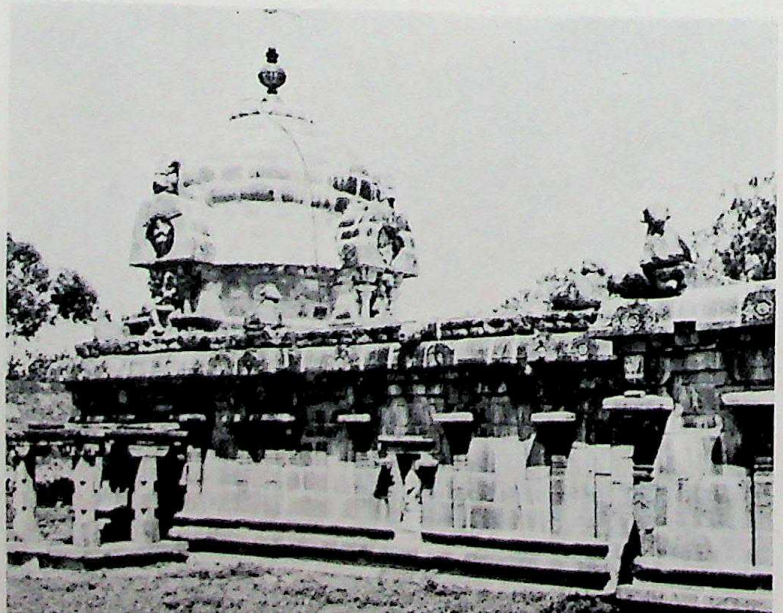


ENNAYIRAM
Alagiya Narasimhaperumal temple

Pl 120 Srivimana (superstructure)

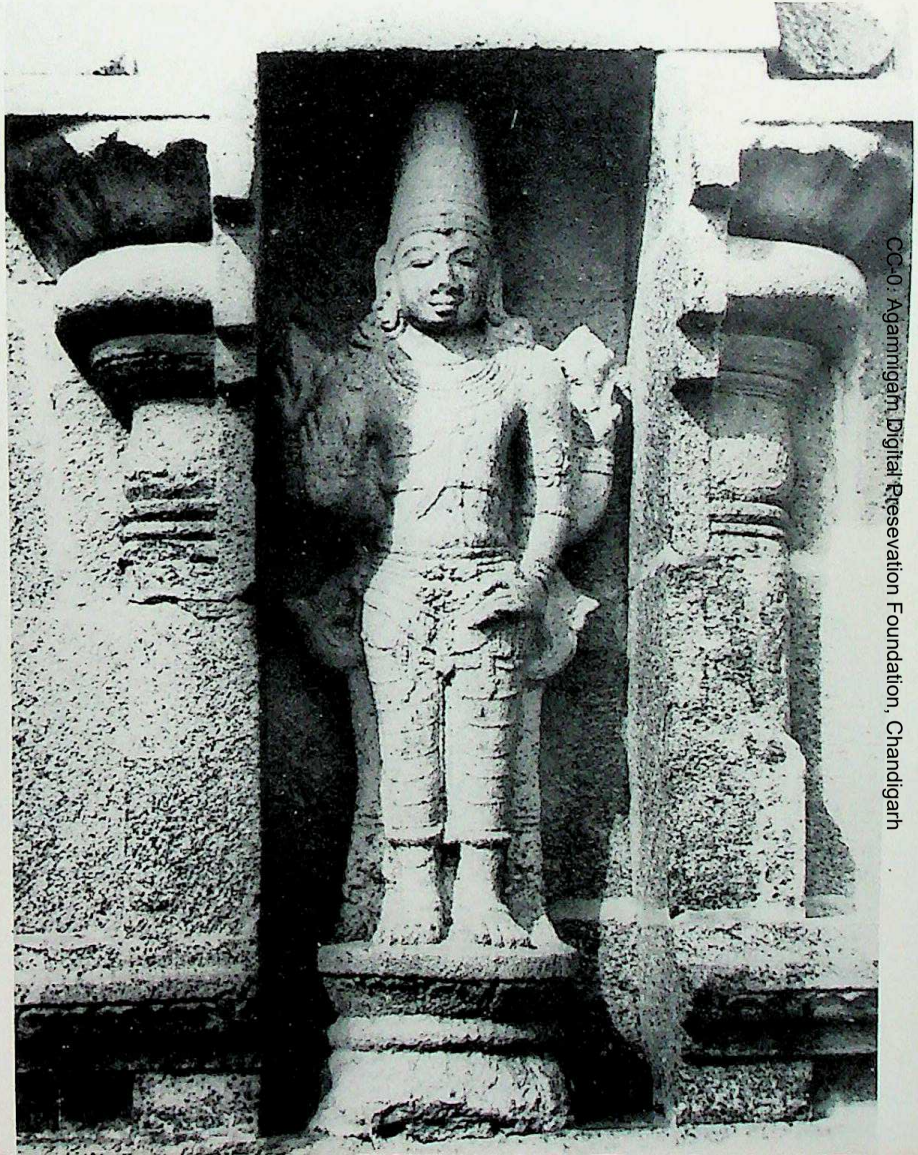
Pl 121 Srivimana

ESALAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

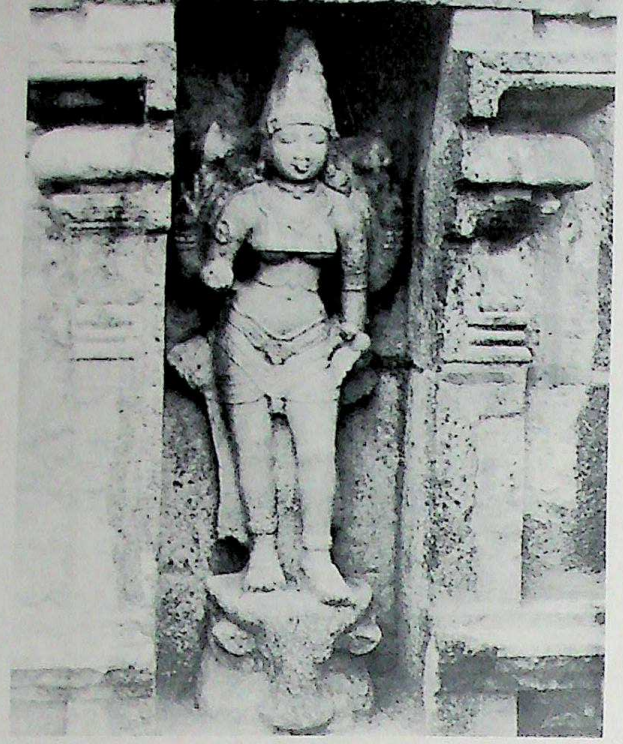


Pl 122 *Ganapati*

Pl 123 Vishnu



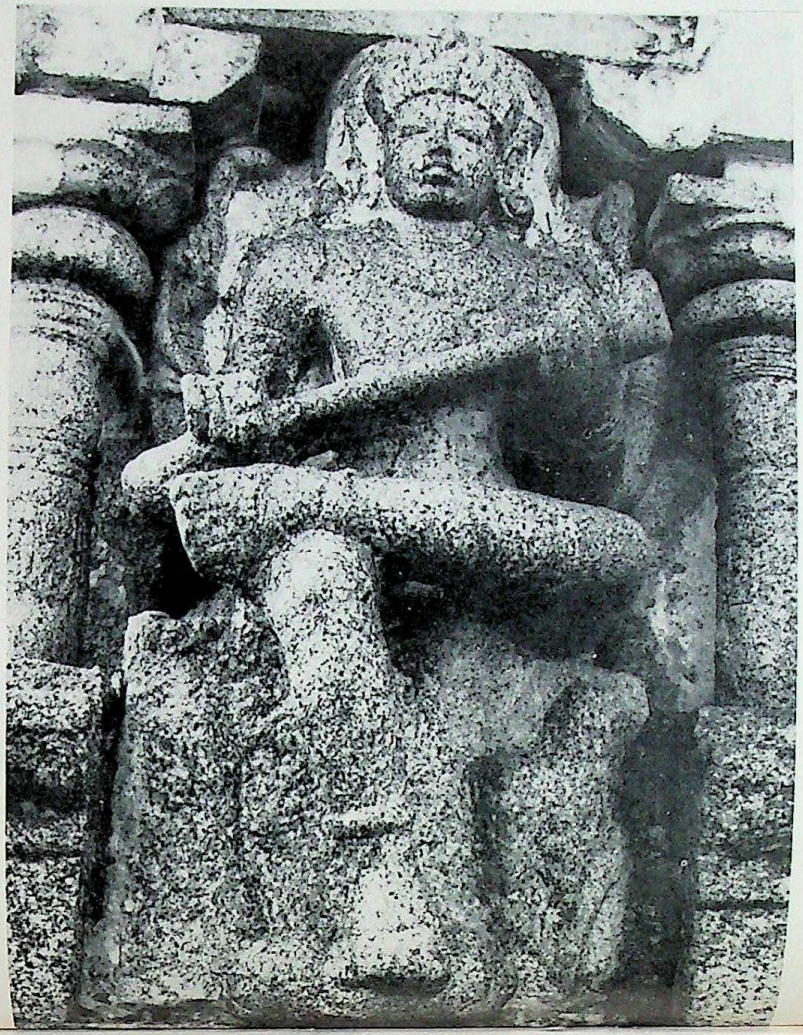
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



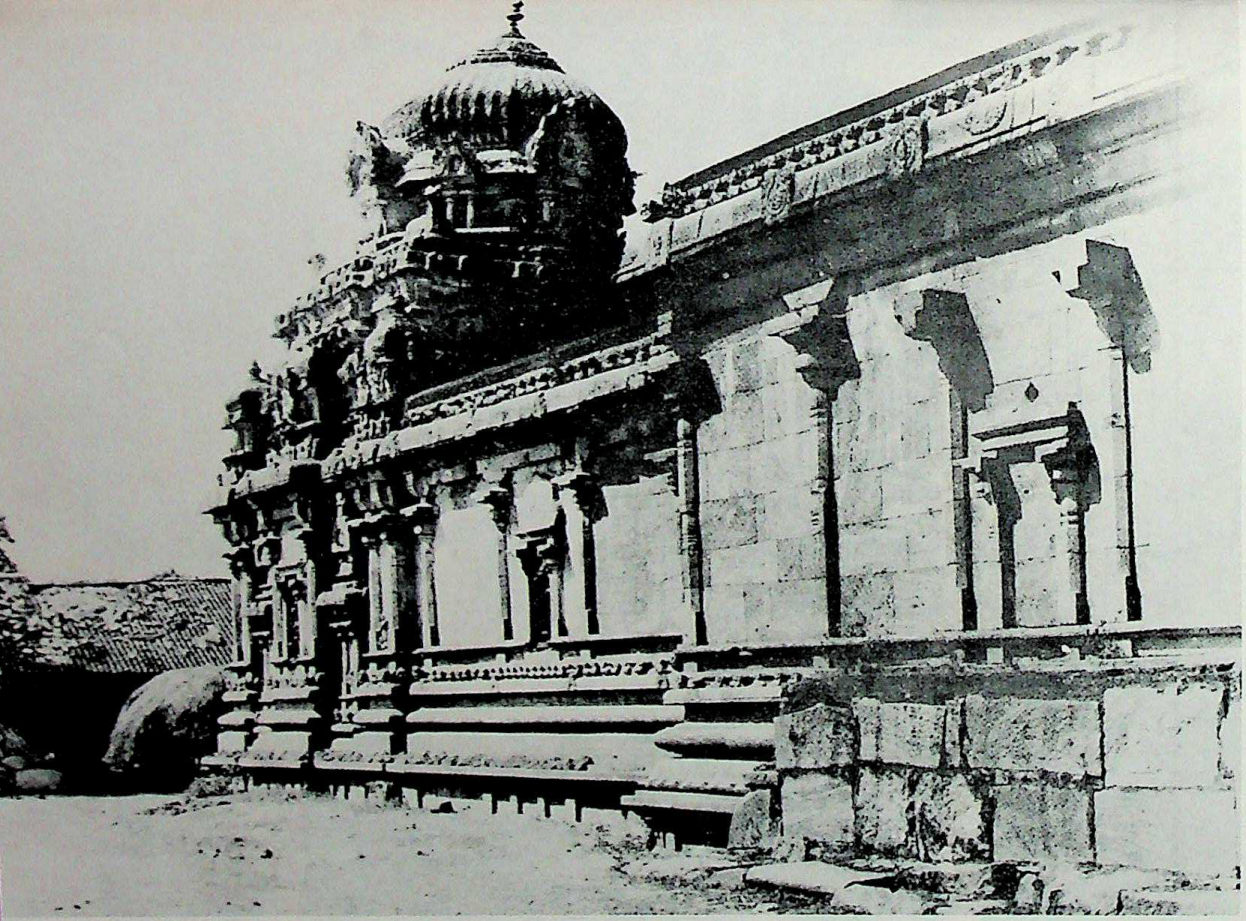
Pl 124 Durga

ESALAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

Pl 125 Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti

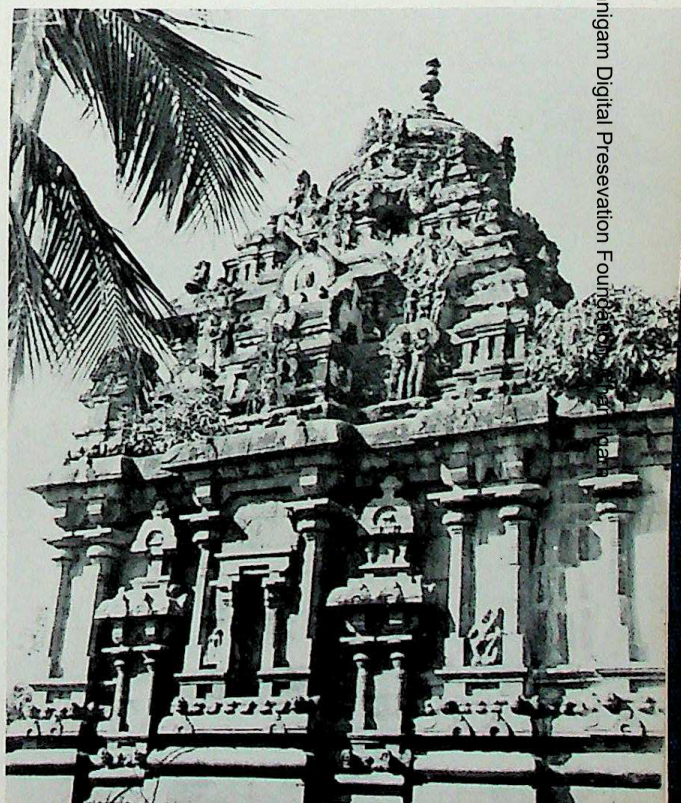


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



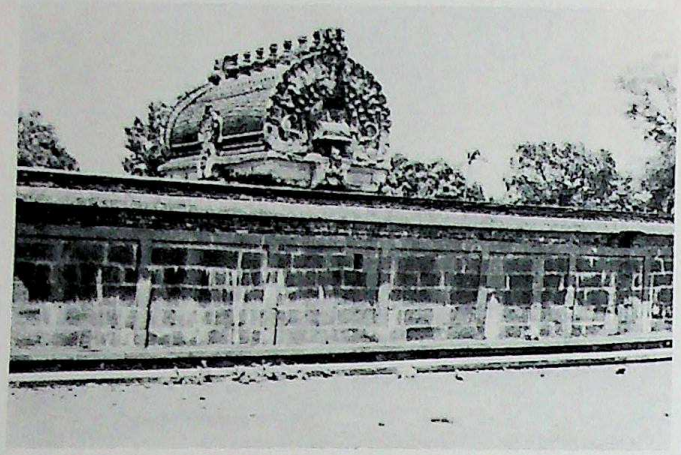
Pl 126 Manikanthesvarar-temple-General-view

Pl 127 Karivarada Perumal temple : Srivimana

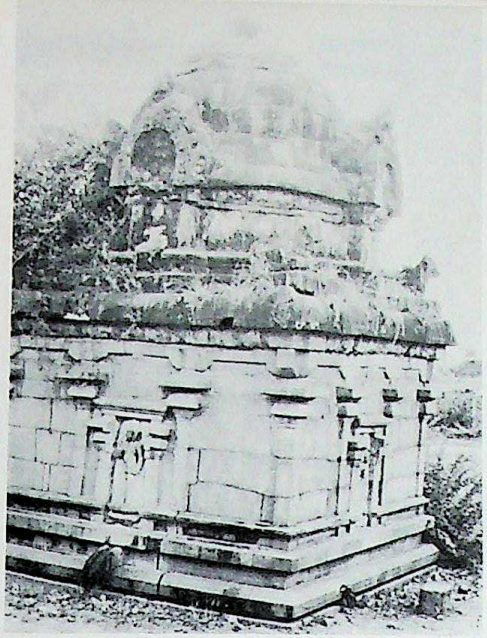


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chennai.

Pl 128 General view



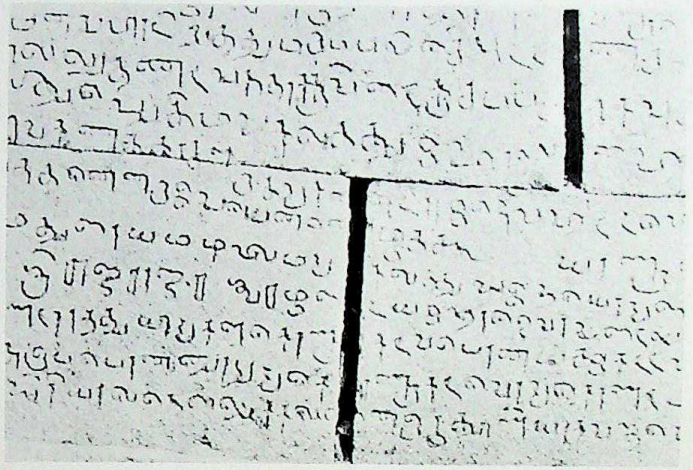
Pl 130 Srivimana



SIVAPURAM
(UROGADAM)
Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)

TIRUMUKKUDAL
Venkatesa Perumal temple

Pl 129 Vishnu (*Stone*)



Pl 131 Inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

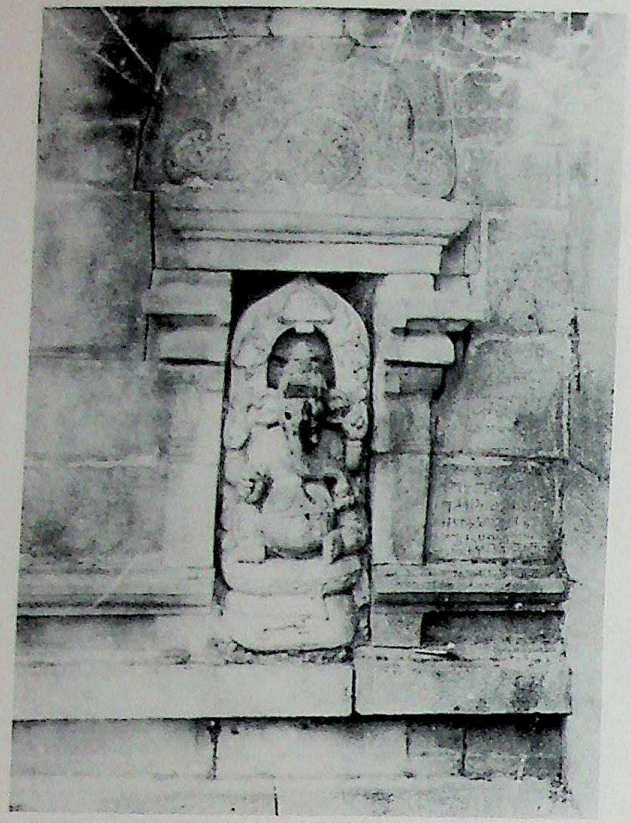
SIVAPURAM
(UROGADAM)
Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)

Pl 132 Dvarapala

Pl 133 Dvarapala

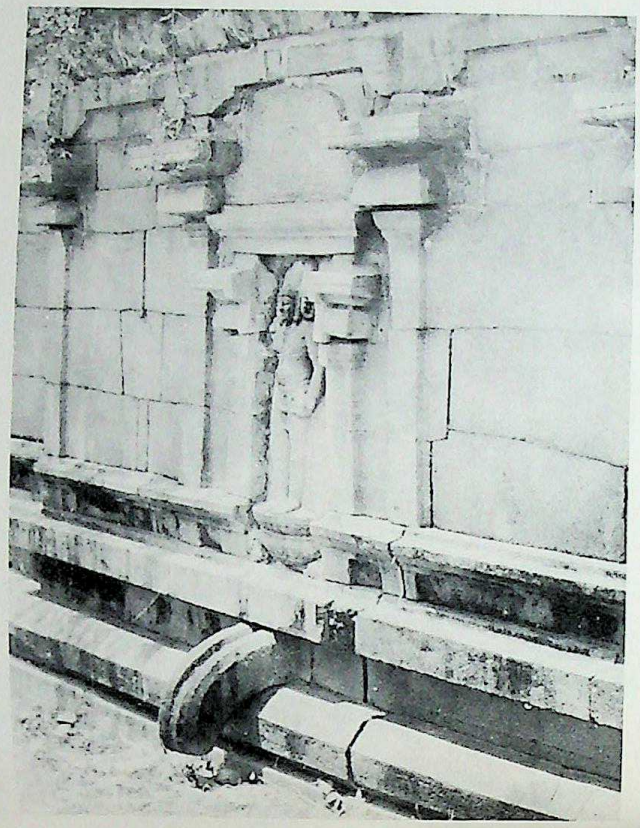
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

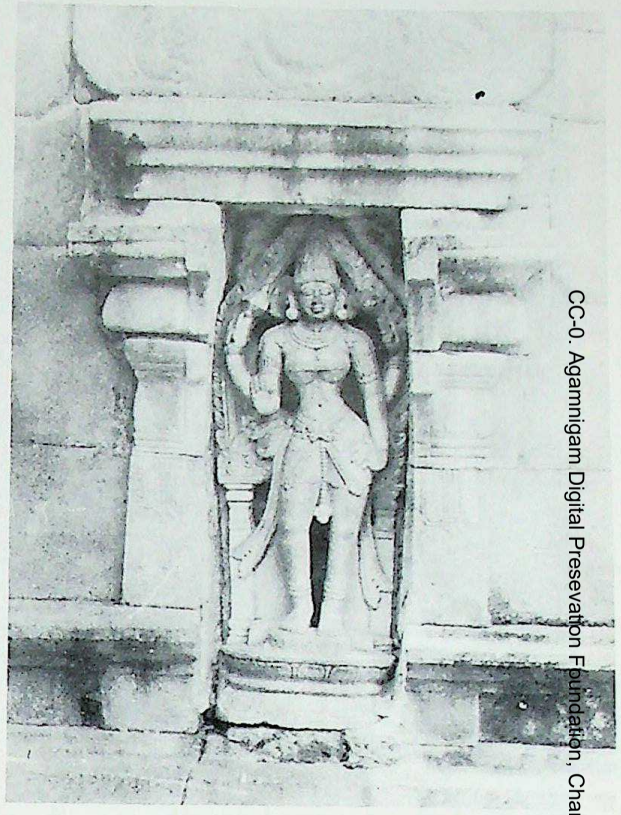
SIVAPURAM
(UROGADAM)
Siva temple (Rajarajesvaram)



Pl 134 Ganapati

Pl 135 Brahma



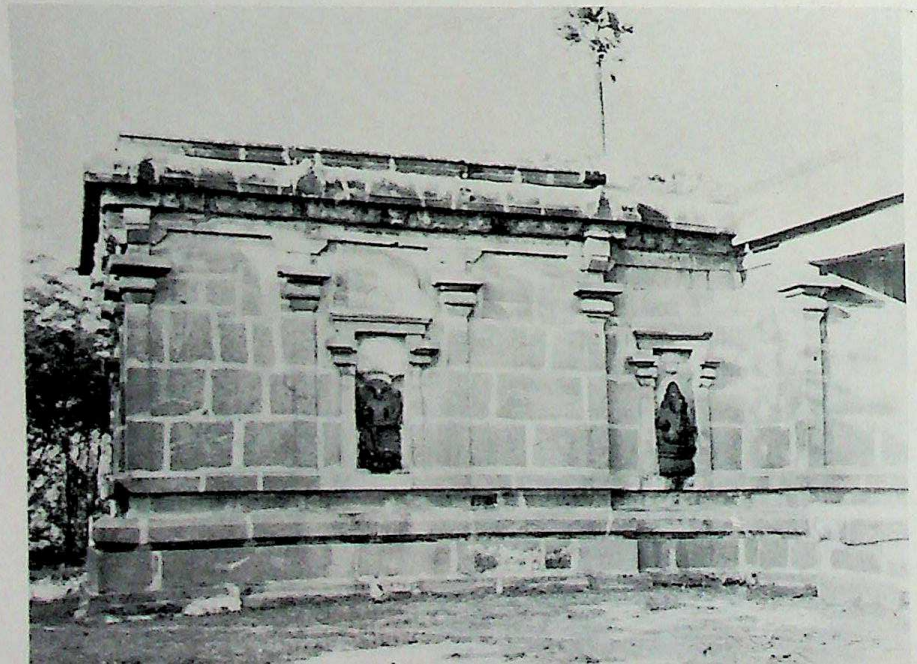


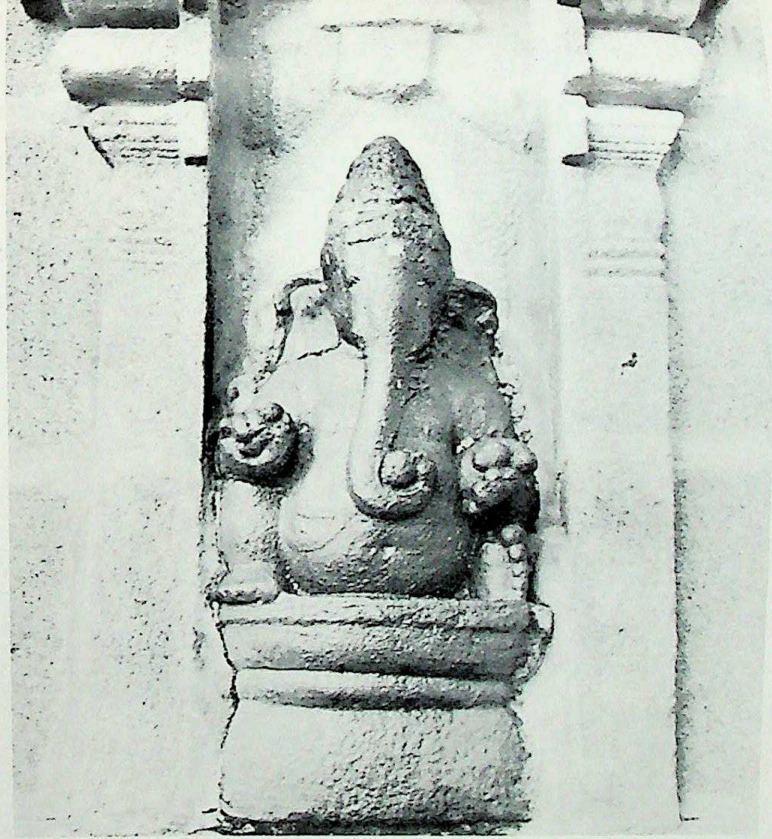
Pl 136 Durga

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

KALAKKATTUR
Agnisvarar temple

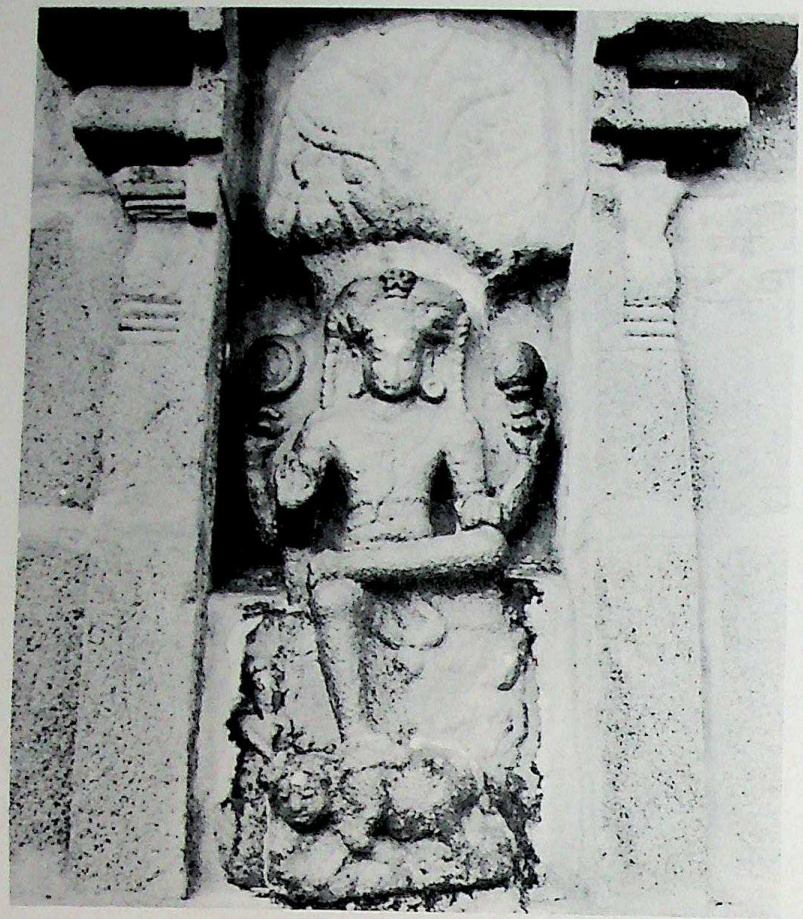
Pl 137 General view



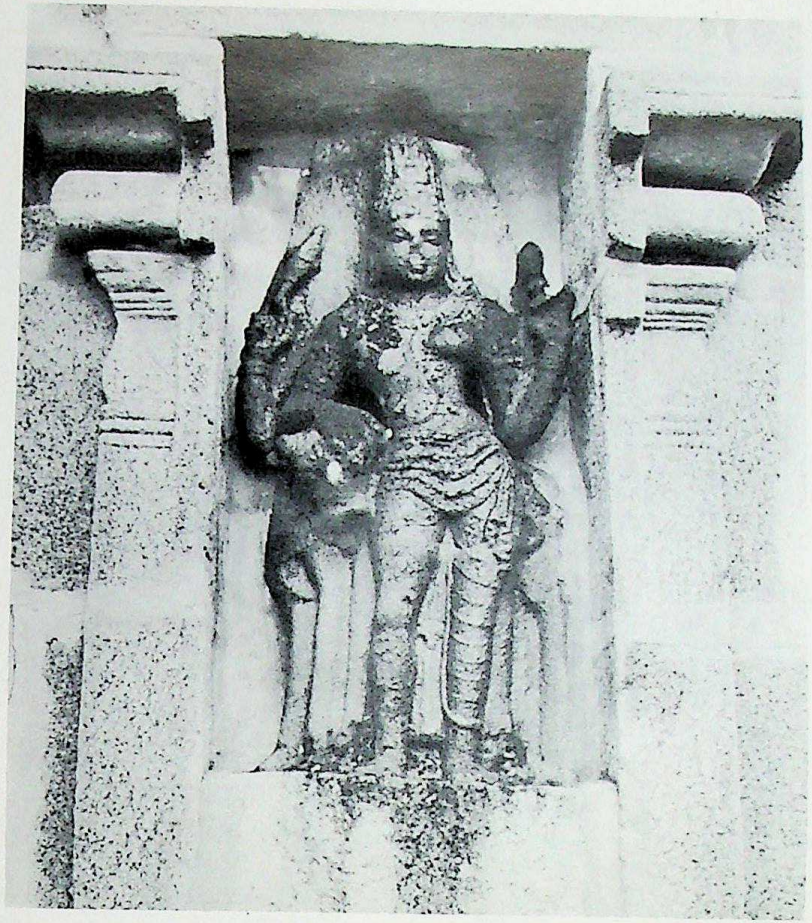


Pl 138 Ganapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



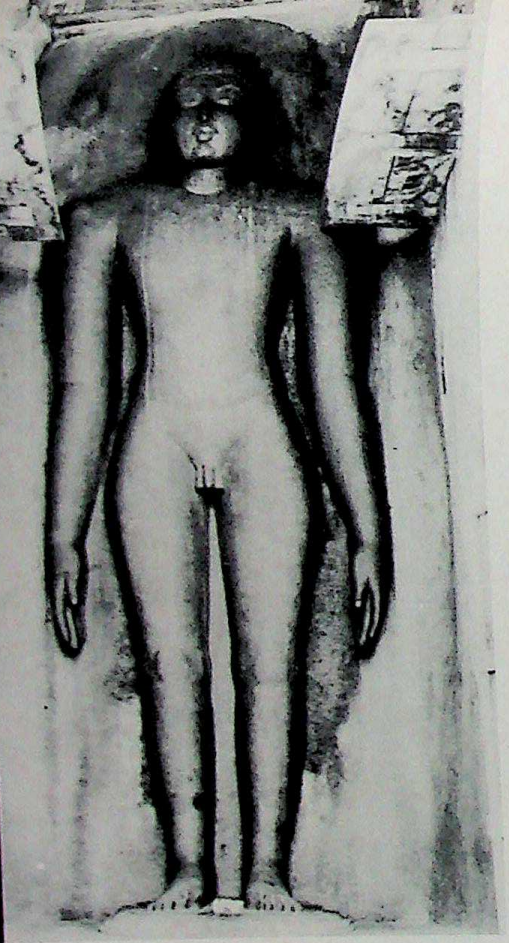
Pl 139 Dakshinamurti



Pl 140 Ardhanari

KALAKKATTUR
Agnisvarar temple

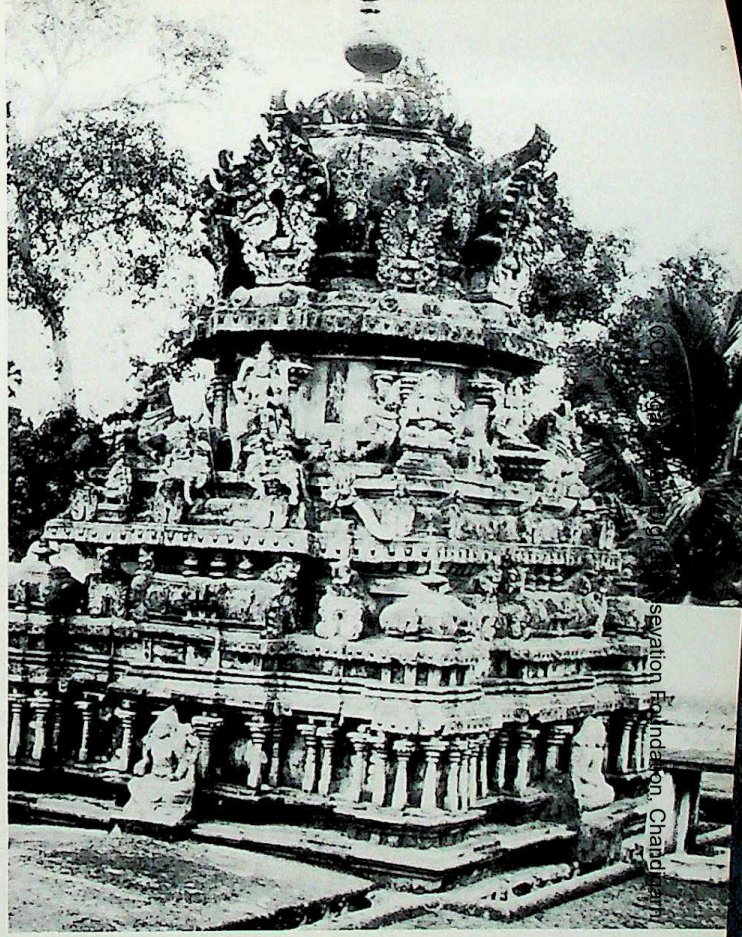
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 141 Neminathar

Pl 142 Mural painting

TIRUMALAI
Kundavai Jinalaya



Pl 143 Srivimana of Somanathes-varar shrine

ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 144 Srivimana of Pallikondar shrine

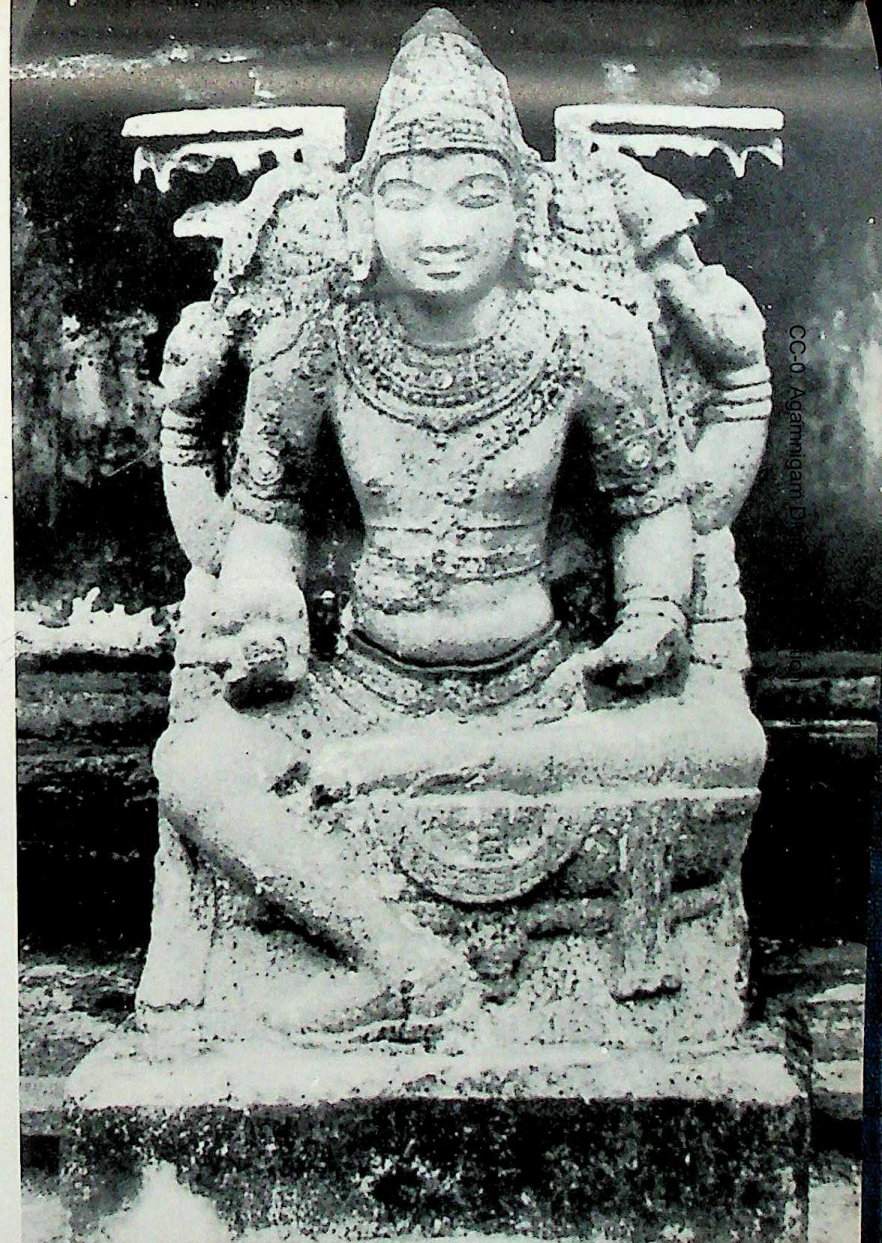
ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple

Pl 145 Garbhagriha, devakoshtha

Pl 146 Balasubrahmanya
(a *vimana devata*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digitization Foundation

Pl 147 Yoga-Narasimha (*vimana devata*)

Pl 148 Brahma (*vimana devata*)

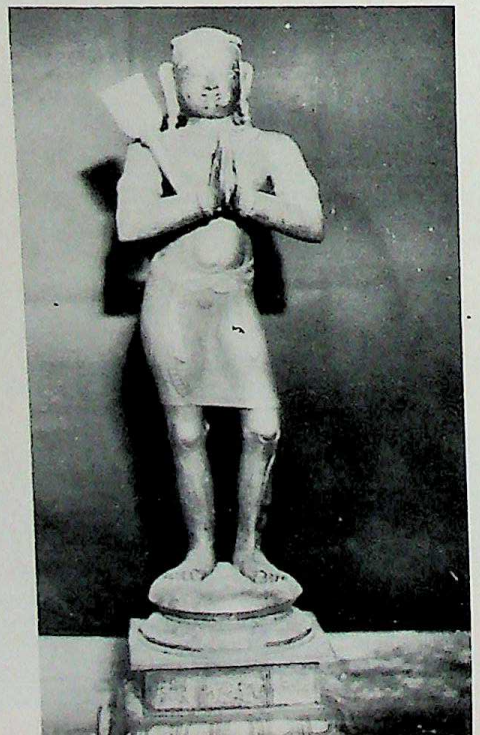
ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

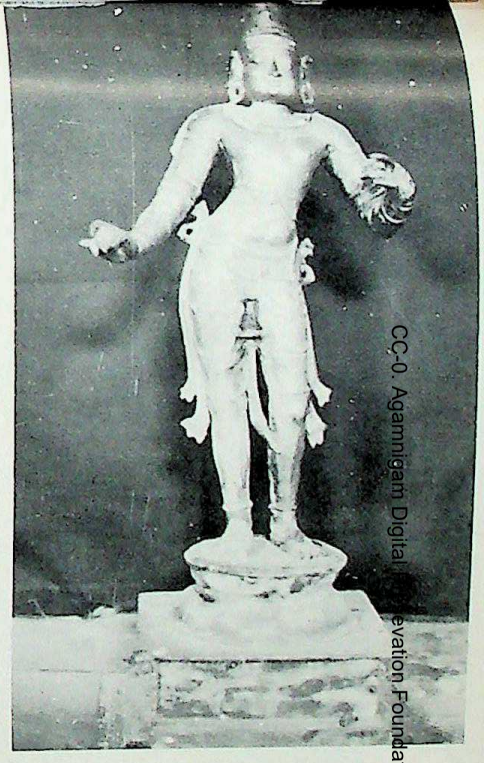
ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple

Pl 149 Sambandar (*bronze*)

Pl 150 Appar (*bronze*)



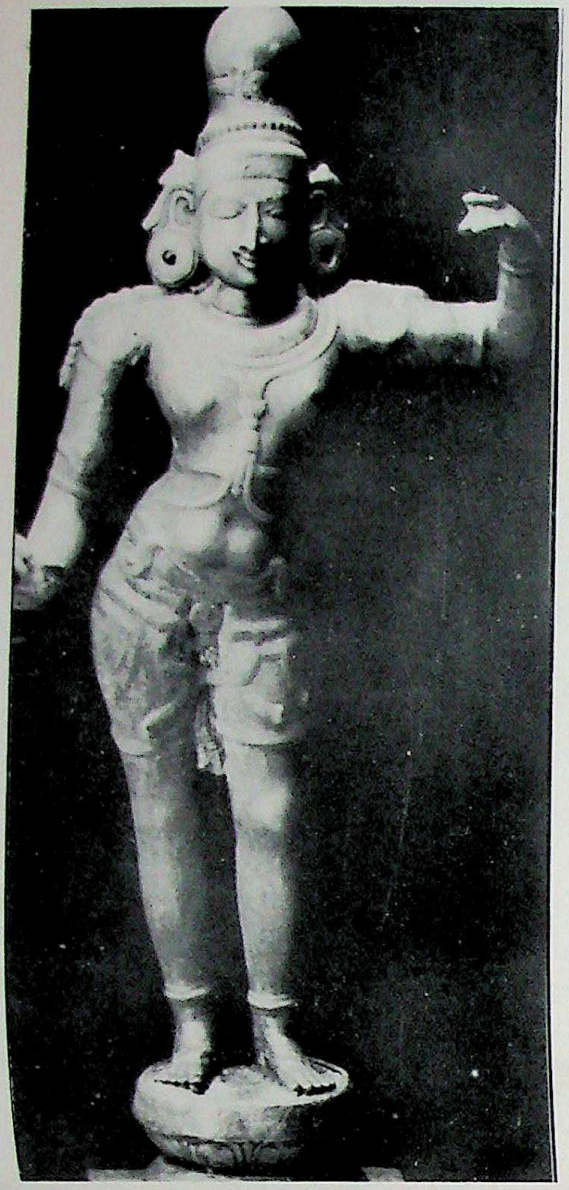
Pl 151 Sundarar (*bronze*)



Pl 152 Cheraman Perumal (*bronze*)

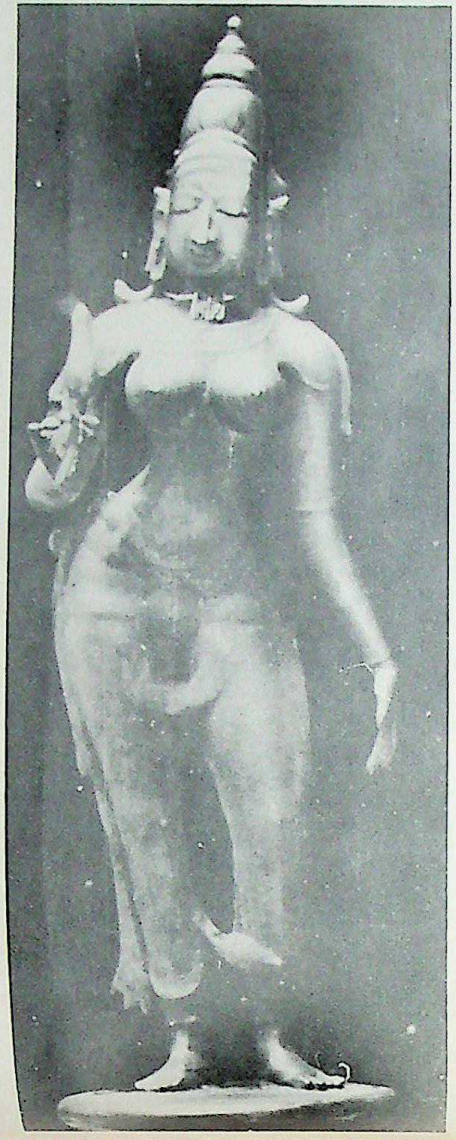
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

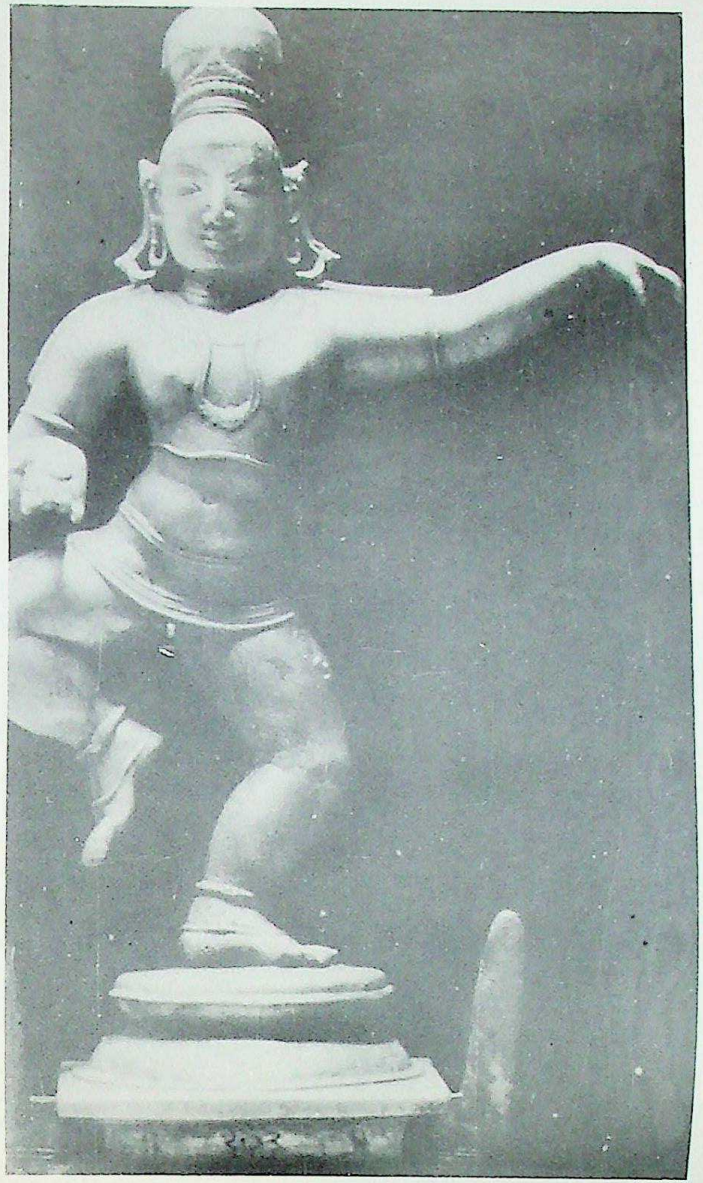
ATTUR
Somanathesvarar temple



Pl 153 Rama (*bronze*)

Pl 154 Sita (*bronze*)

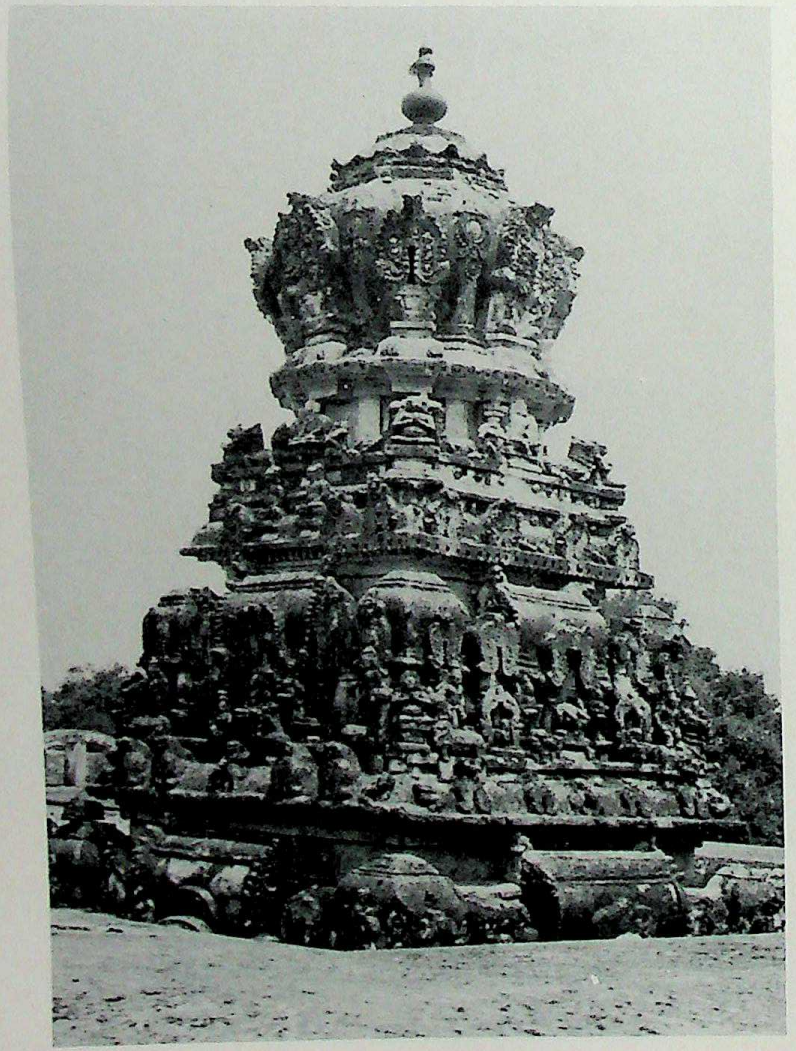




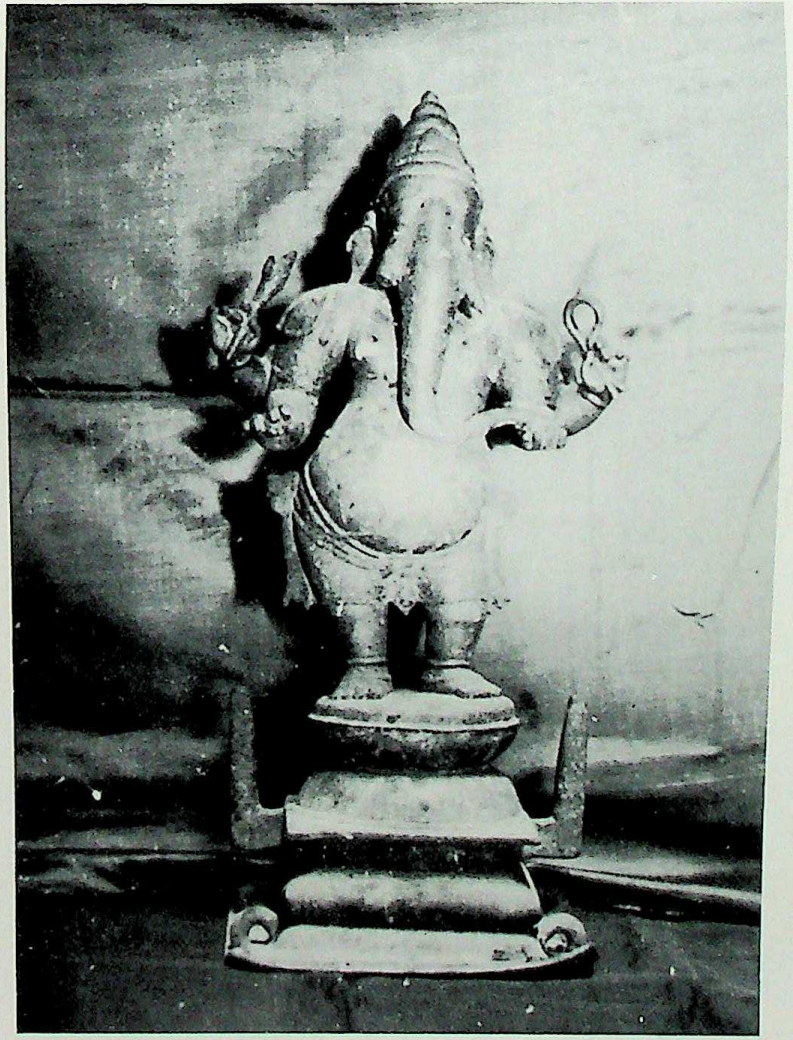
Pl 155 Dancing Krishna (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 156 Srivimana

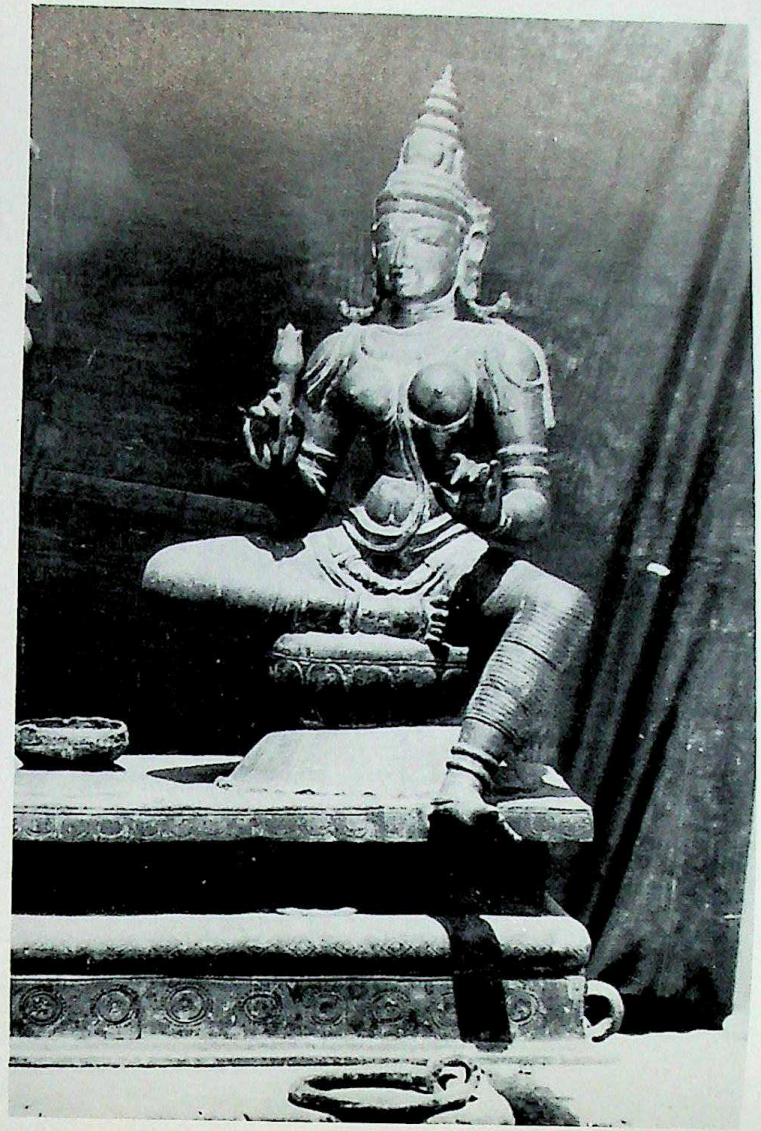


Pl 157 Ganapati (*bronze*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 158 Somaskandar—Siva (*bronze*)



Pl 159 Parvati (*bronze*)

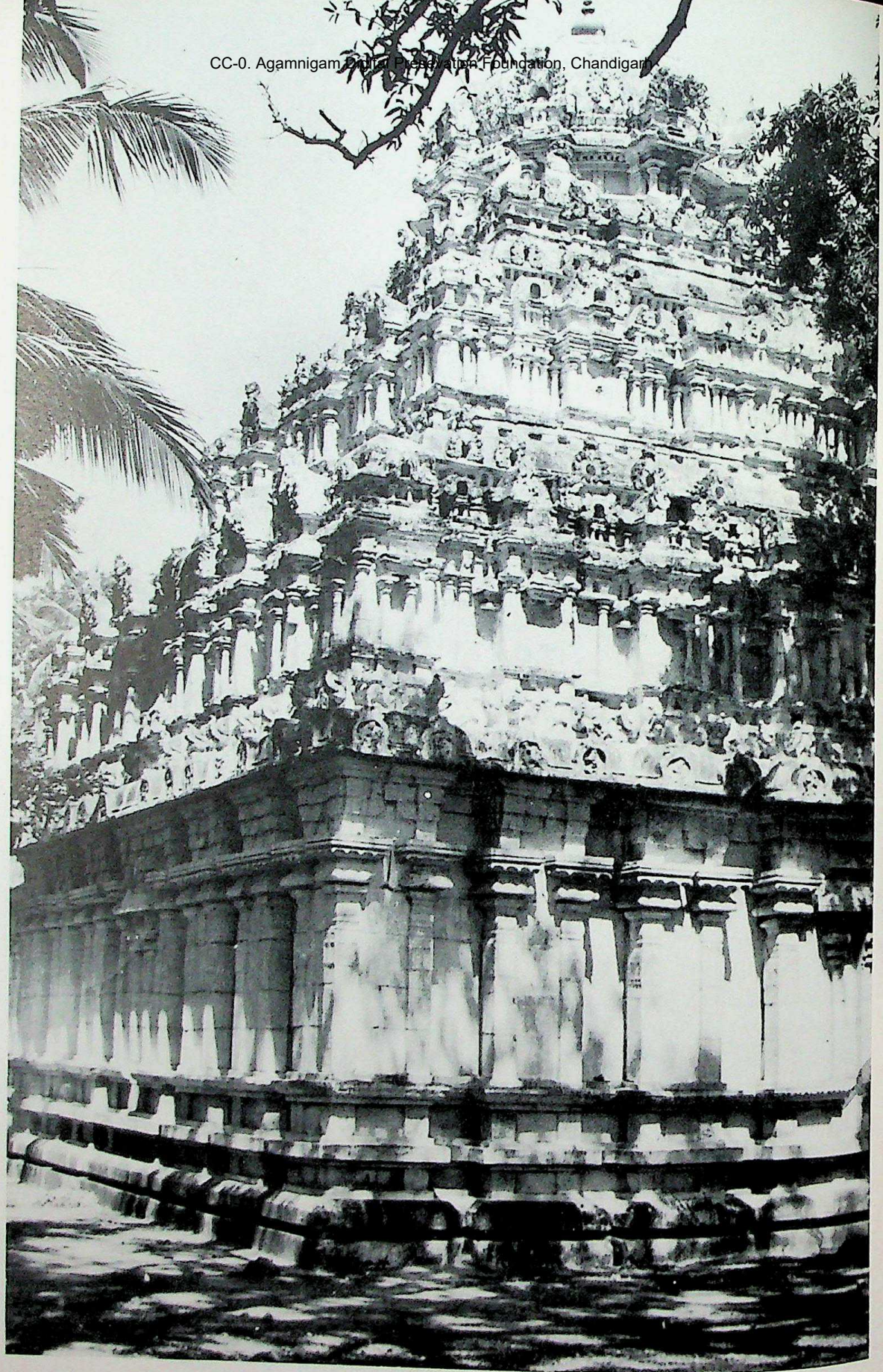
GANGAIKONDAN
Kailasapati temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 160 Nataraja (*bronze*)

GANGAIKONDAN
Kailasapati temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



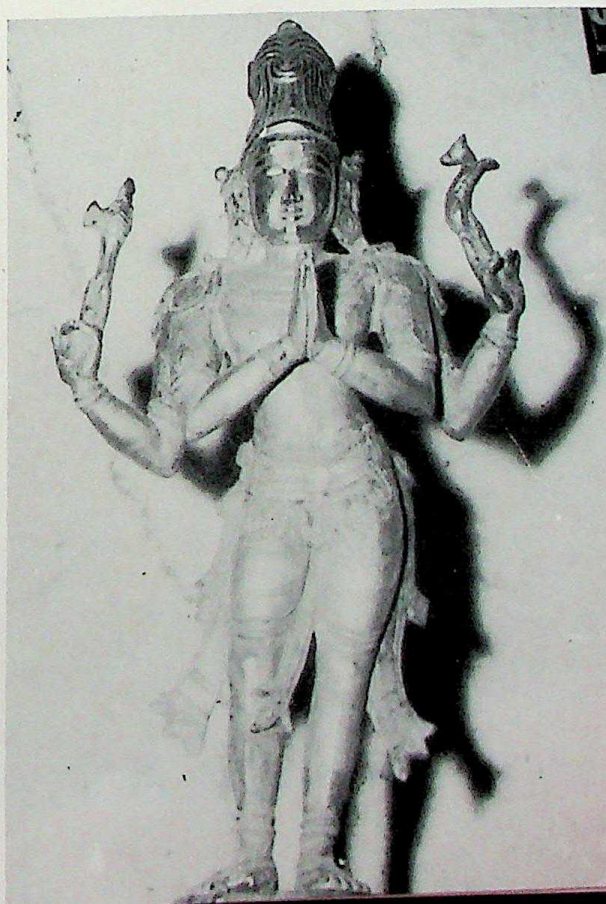
SERAMADEVI
Ramasvamin temple

Pl 161 Srivimana (*north-west view*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh

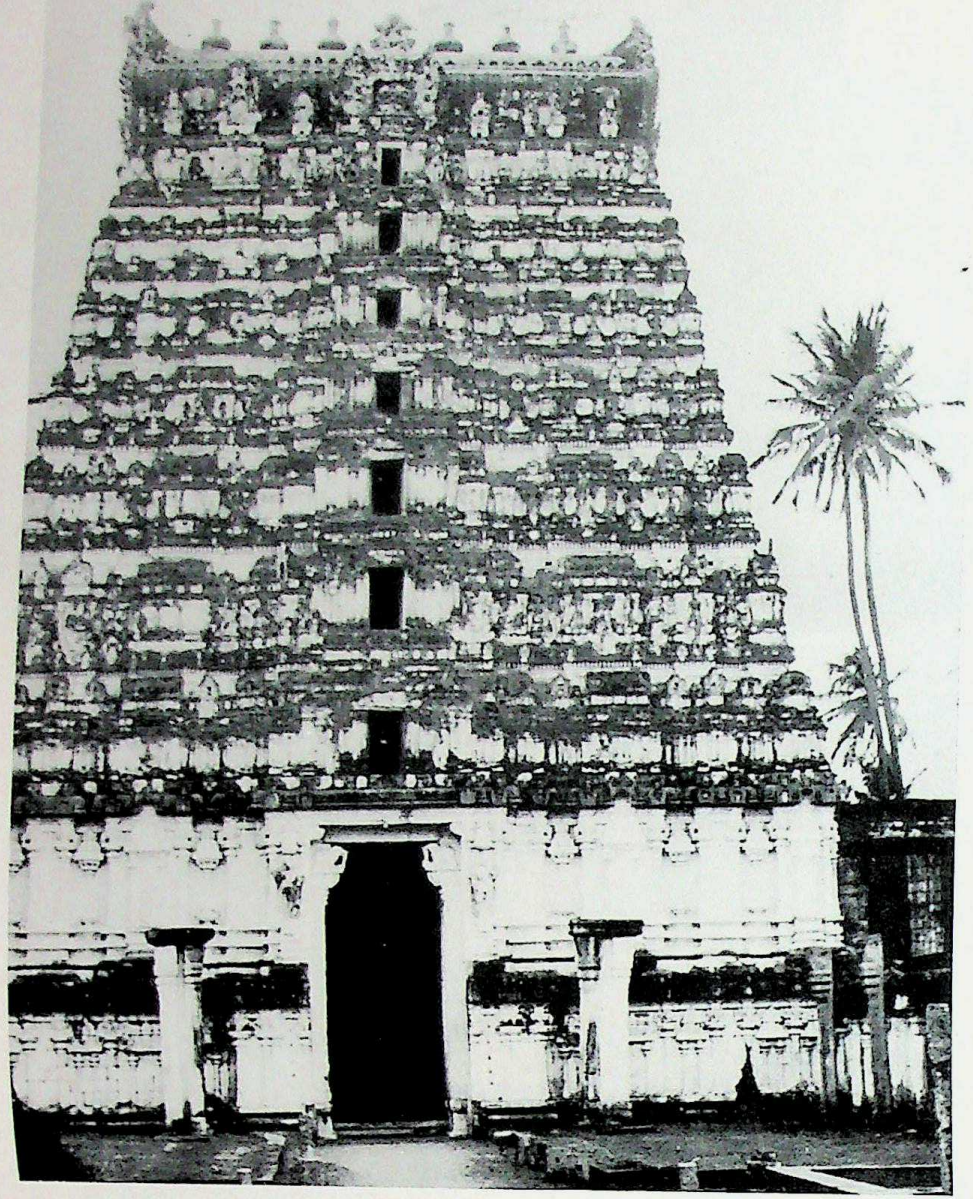
Pl. 162 Dancing Krishna
(*bronze*)

SERAMADEVI
Ramasvamin temple



SERAMADEVI
Ammanathasvami temple

Pl 163 Nandikesvarar
(*bronze*)



Pl 164 Main gopuram

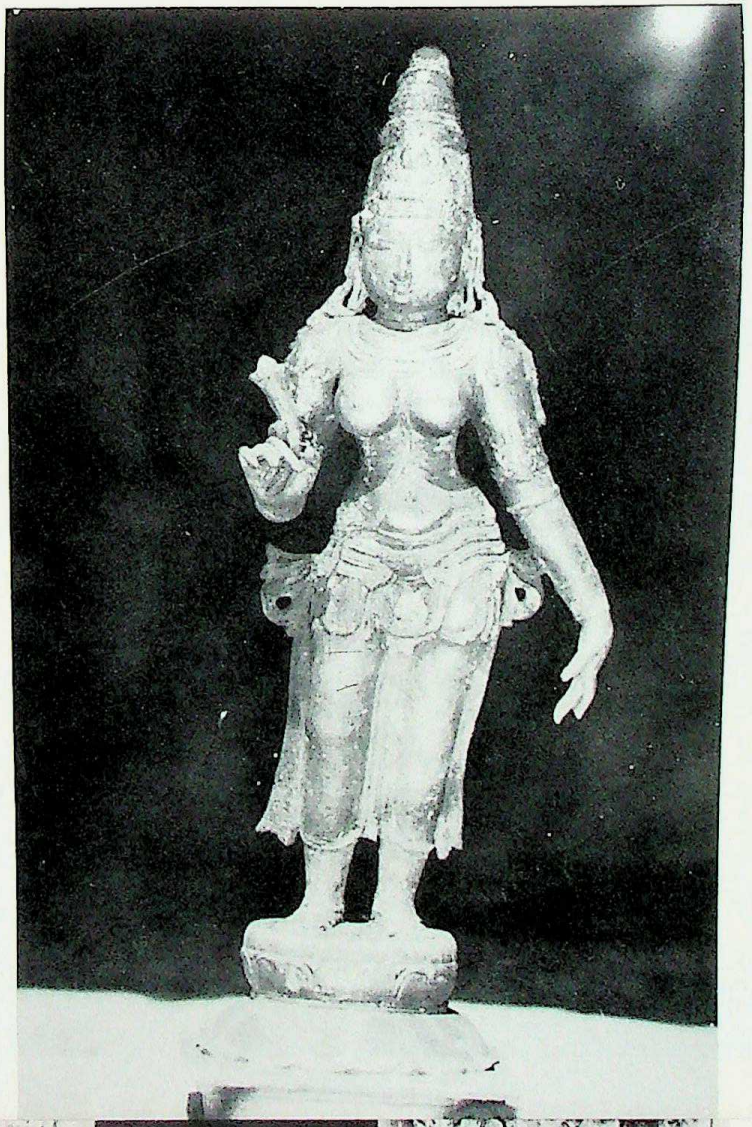
Pl 165 Garbhagriha

BRAHMADESAM
Kailasanathar temple

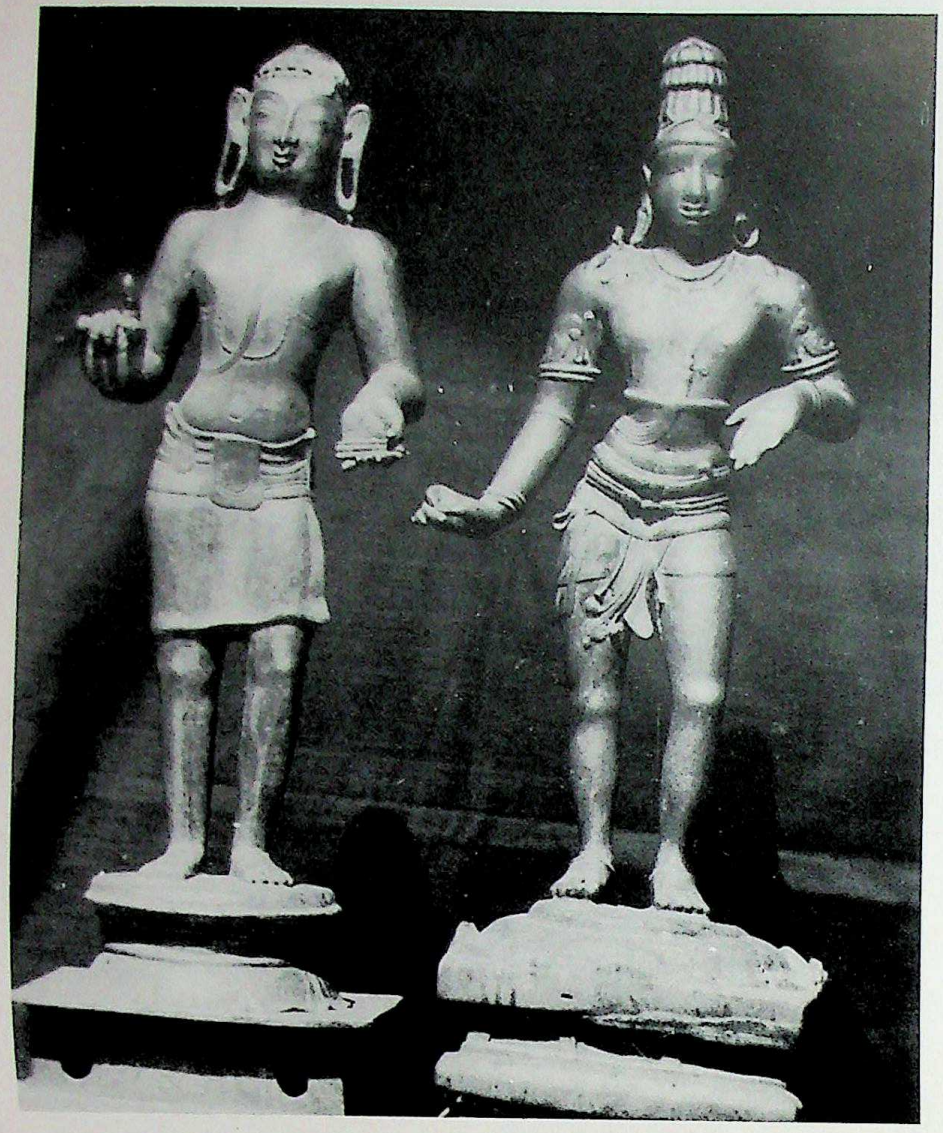
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 166 Bhogasakti (*original, bronze*)

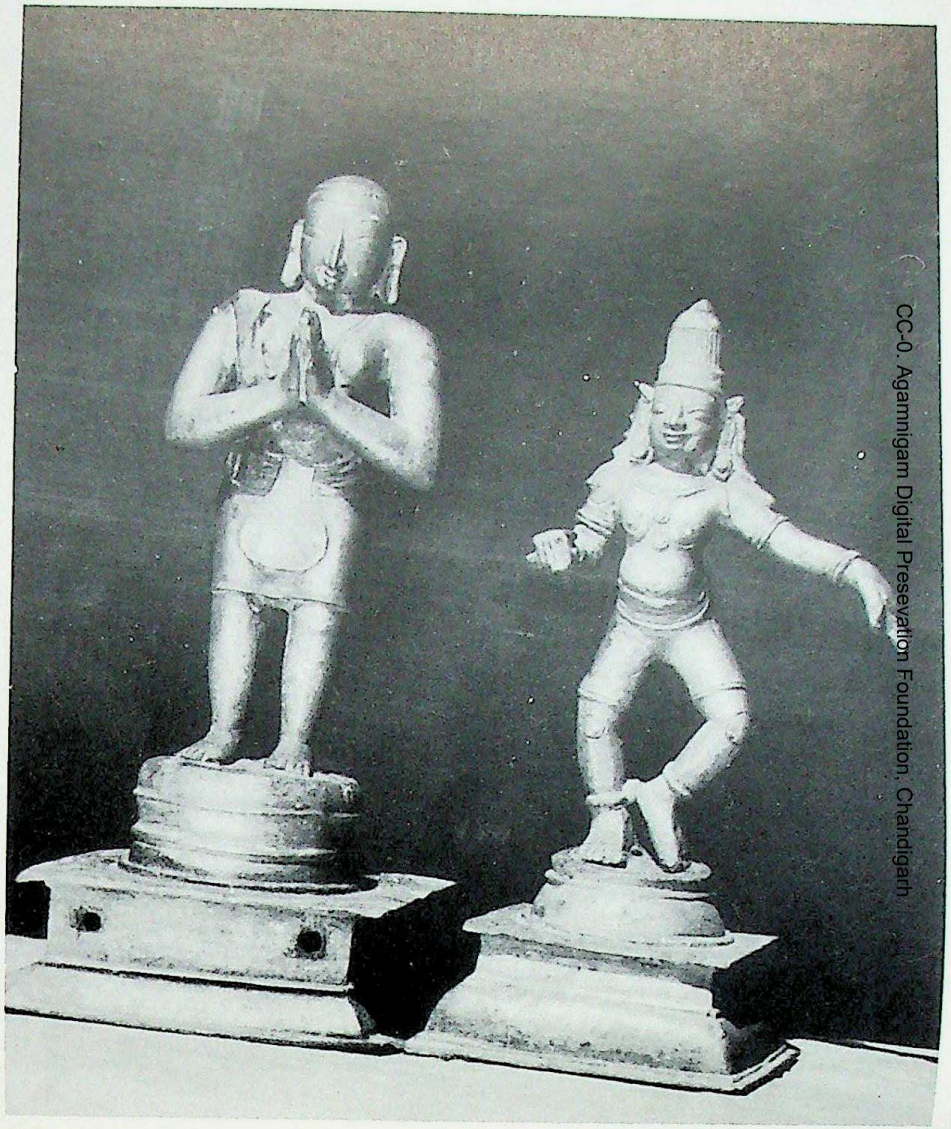
Pl 167 Tani Amman (*bronze*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 168 Manikkavasagar and Sundarar (*bronze*)

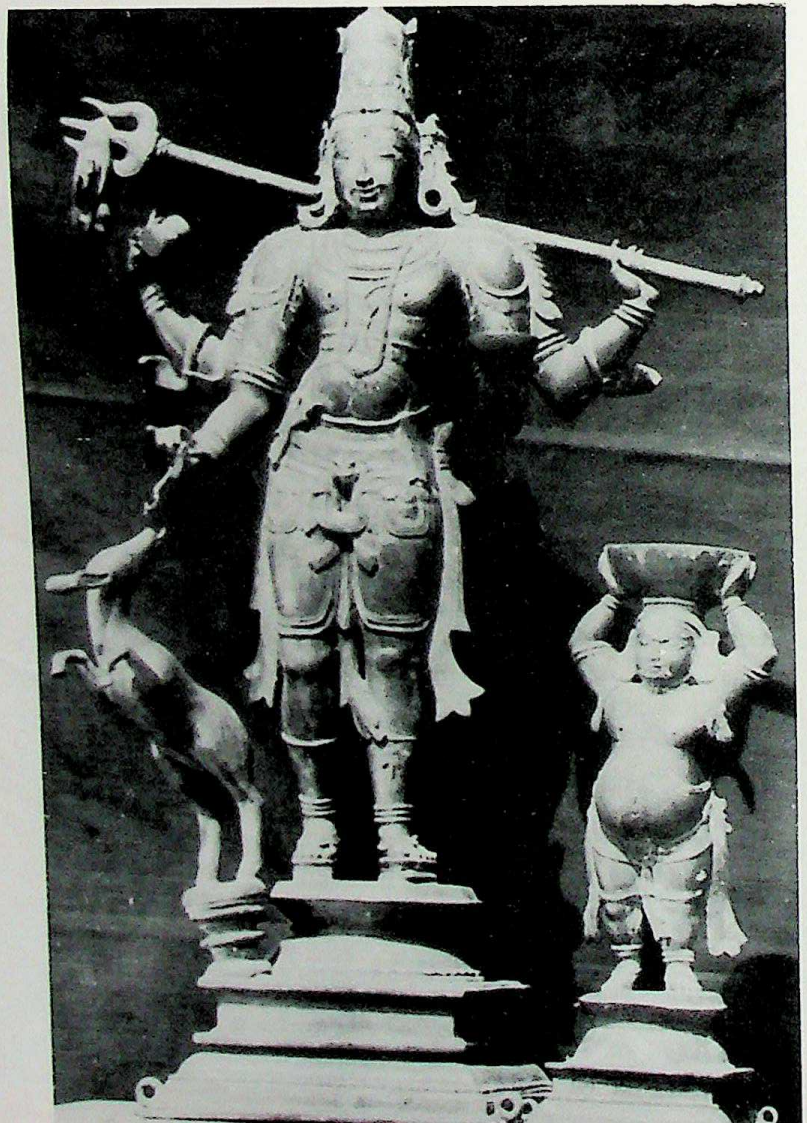


Pl 169 Appar and Sambandar (*bronze*)

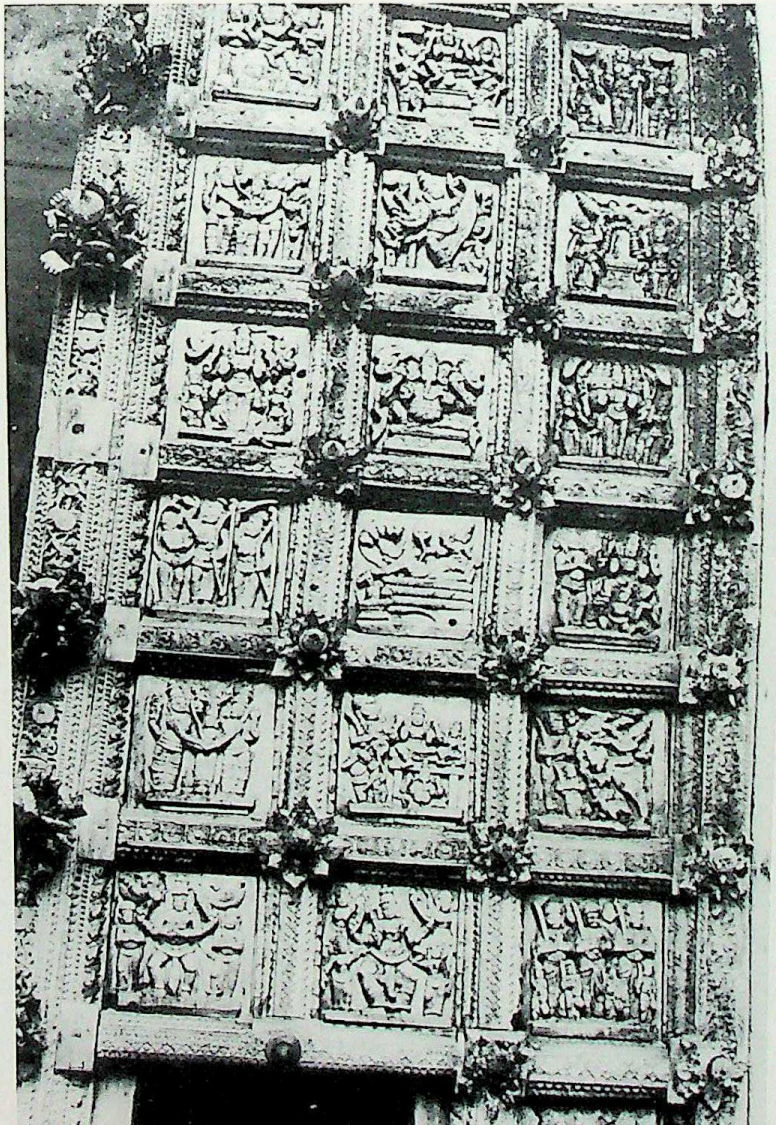
BRAHMADESAM
Kailasanathar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 170 Bhikshatanar (*bronze*)

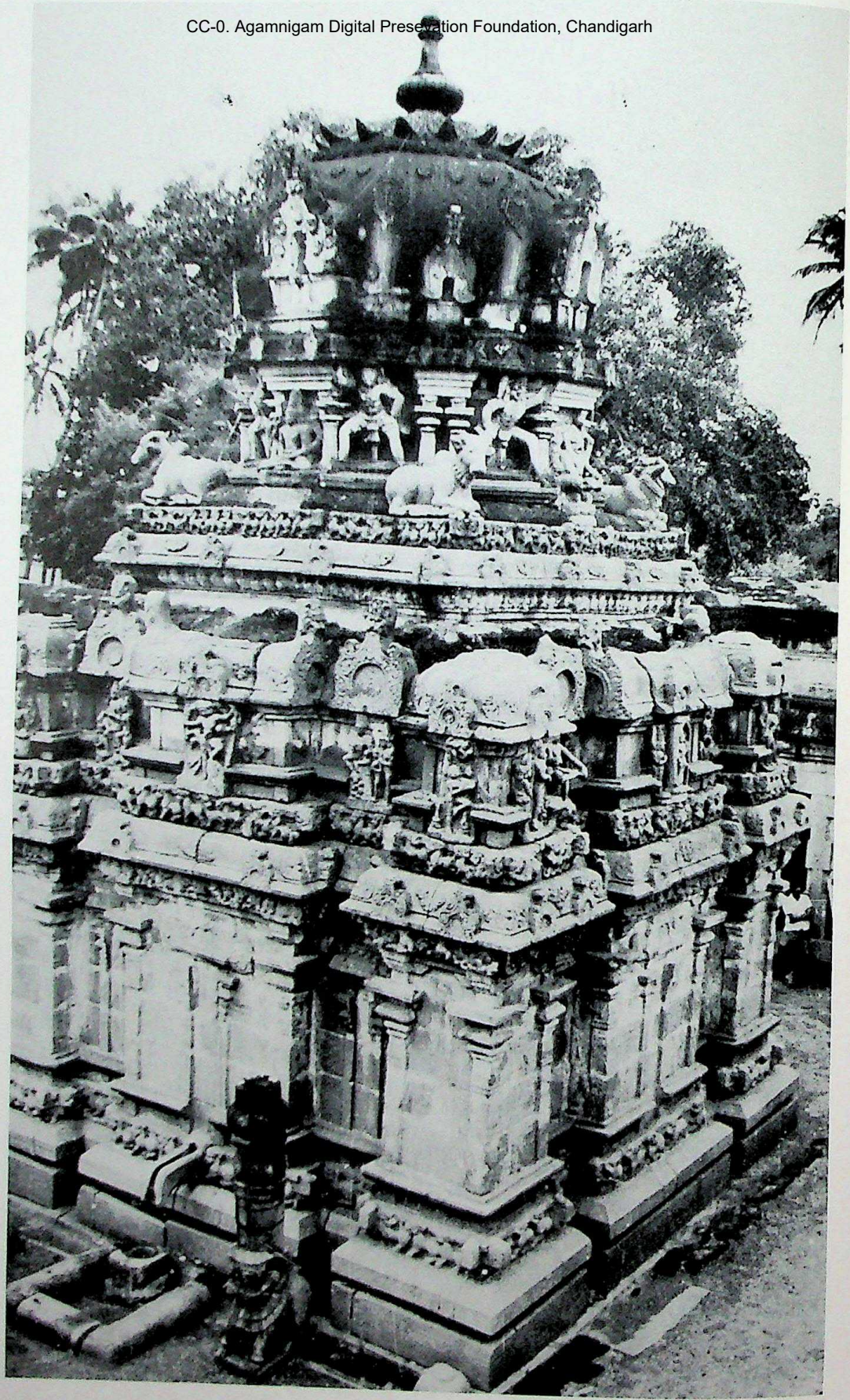


Pl 171 Wood carving (*main door*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

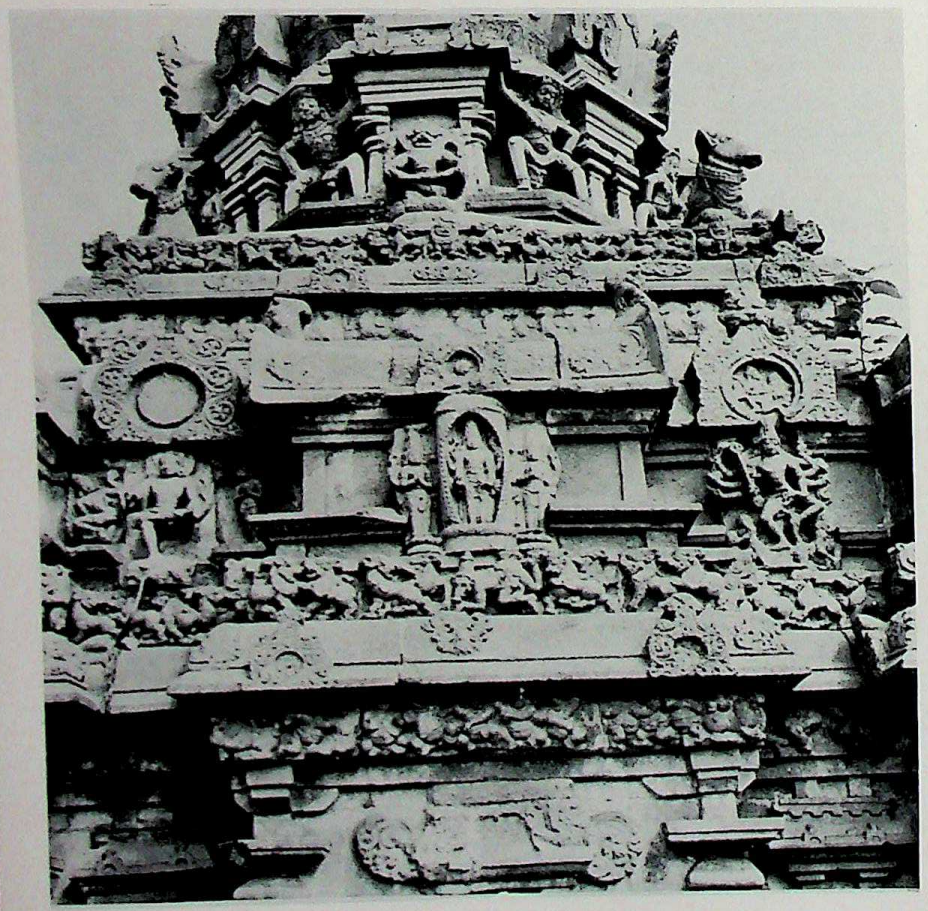


TIRUVALISVARAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

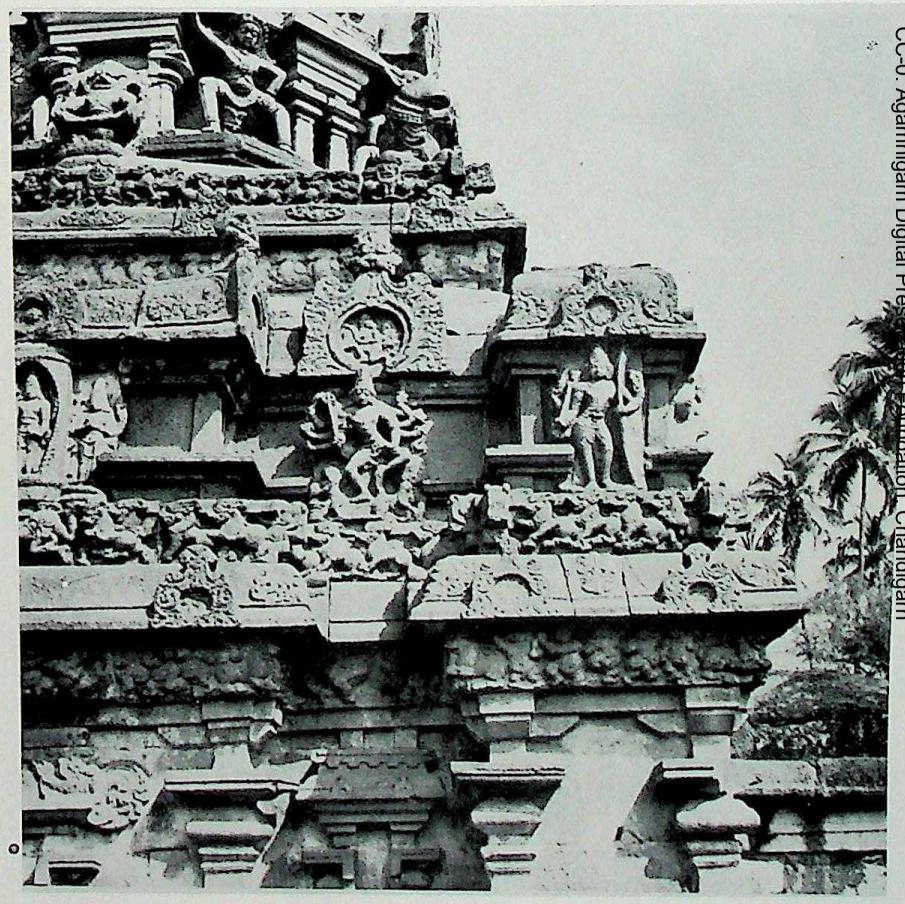
Pl 172 Srivimana, general view

TIRUVALISVARAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

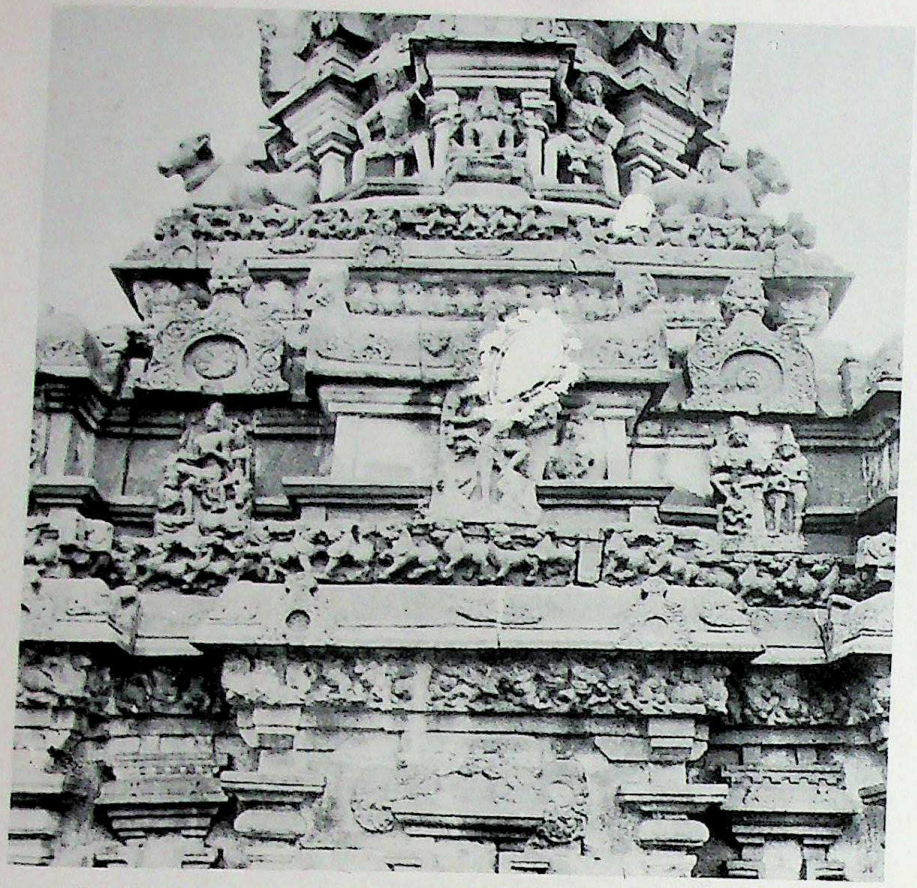
Pl 173 Srivimana west face, north side



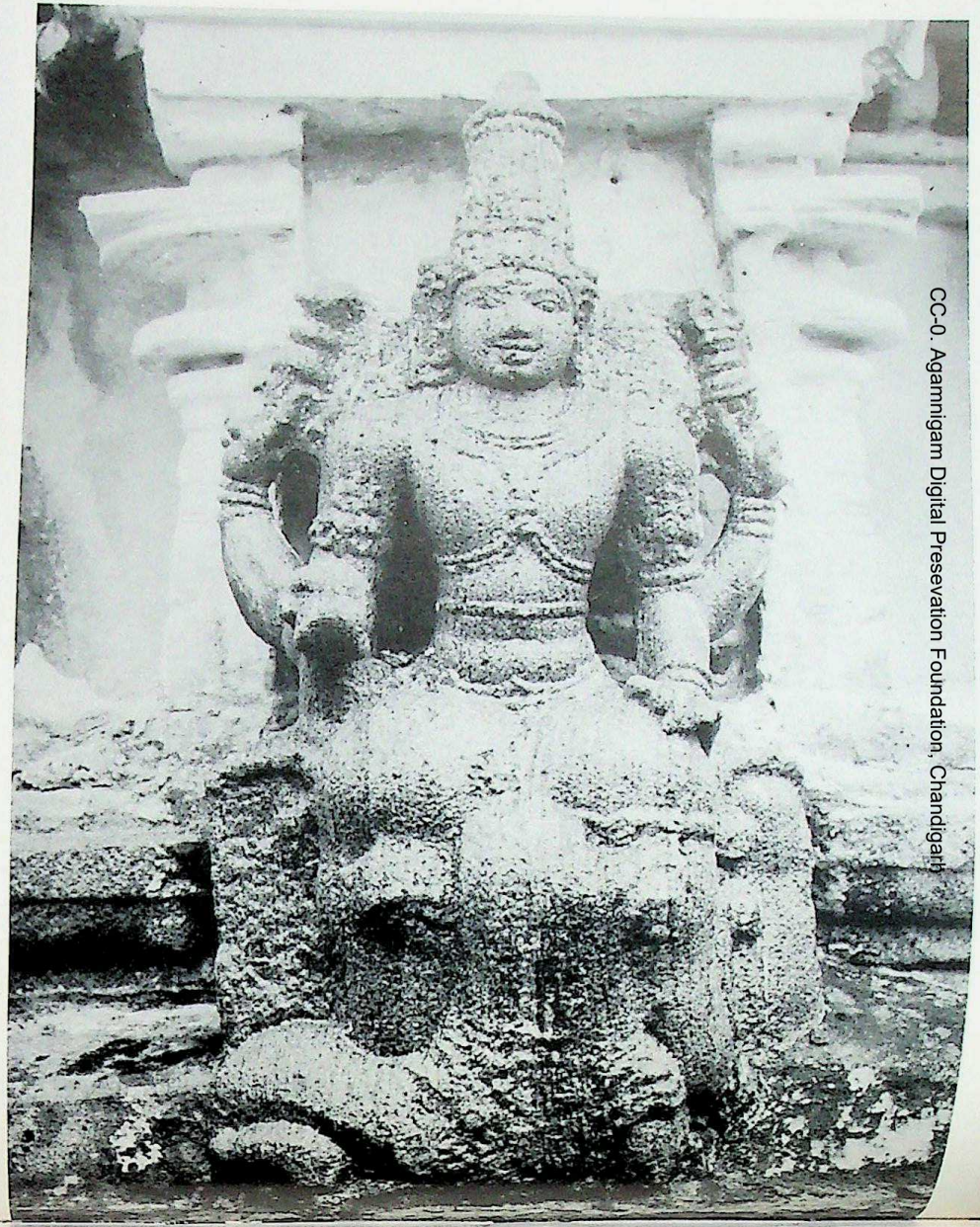
Pl 174 Srivimana west face, south side



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh



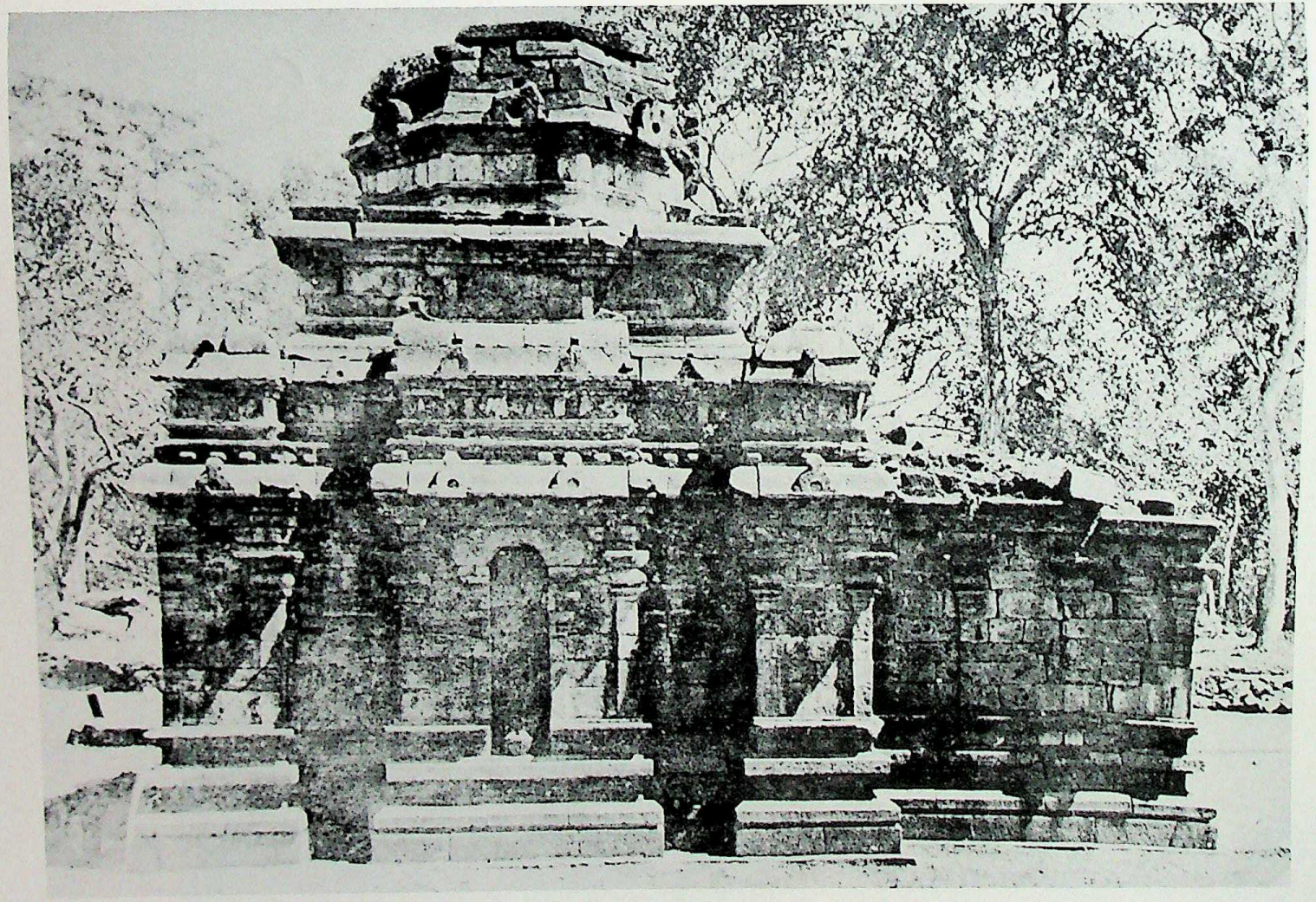
Pl 175 Srivimana north face



Pl 176 Subrahmanya (*griva koshtha, east*)

TIRUVALISVARAM
Tiruvalisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

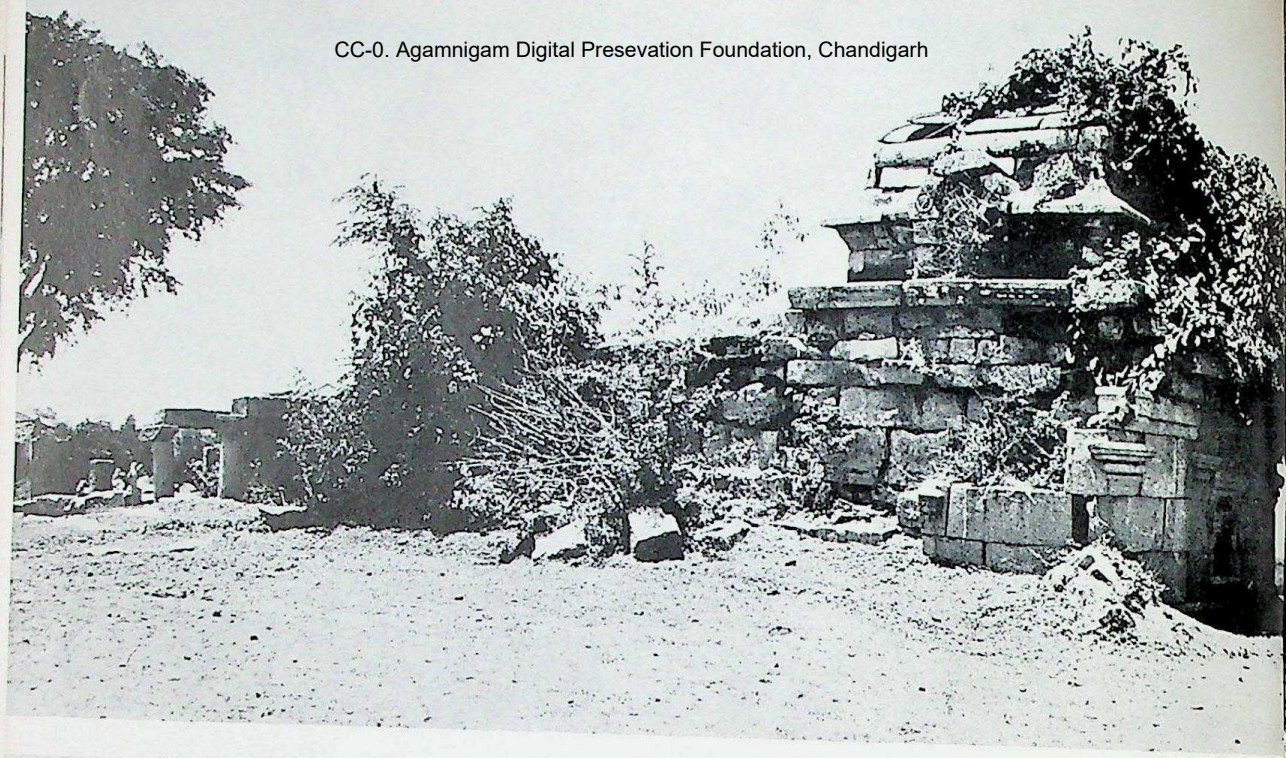


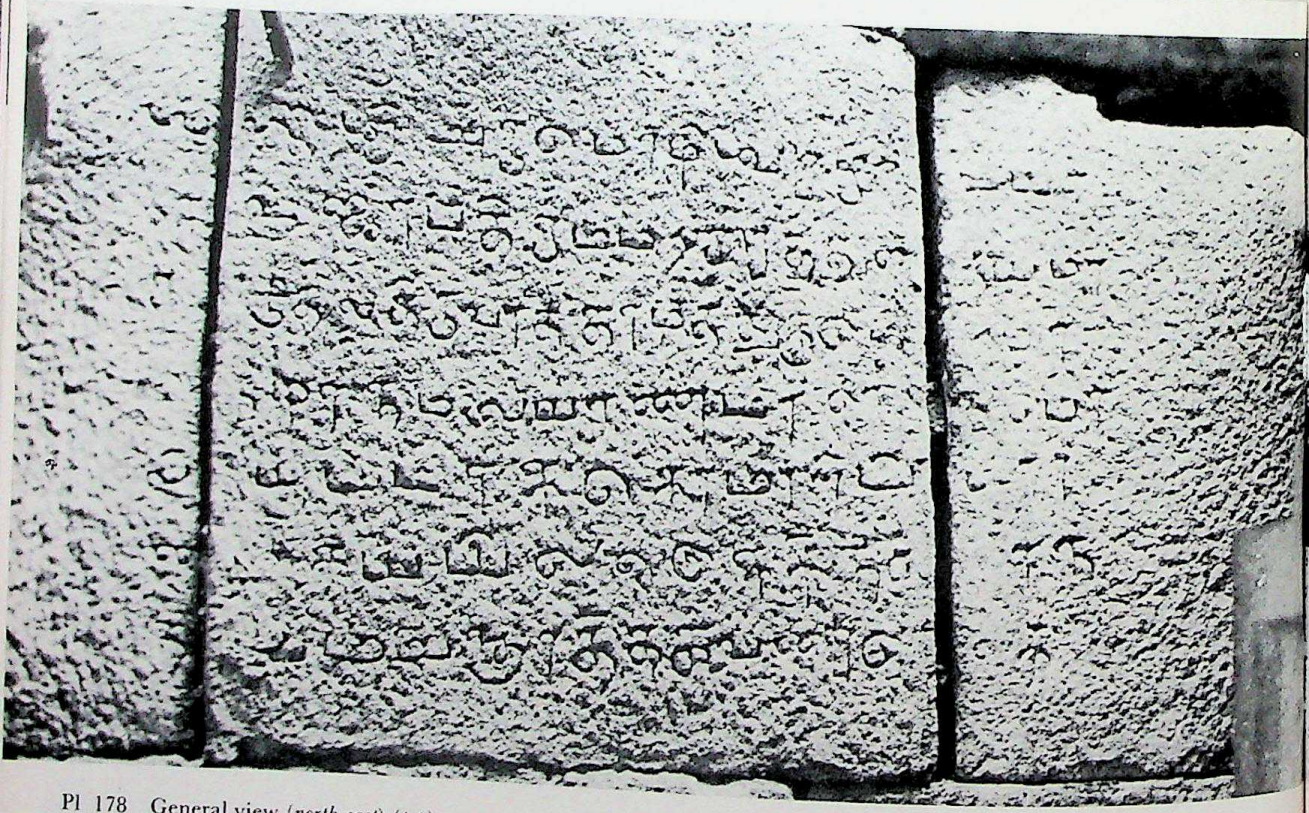
POLANNARUVA
Siva Devale No 2

Pl 177 General view, south face

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



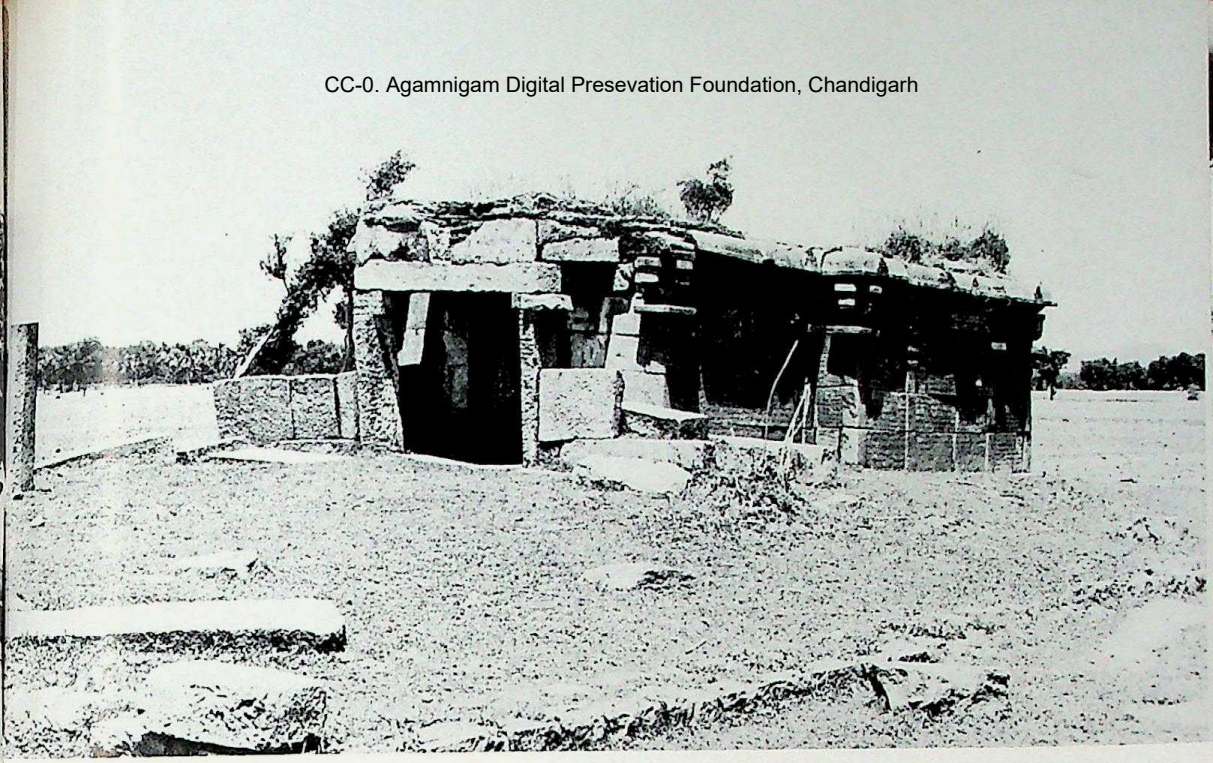


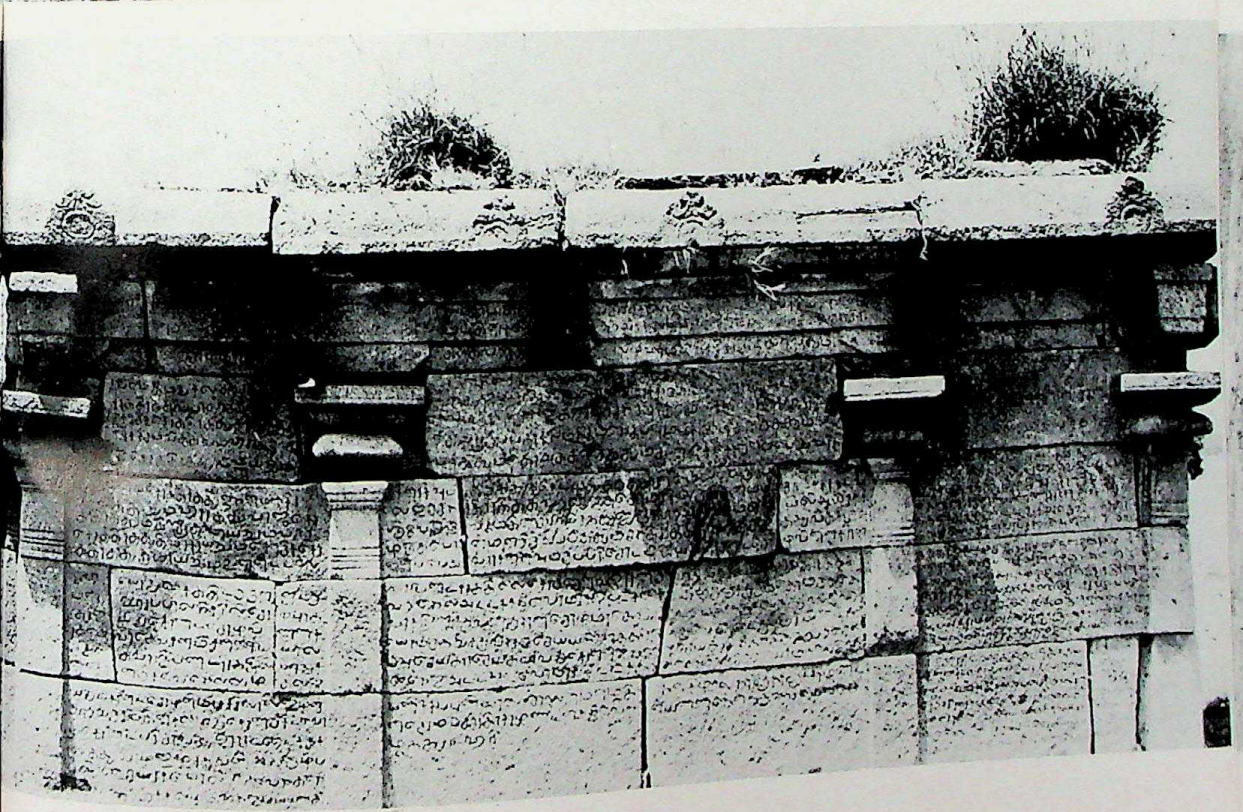
Pl 178 General view (*north-east*) (*top*)

Pl 179 Inscription in ardhamandapa (*below*)

MALUR-PATNA
Arumolisvaram temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



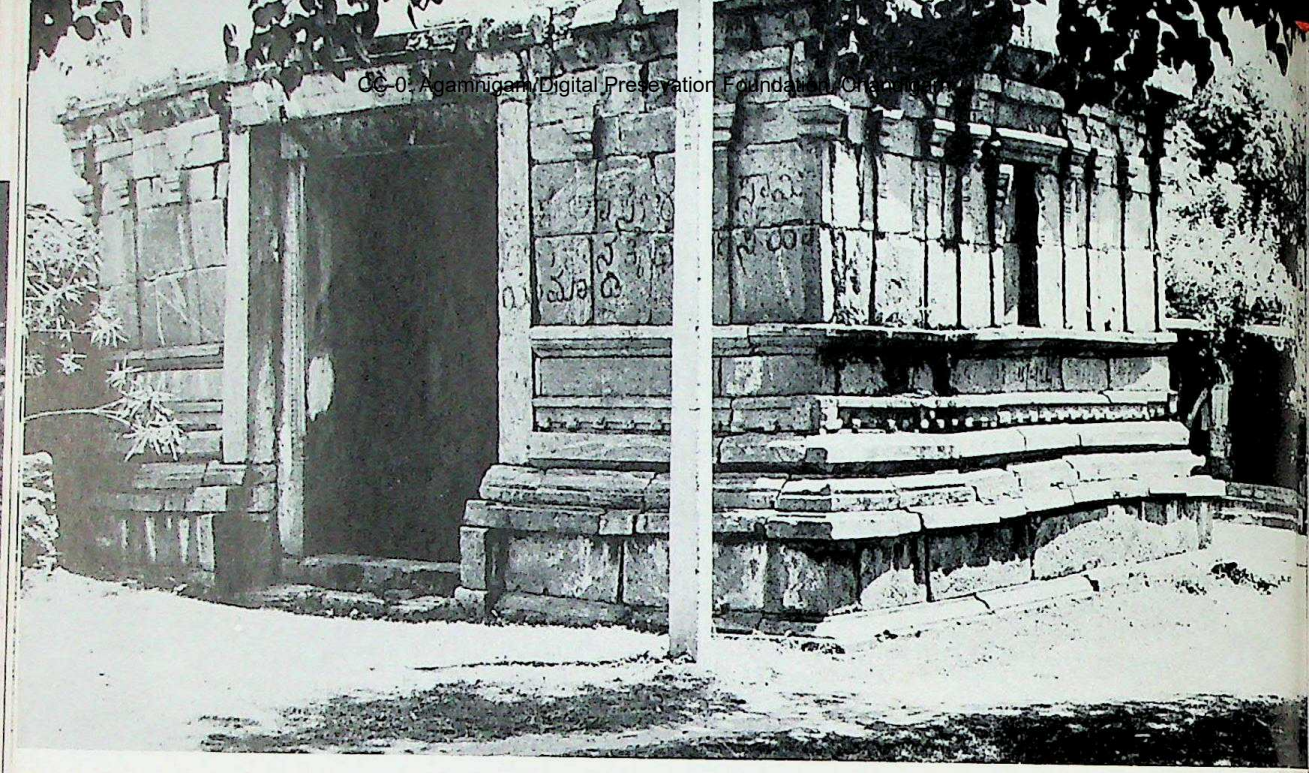


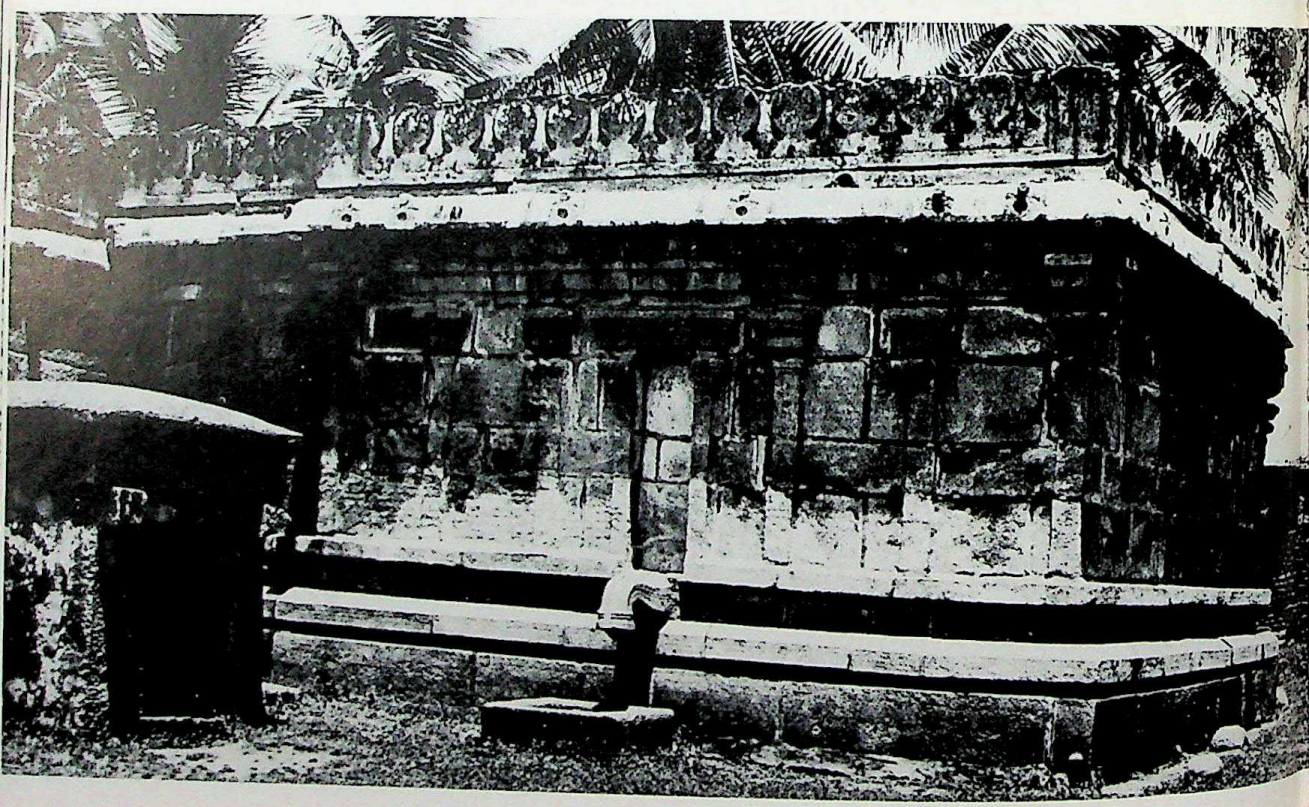
Pl 180 General view (*top*)

Pl 181 Garbhagriha (*without superstructure*) (*below*)

MALUR-PATNA
Jayangondasola vinnagar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chennai



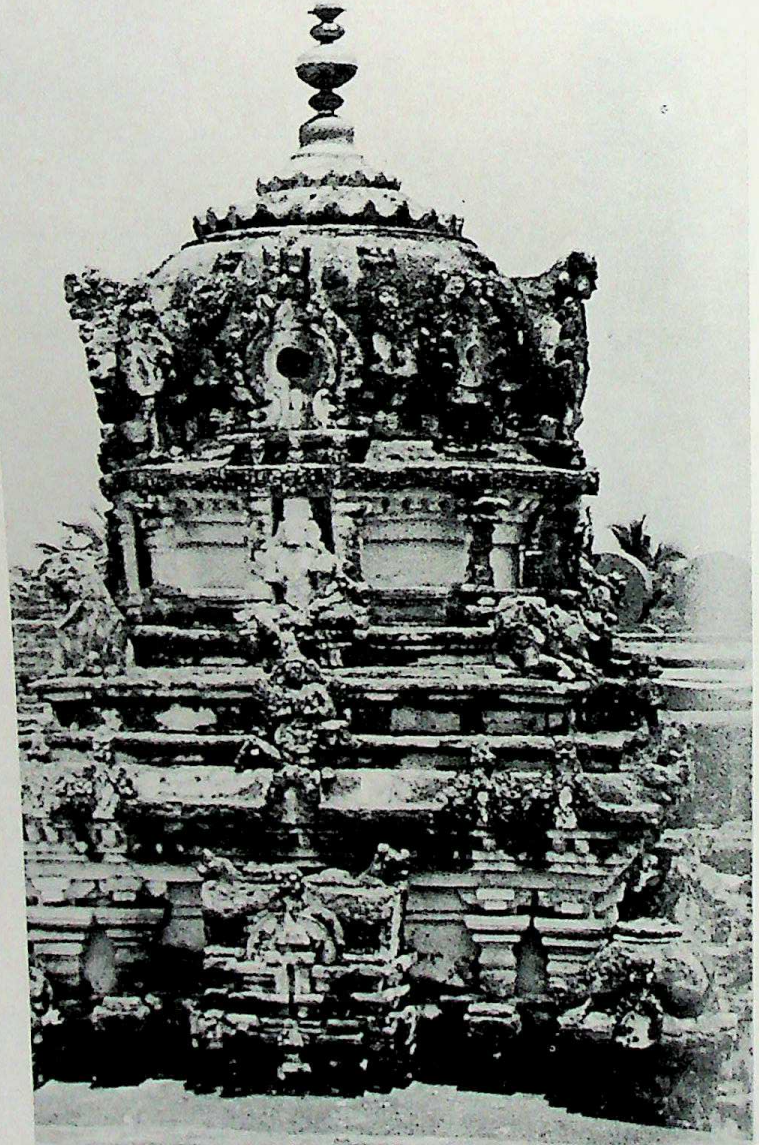


Pl 182 Main gopuram (*without superstructure*) (*top*)

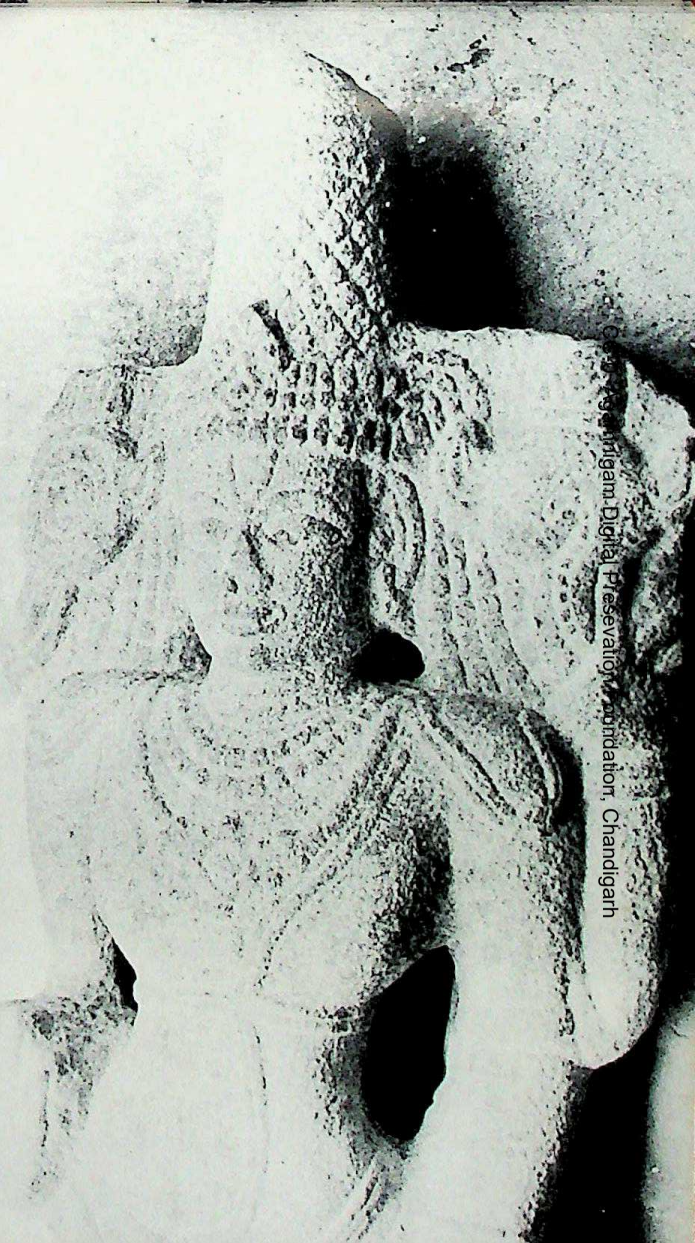
Pl 183 Garbhagriha and ardhamandapa (*below*)

MALUR
Kailasesvarar temple

MALUR
Apprameyasvami temple



Pl 184 Srivimana
(*superstructure*) (*left*)



Pl 185 Vishnu
(*stone sculpture*) (*right*)

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

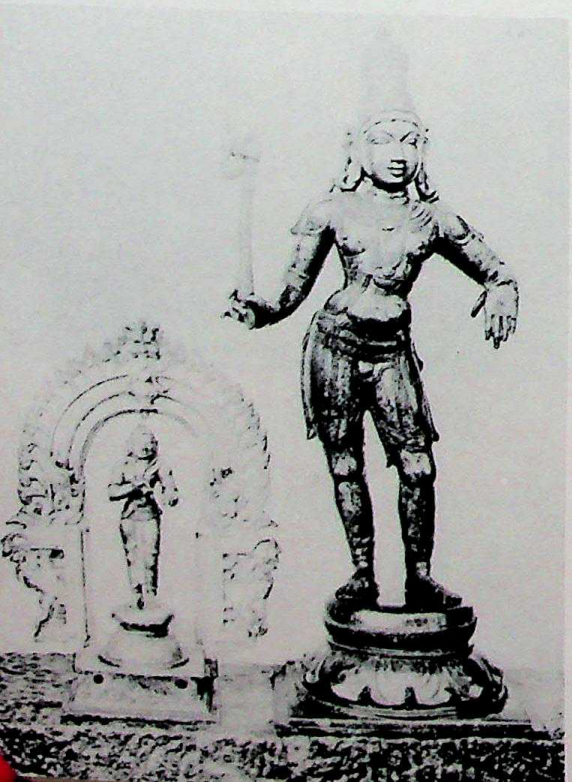
TIRUVISALUR
Siva Yoganadasvamin temple

Pl 186 Tulabhara and Hiranyagarbha, Rajaraja I and Dantisakti Vitanki

Pl 187 Rajaraja I and Nambi Andar Nambi

TIRUNARAIYUR
Soundaresvarar temple

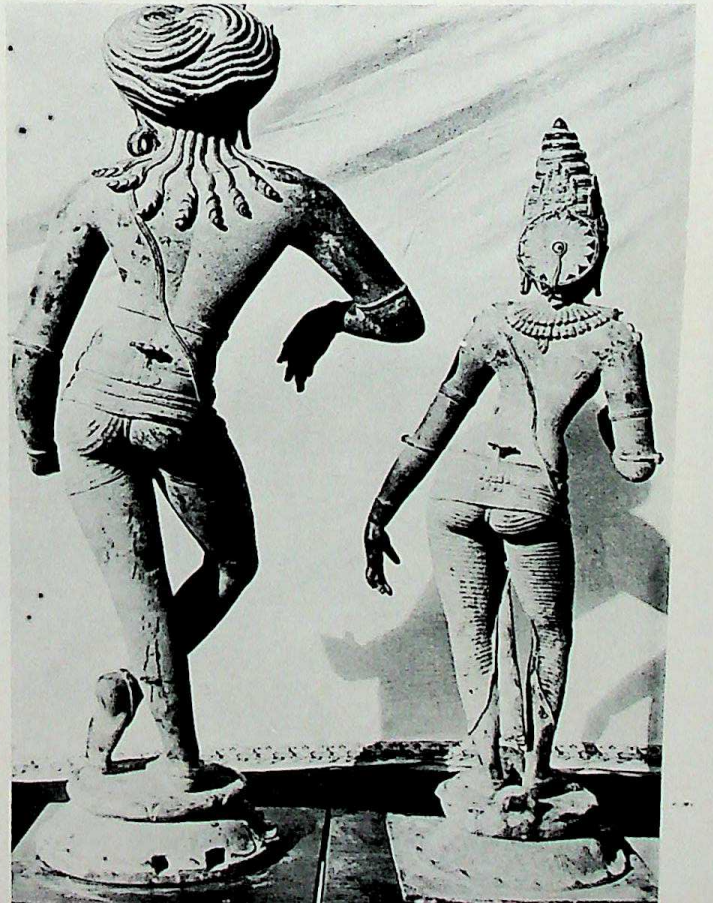
Pl 188 Dakshinamurti



TIRUVENKADU
Svetaranyesvarar temple
(Tanjavur Art Gallery)

Pl 189 Vrishabhantikar and Consort (*bronze*), front view

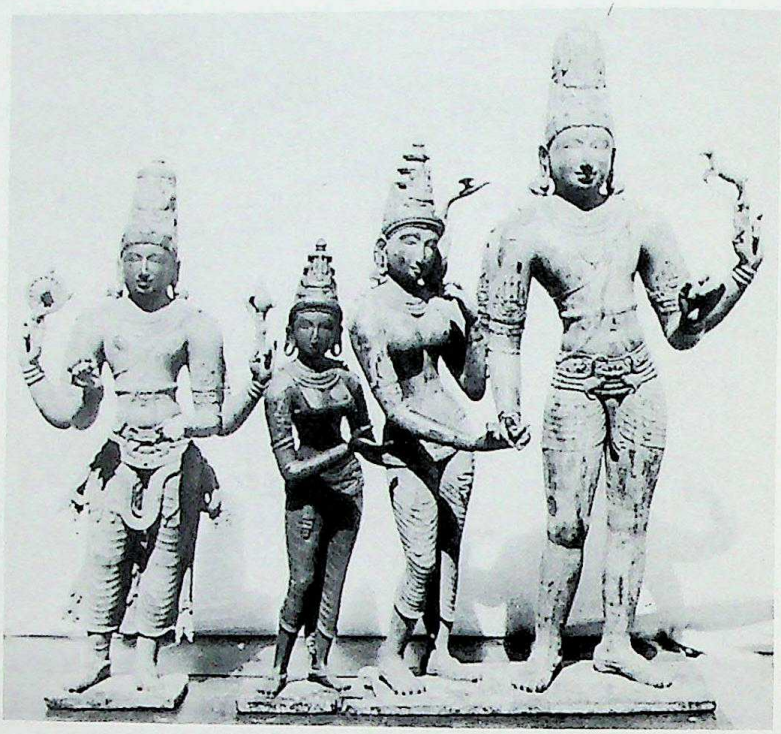
Pl 190 Vrishabhantikar and Consort (*bronze*), rear view

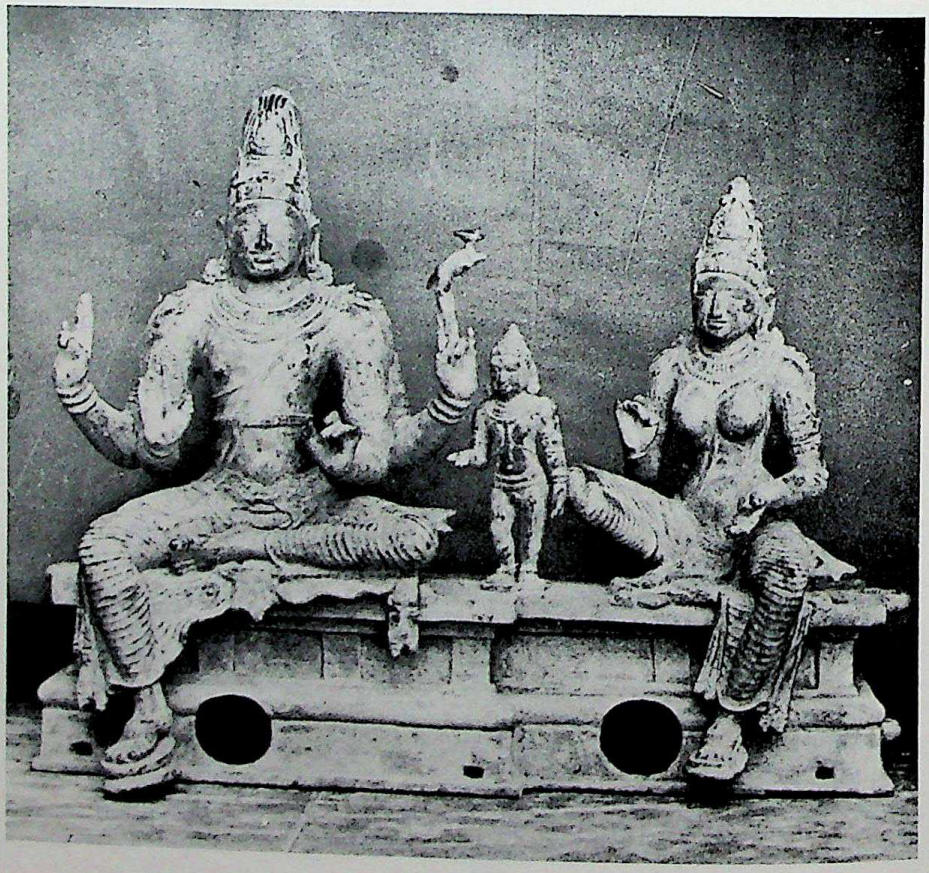


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 191 Kalyanasundarar group. (*bronze*)





Pl 192 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

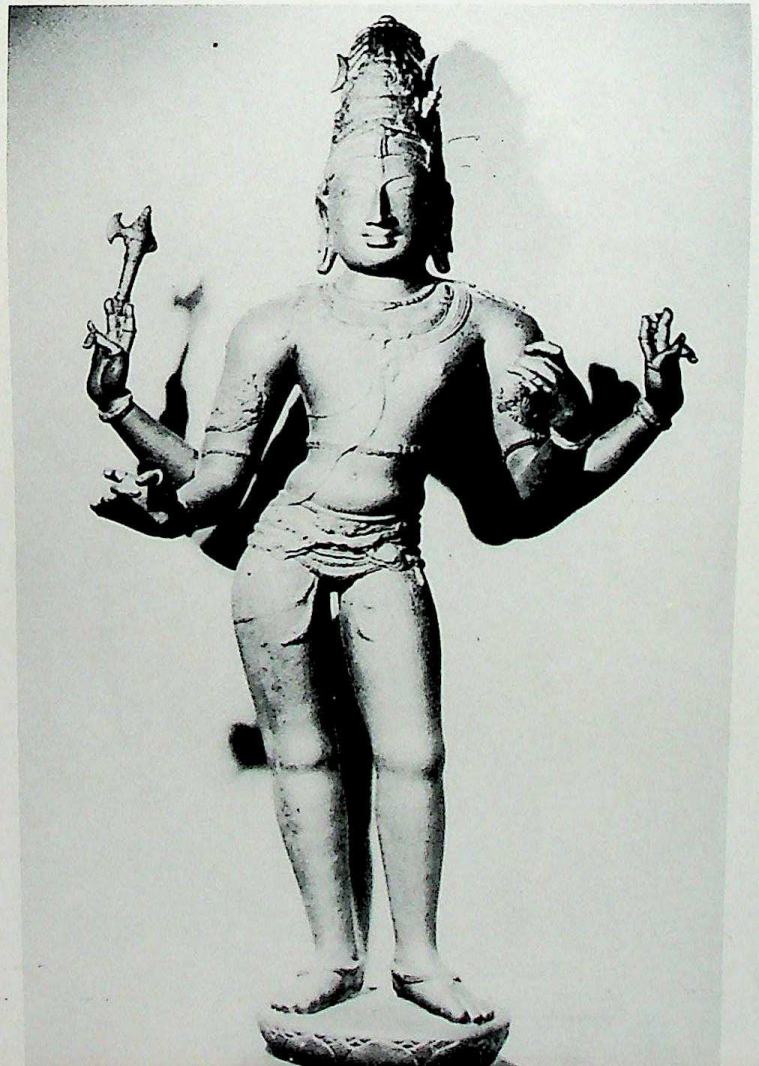
TIRUVENKADU
Svetaranyesvarar temple

TIRUVENKADU
Svetaranyesvarar temple
(Tanjavur Art Gallery)

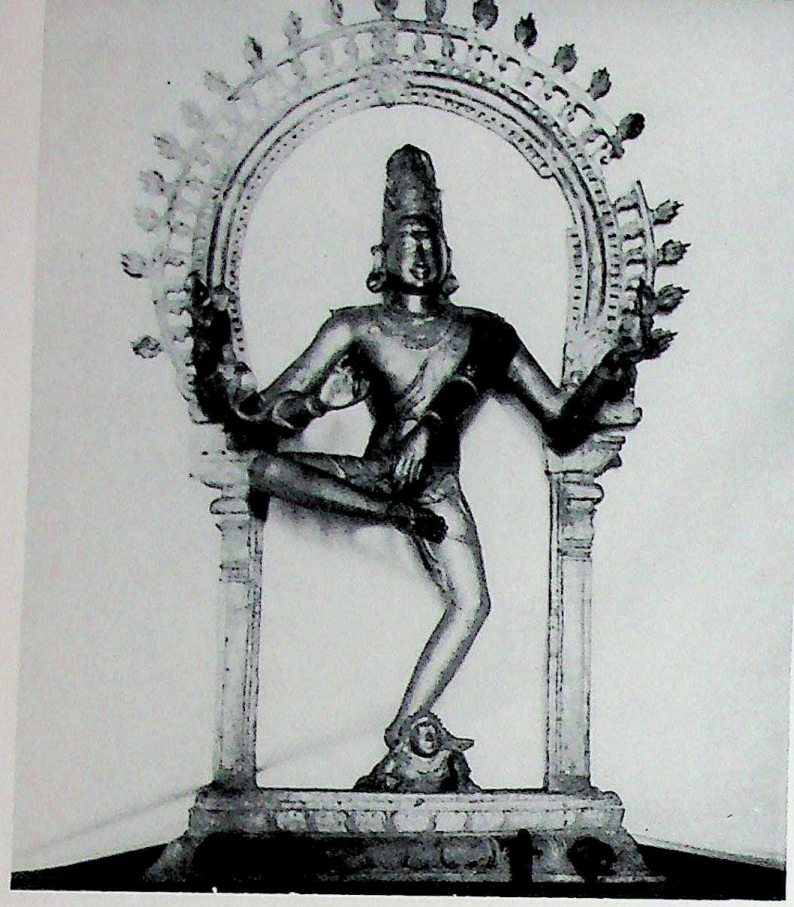
Pl 193 Kannappar (*bronze*)

TIRUKKODIKKA
Tirukkotisvarar temple

Pl 194 Tripurantakar (*bronze*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 195 Nataraja (*bronze*)

TIRUVAKKARAI
Siva temple

VALUVUR
Viratthanesvarar temple

Pl 196 Nataraja (*bronze*)

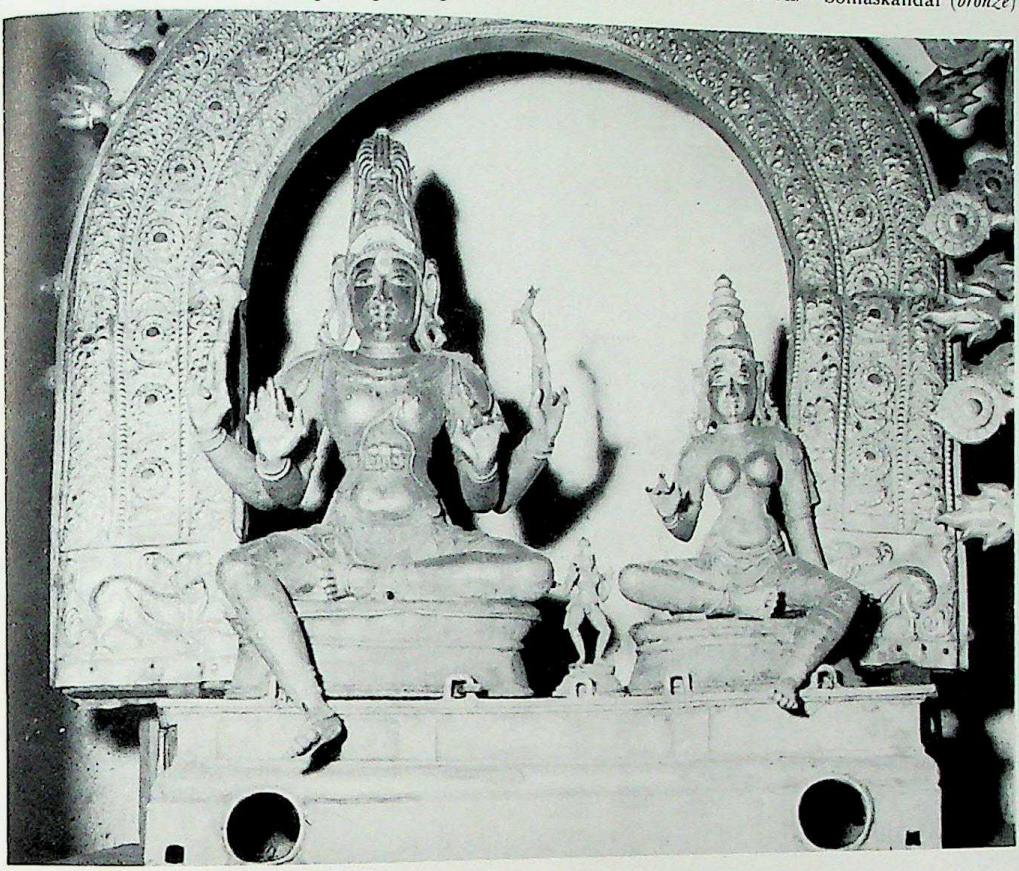
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

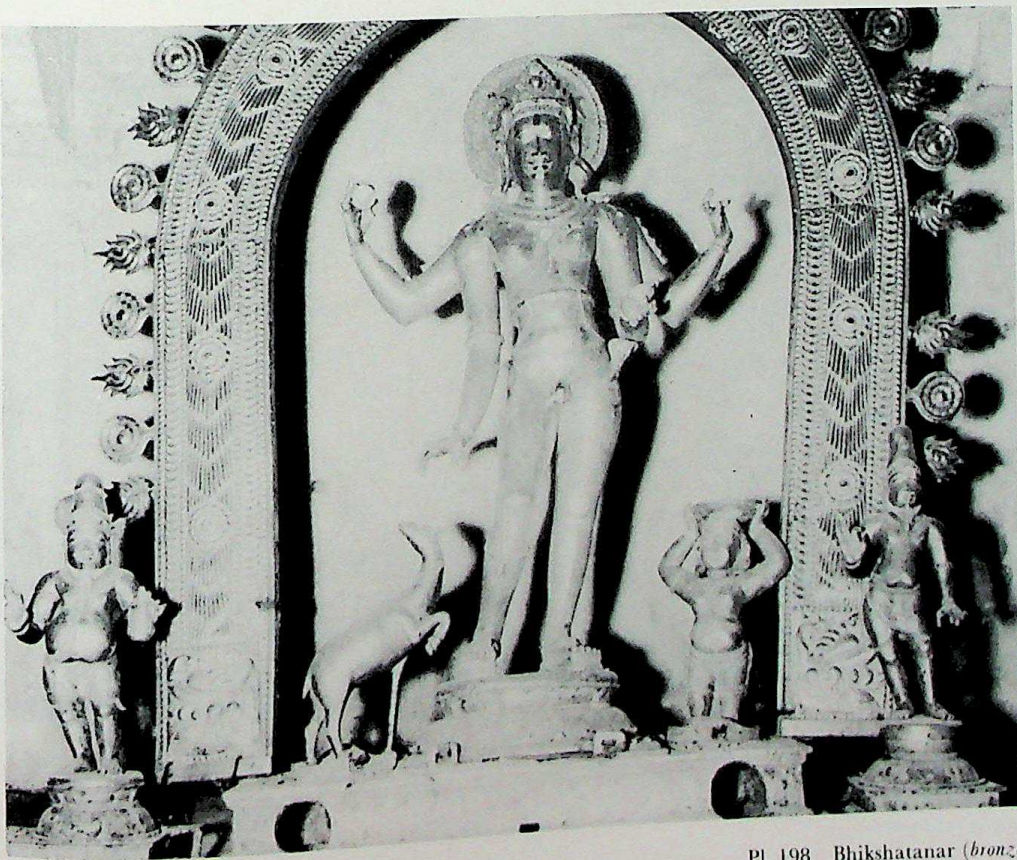
VALUVUR

Viratthanesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

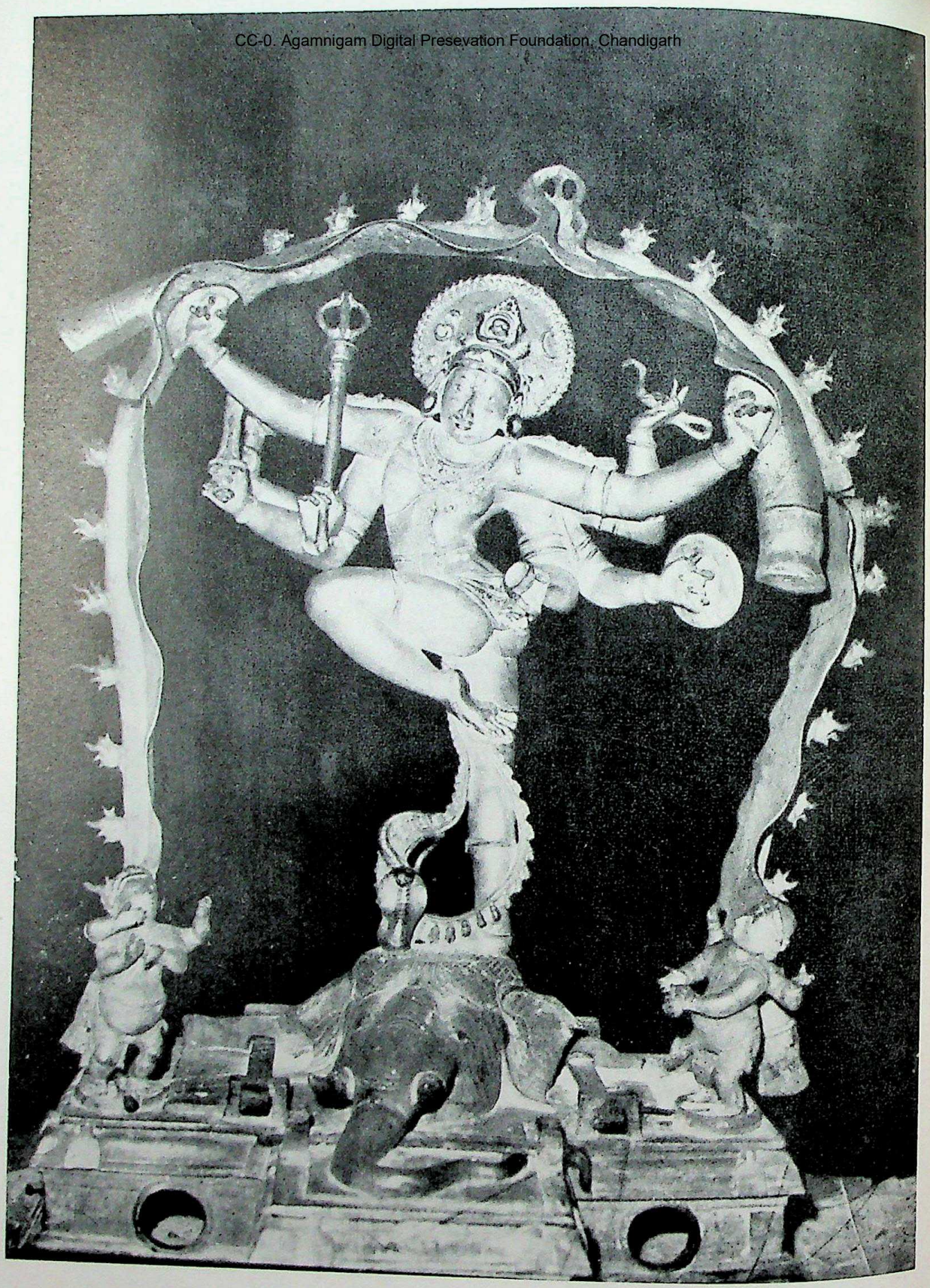
Pl. 197 Somaskandar (*bronze*)





Pl. 198 Bhikshatanar (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



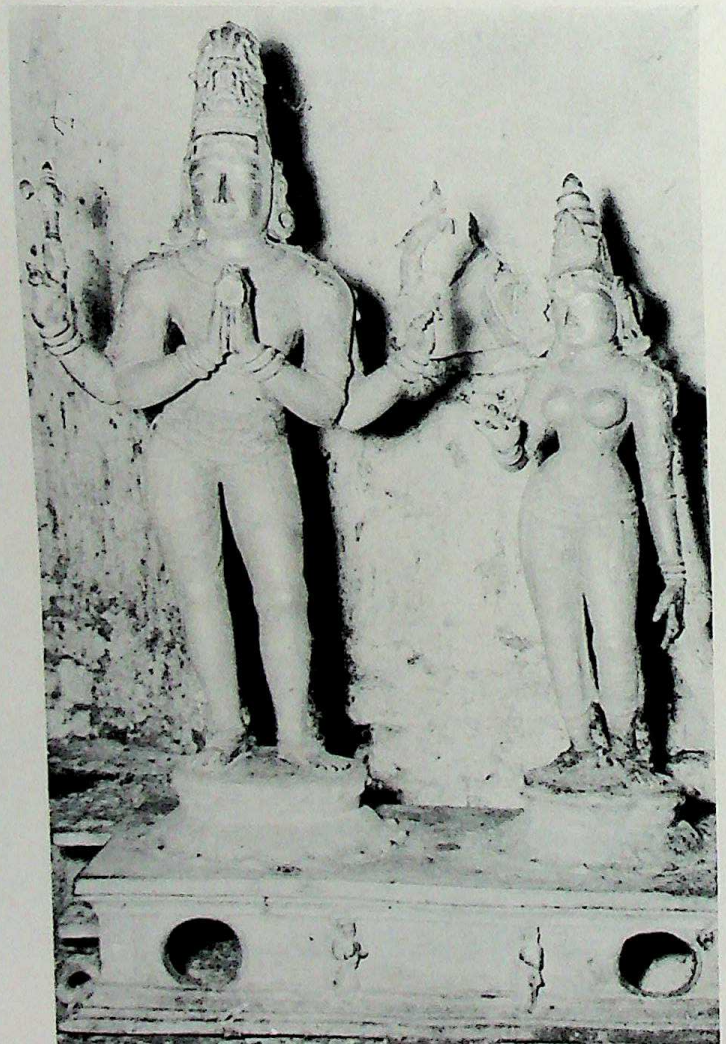
Pl 199 Gajasamharamurti (*bronze*)

VALUVUR
Viratthanesvarar temple

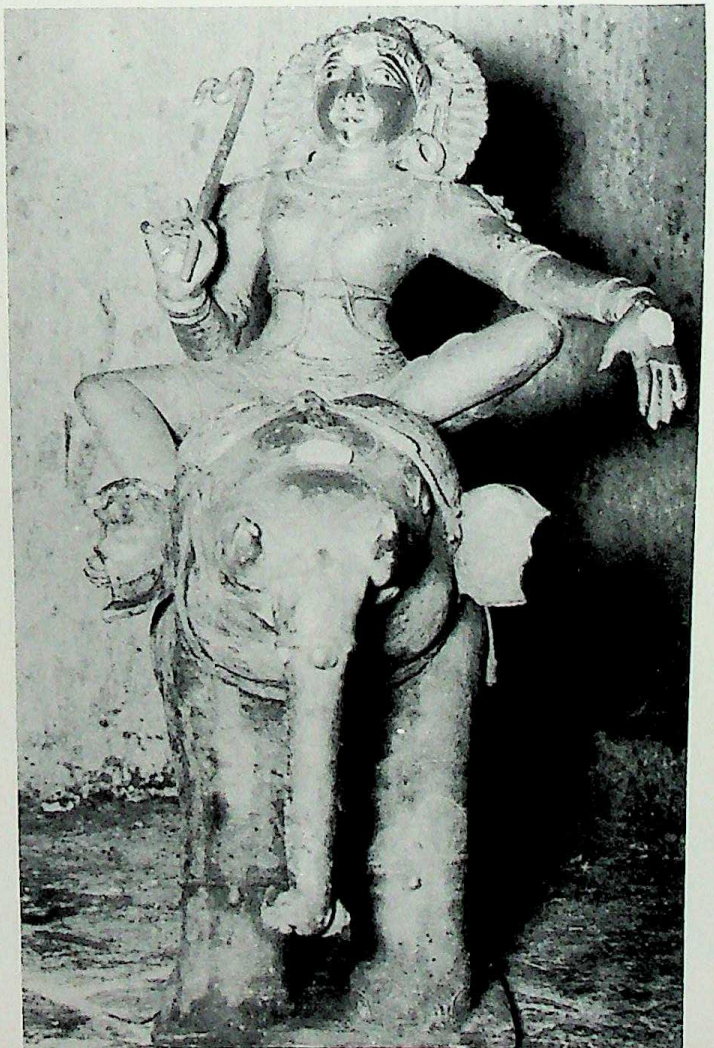
VALUVUR

Viratthanesvarar temple

Pl 200 Nandikesvarar and Consort (*bronze*)



Pl 201 Ayyanaur (*bronze*)



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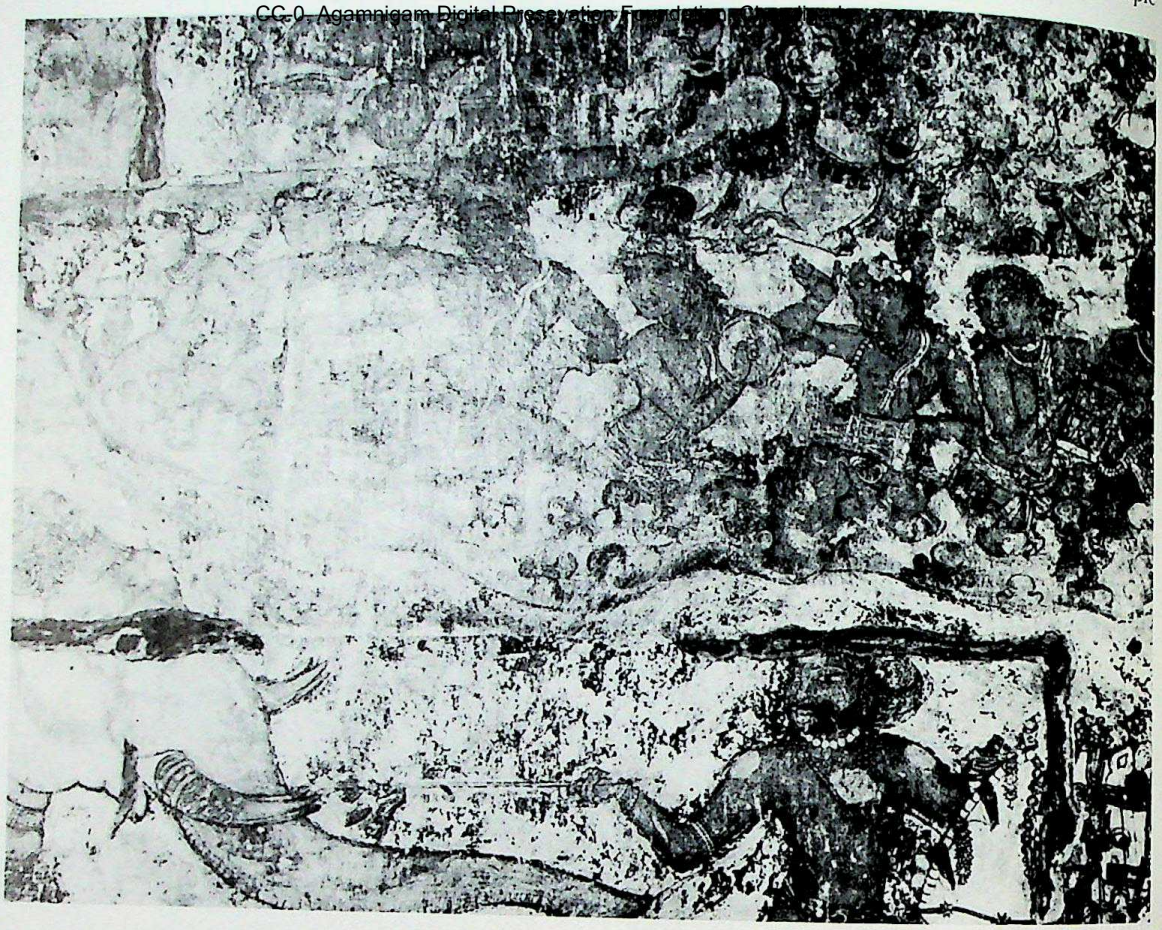
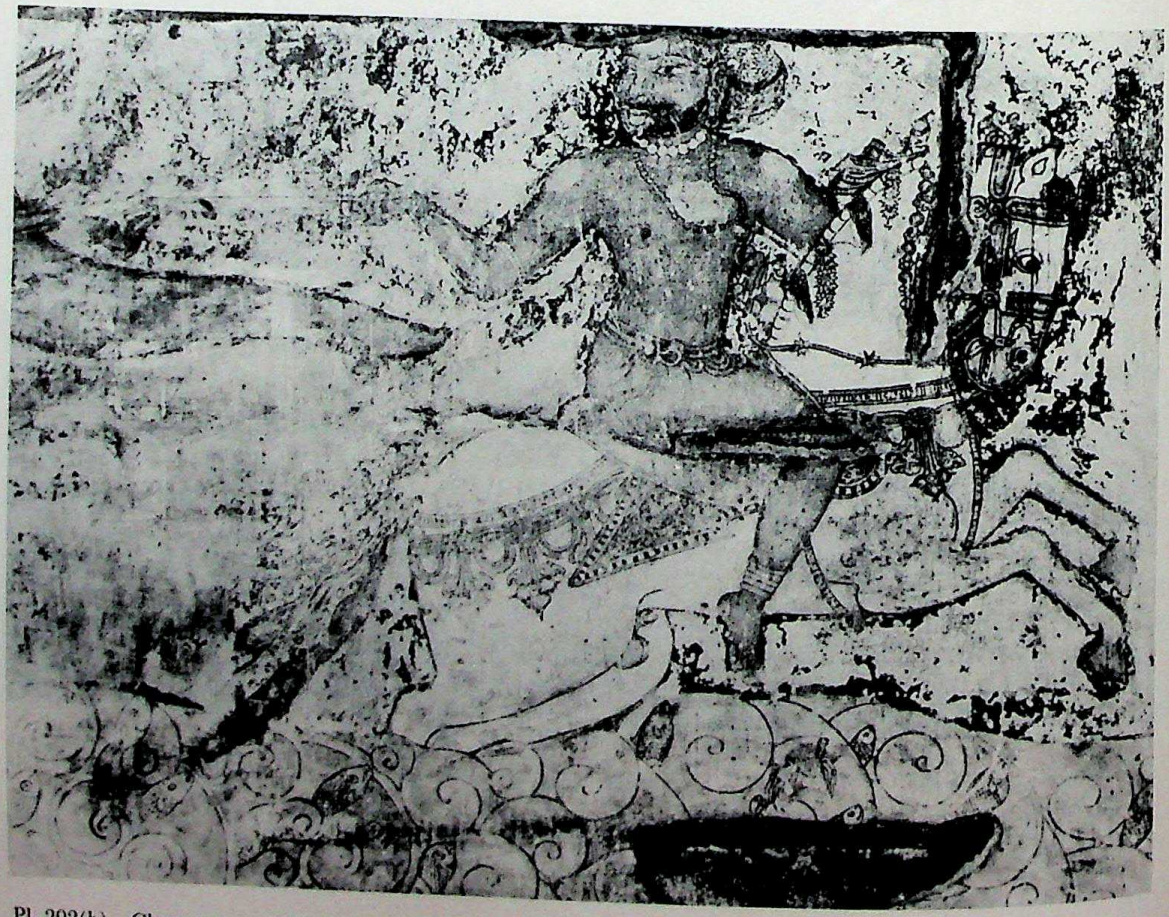
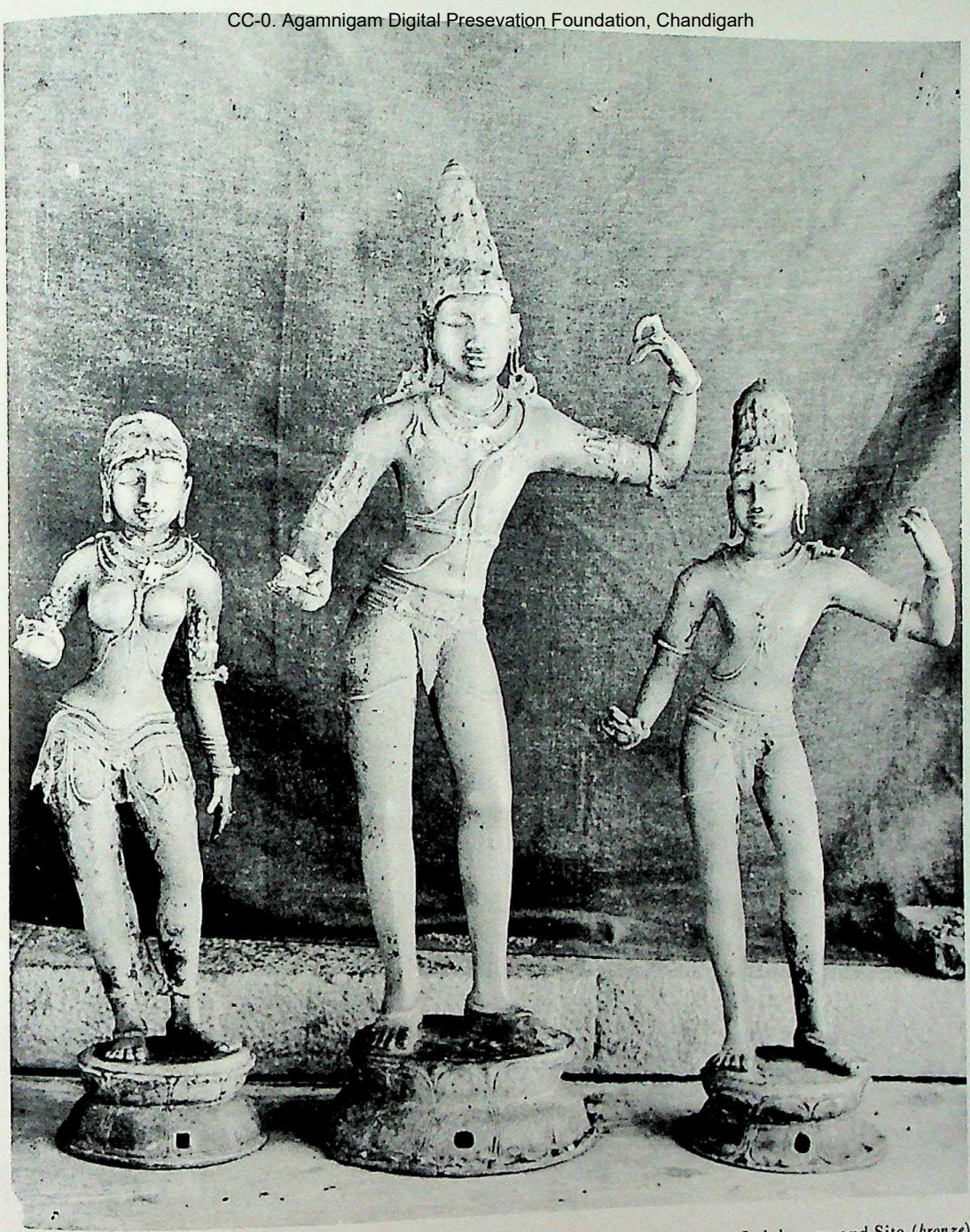




Pl 202(a) Kailasa, dancing figure (*painting*)

Pl 202(b) Cheraman to Kailasa (*painting*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 203 Rama, Lakshmana and Sita (*bronze*)

PARUTTIYUR
Kalyanavaradaraja Perumal
temple

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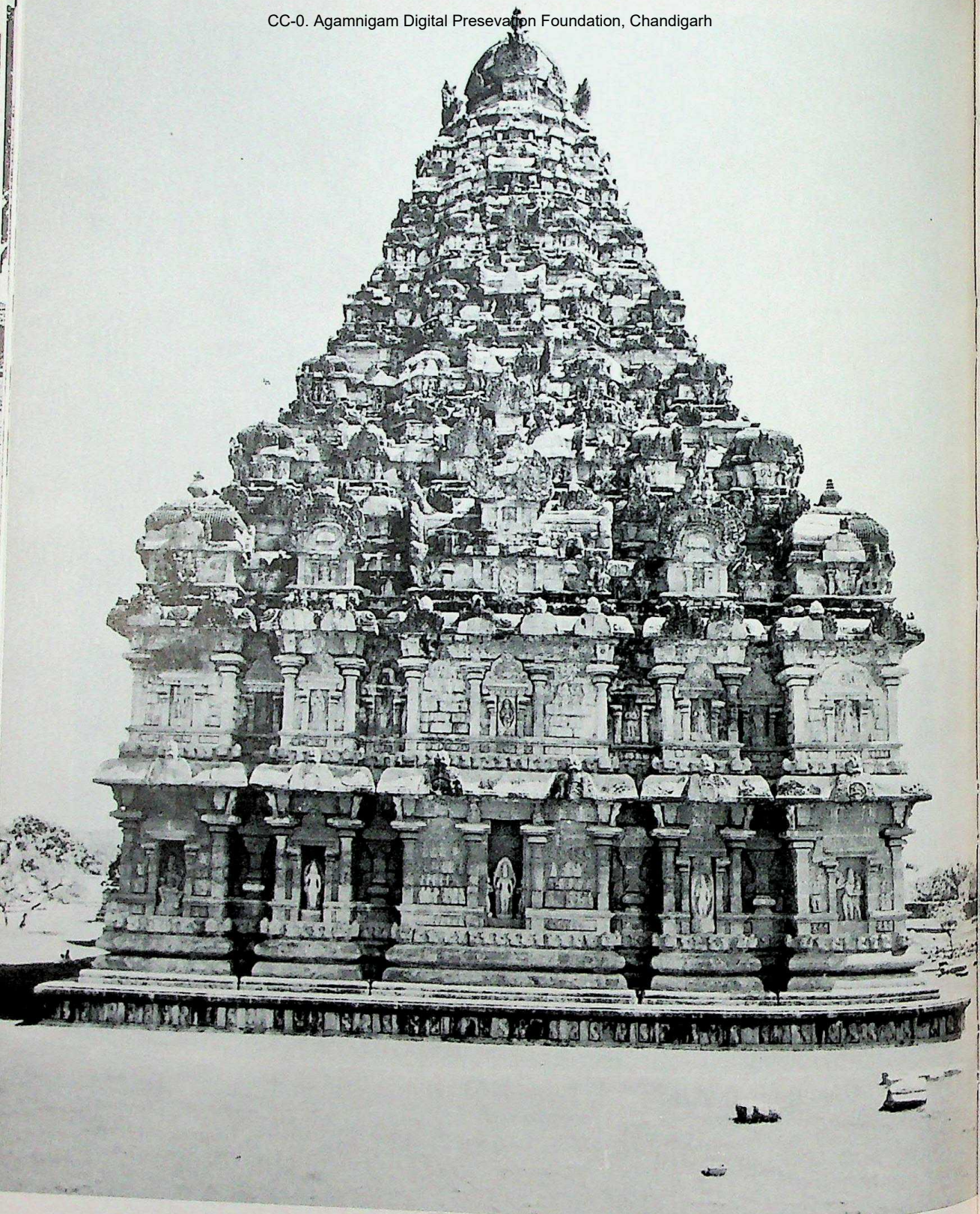
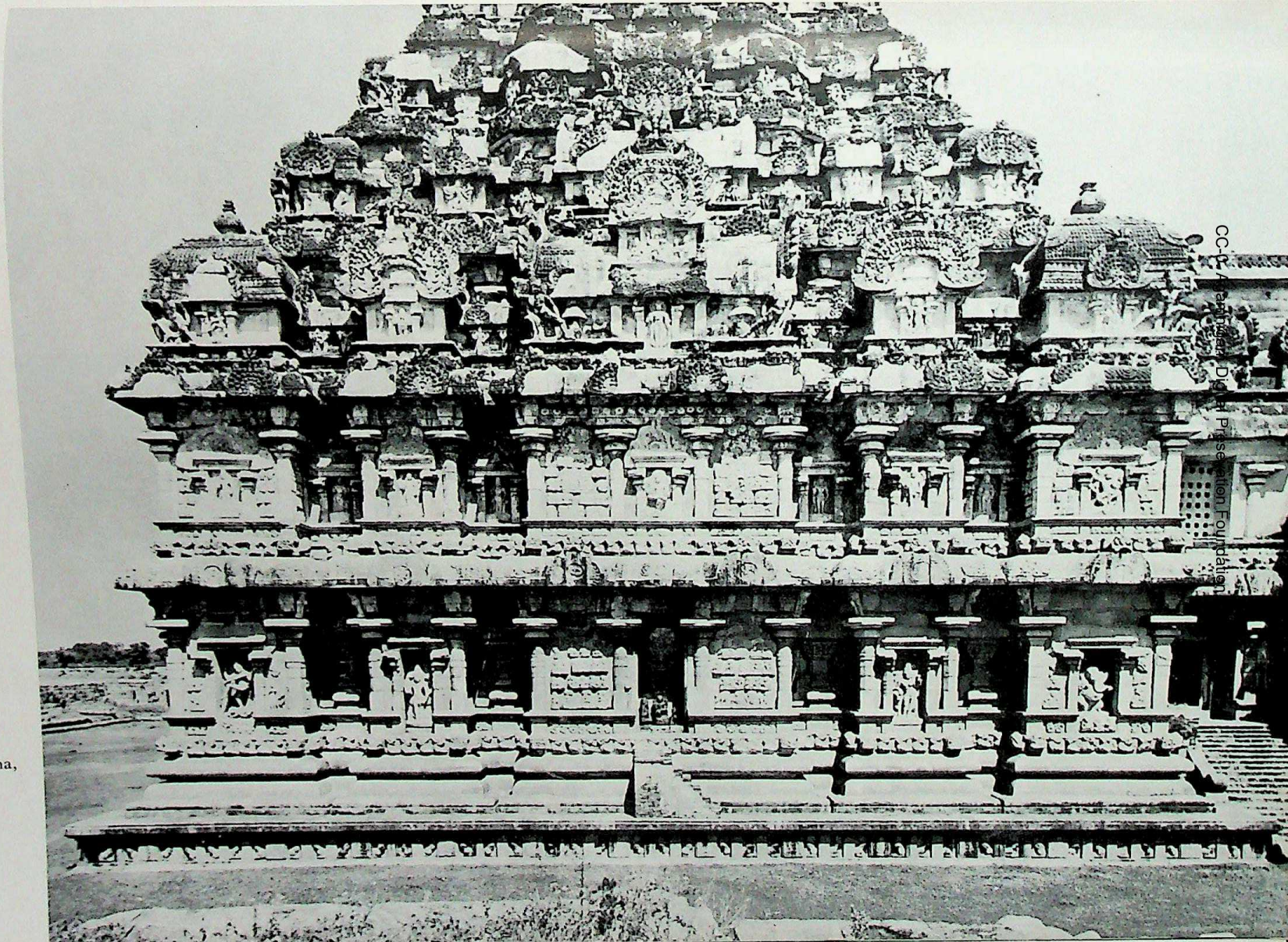


Pl 204 Srivimana (*General view*)

GANGAIKONDA
SOLAPURAM
Gangaikondasolisvaram

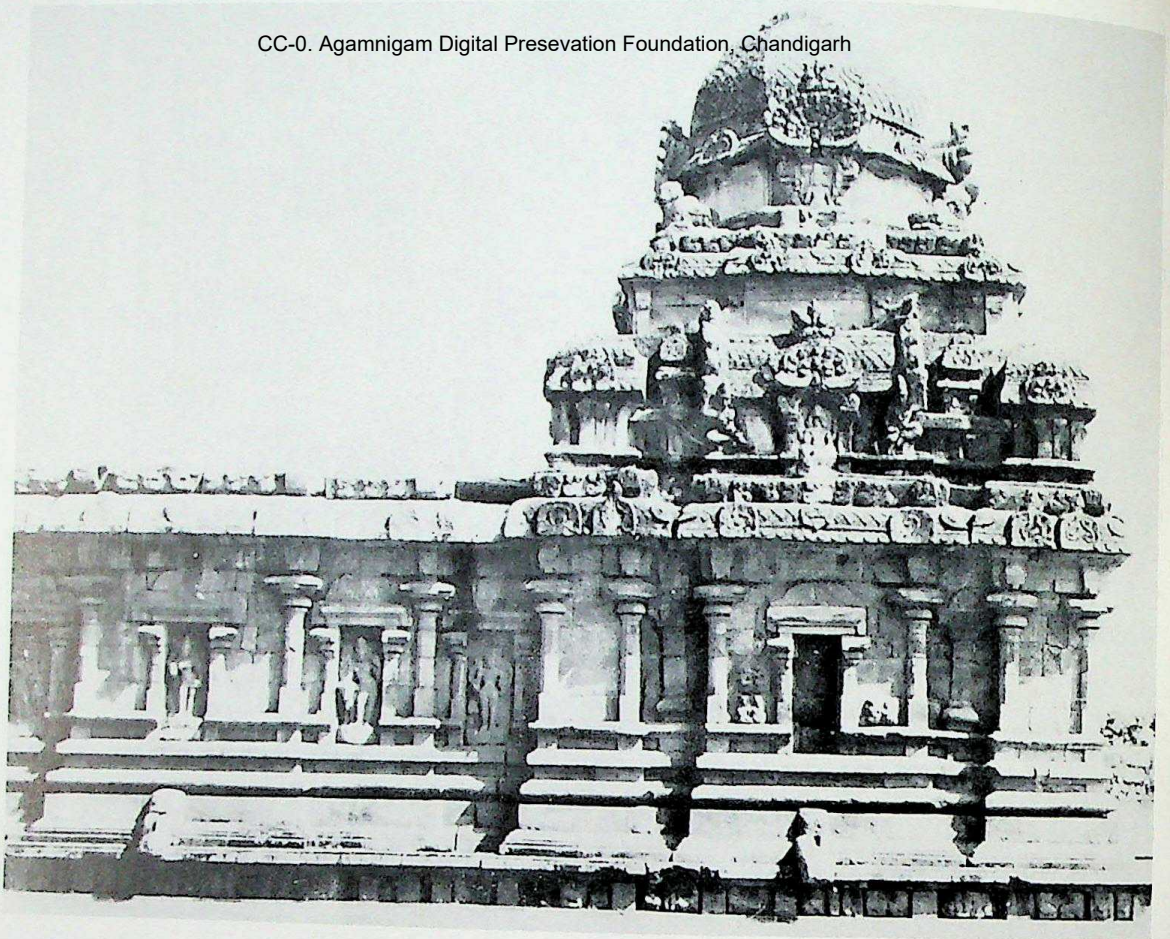
GANGAIKONDA
SOLAPURAM
Gangaikondasolisvaram



Pl 205 Garbhagriha, south face

CC-BY. Tamil Nadu Digital Preservation Foundation

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 206 Dakshina Kailasam

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Gangaikondasolisvaram

Pl 207 Uttara Kailasam

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Pl 208 Chandesanugrahamurti

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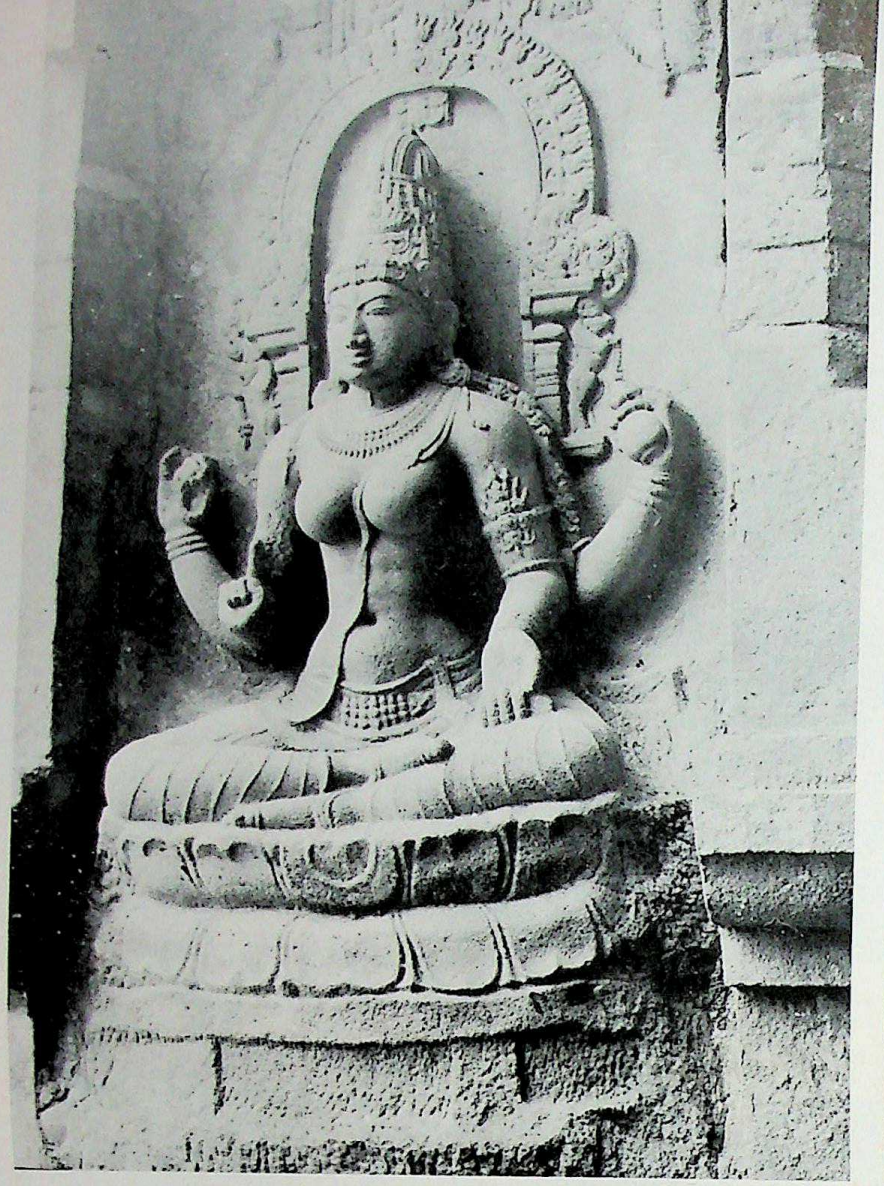
SOLAPURAM
Gangaikondasolisvaram



Pl 209 Sarasvati

Pl 210 Kalarimurti

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Gangaikondasolisvaram

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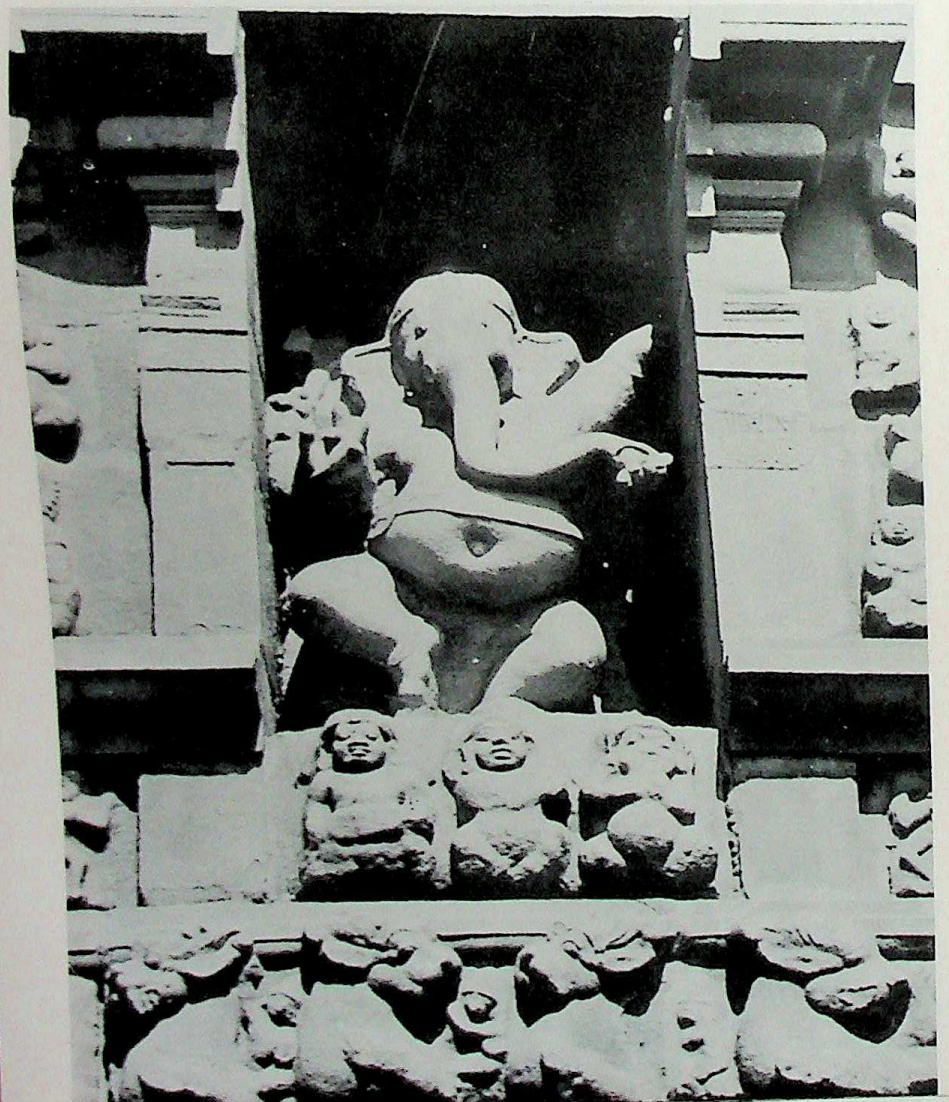
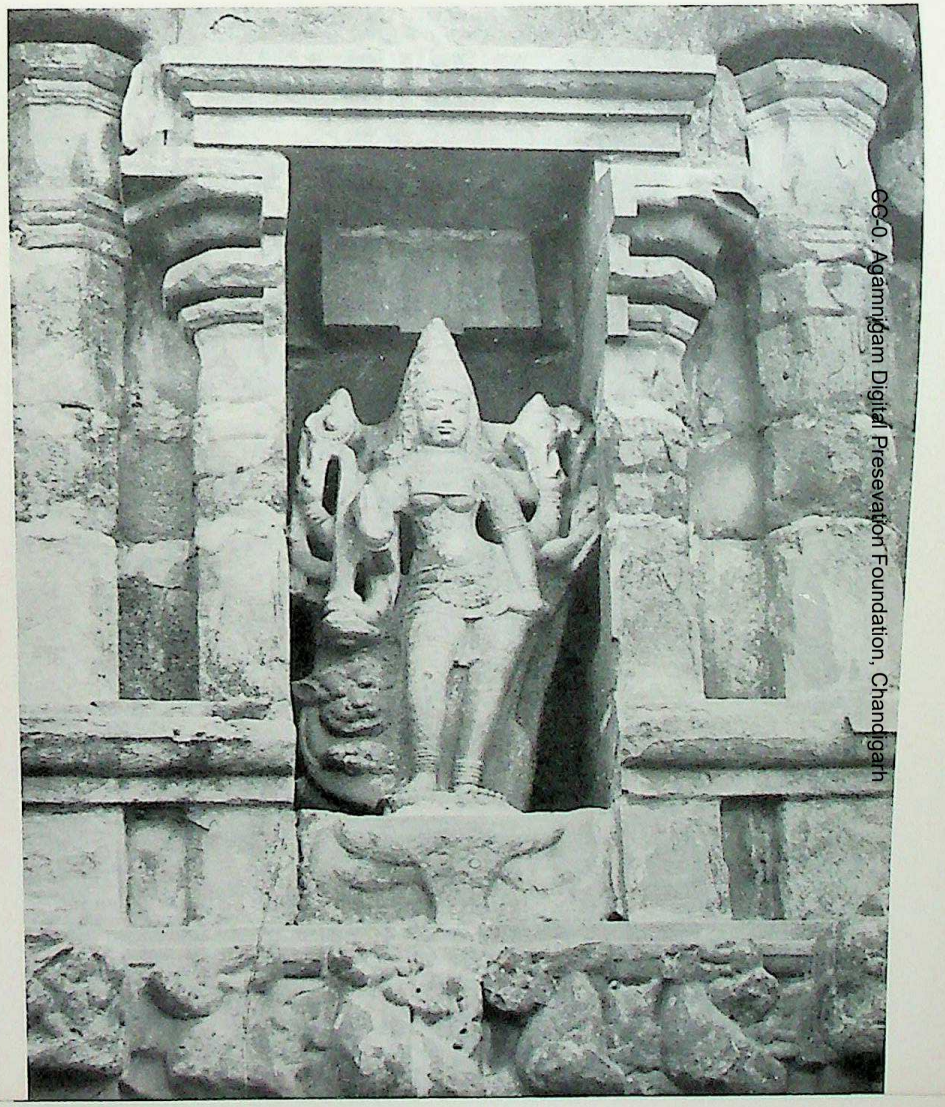
Pl 211 Ganapati



Pl 212 Durga



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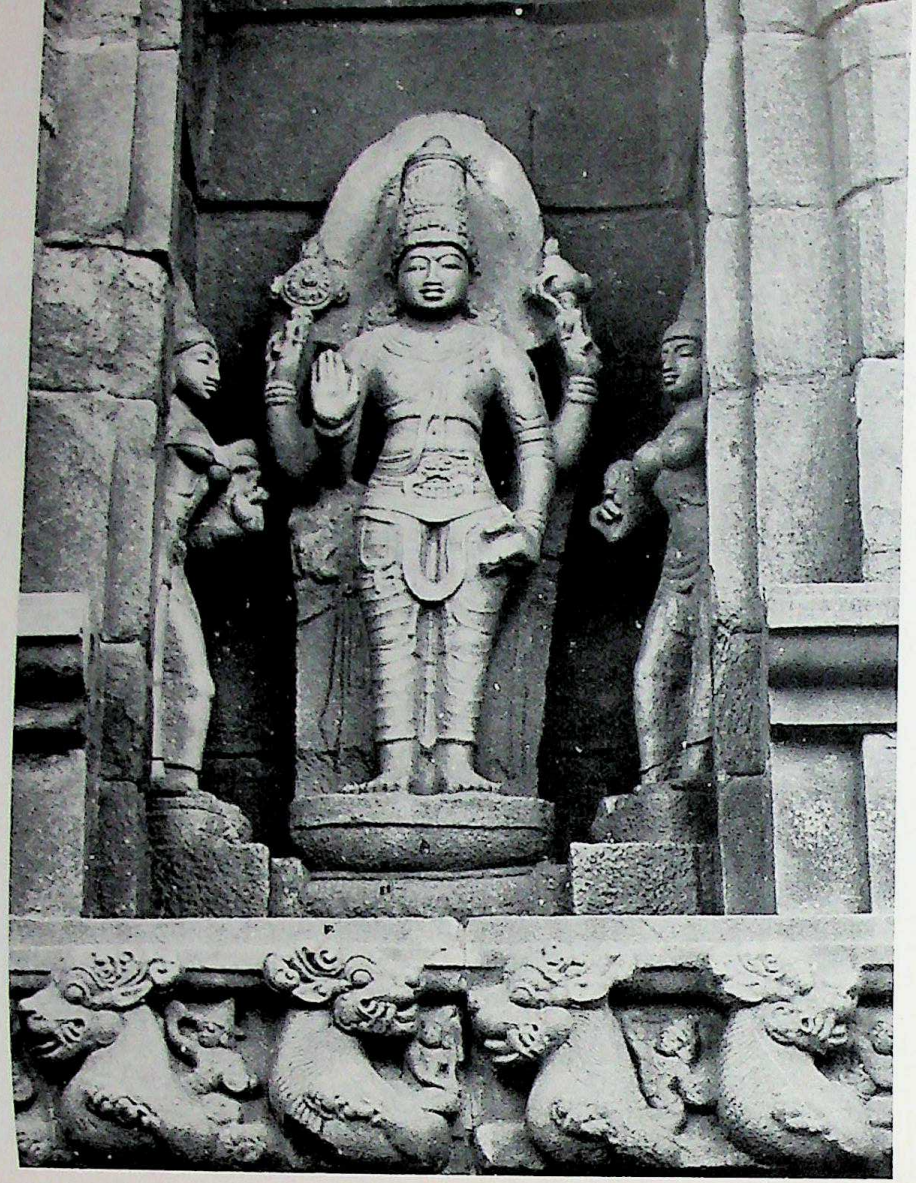
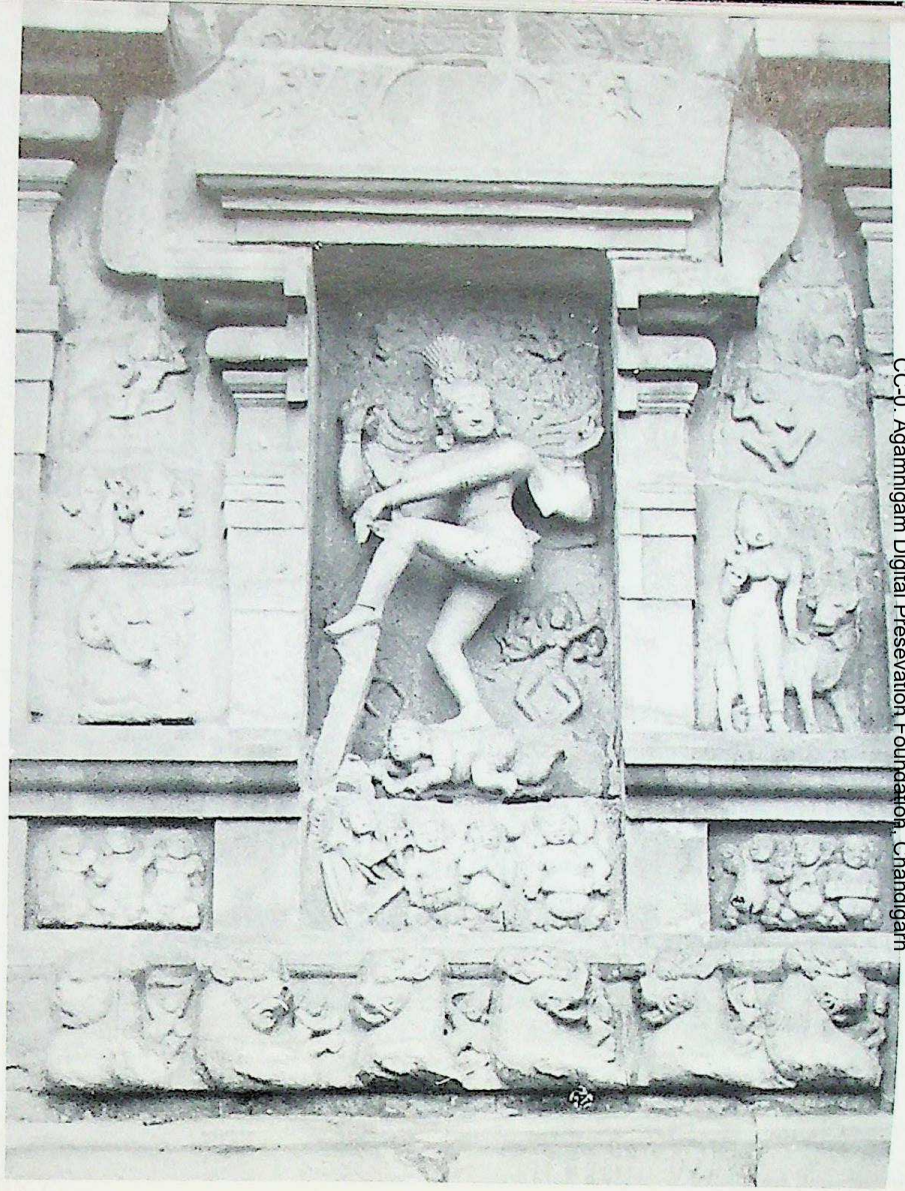


Pl 213 Vishnu with Sridevi and Bhudevi



Pl 214 Nataraja

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Gangaikondasolisvaram

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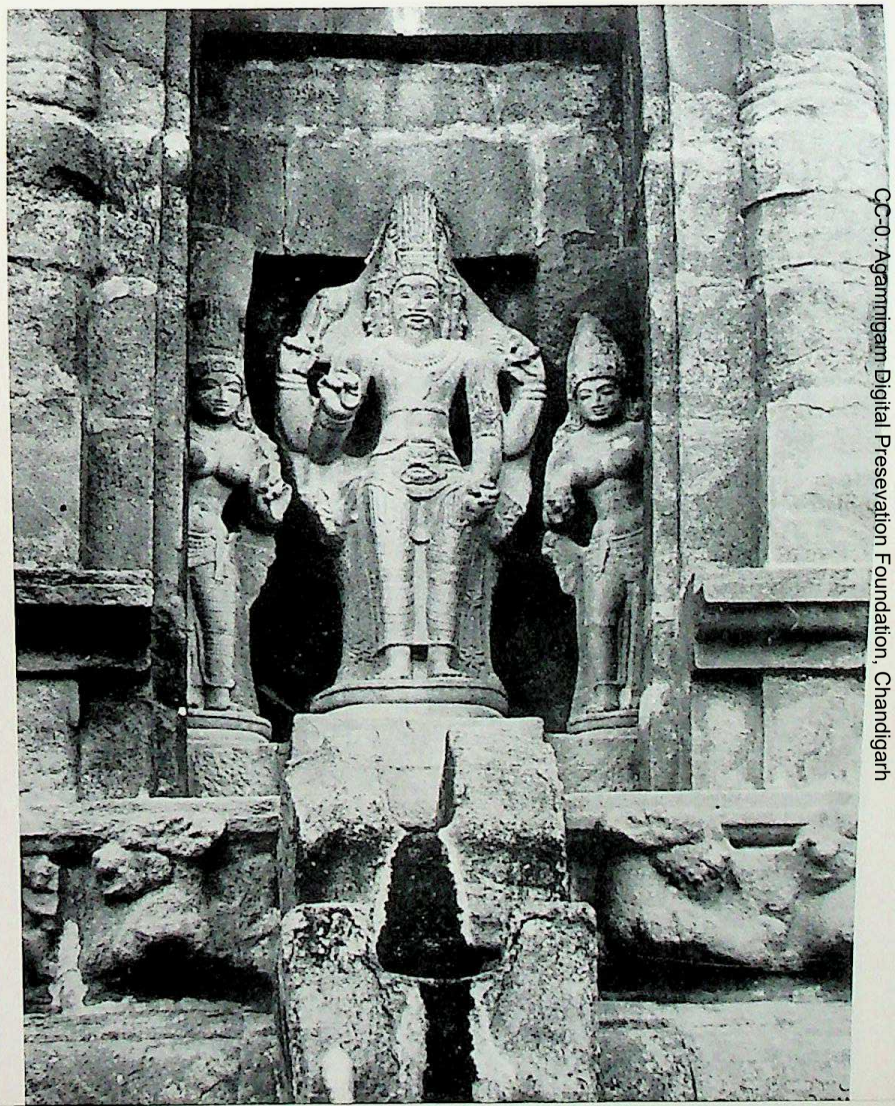
Gangaikondasolisvaram

Pl 215 Nataraja

Pl 216 Brahma with His Consorts



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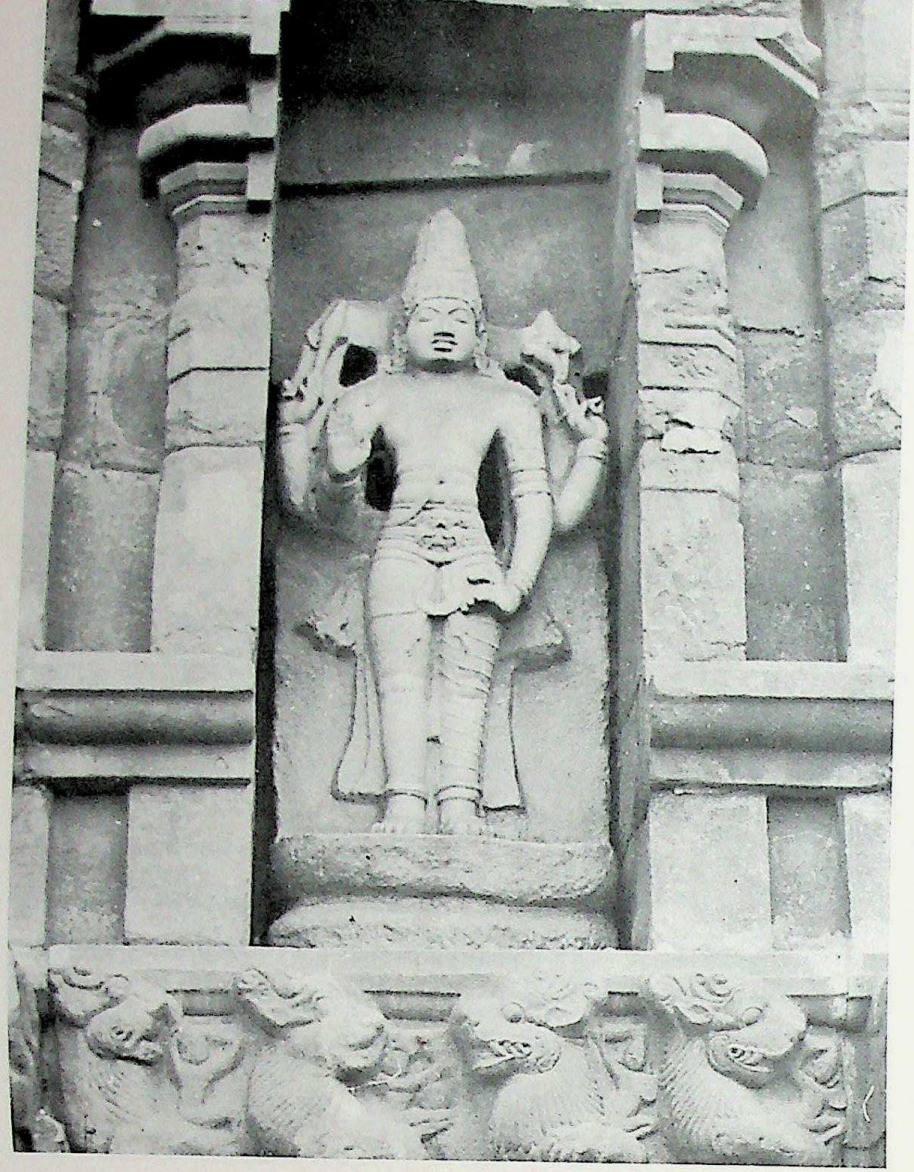
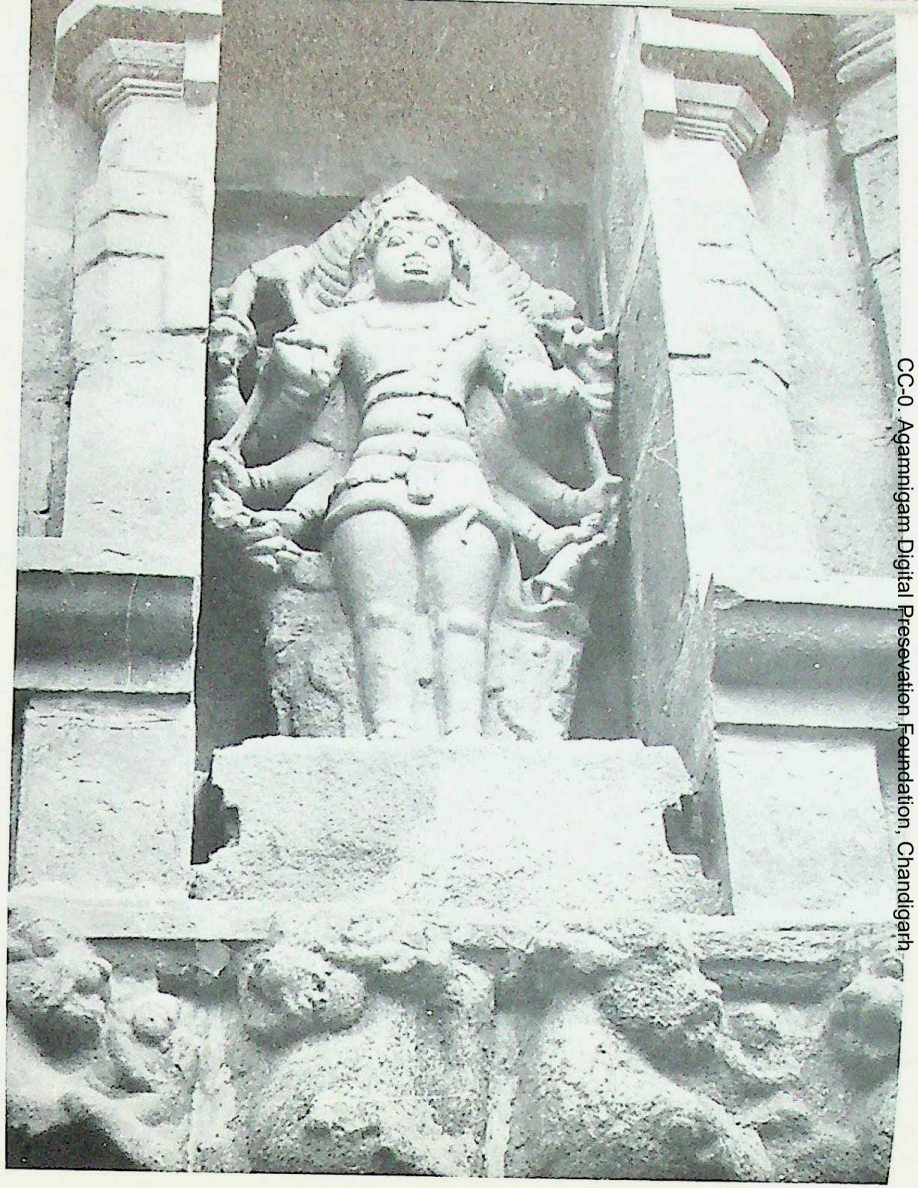


Pl 217 Hariharar



Pl 218 Bhairavar

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Gangaikondasolisvaram

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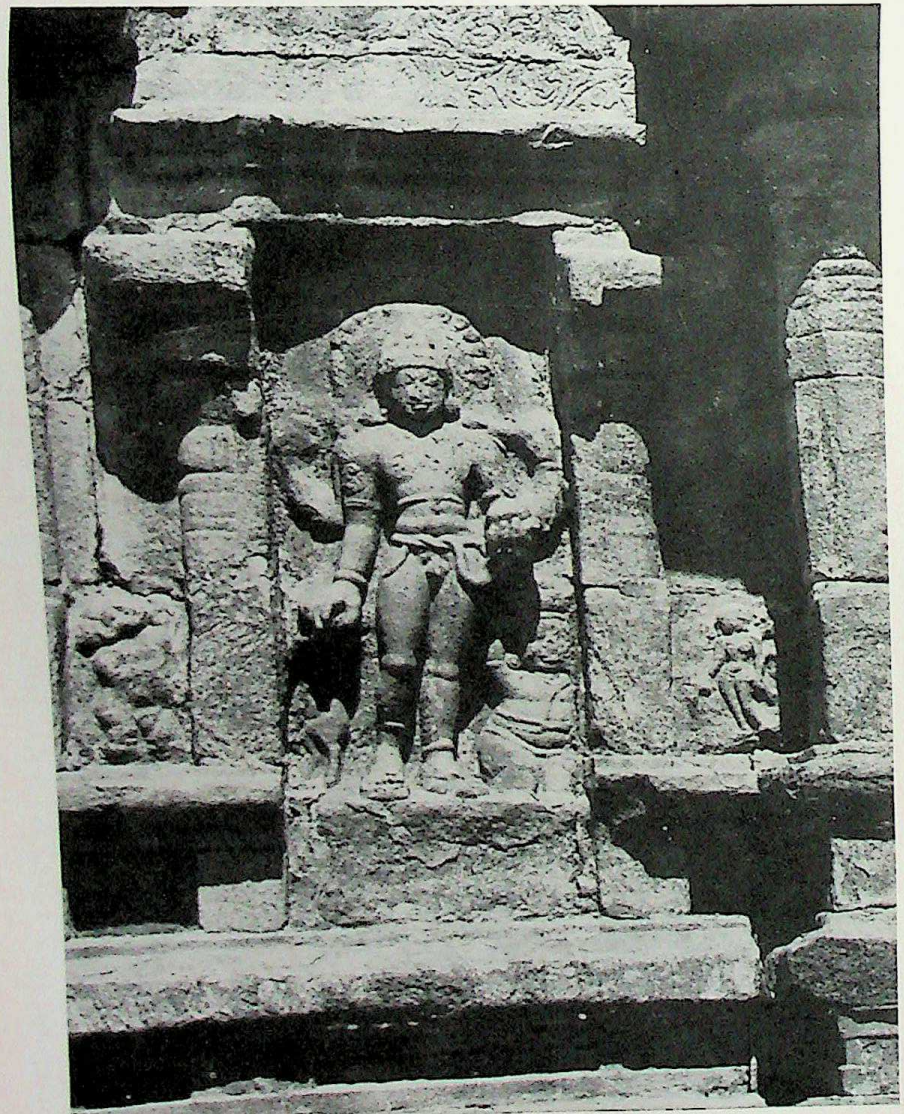
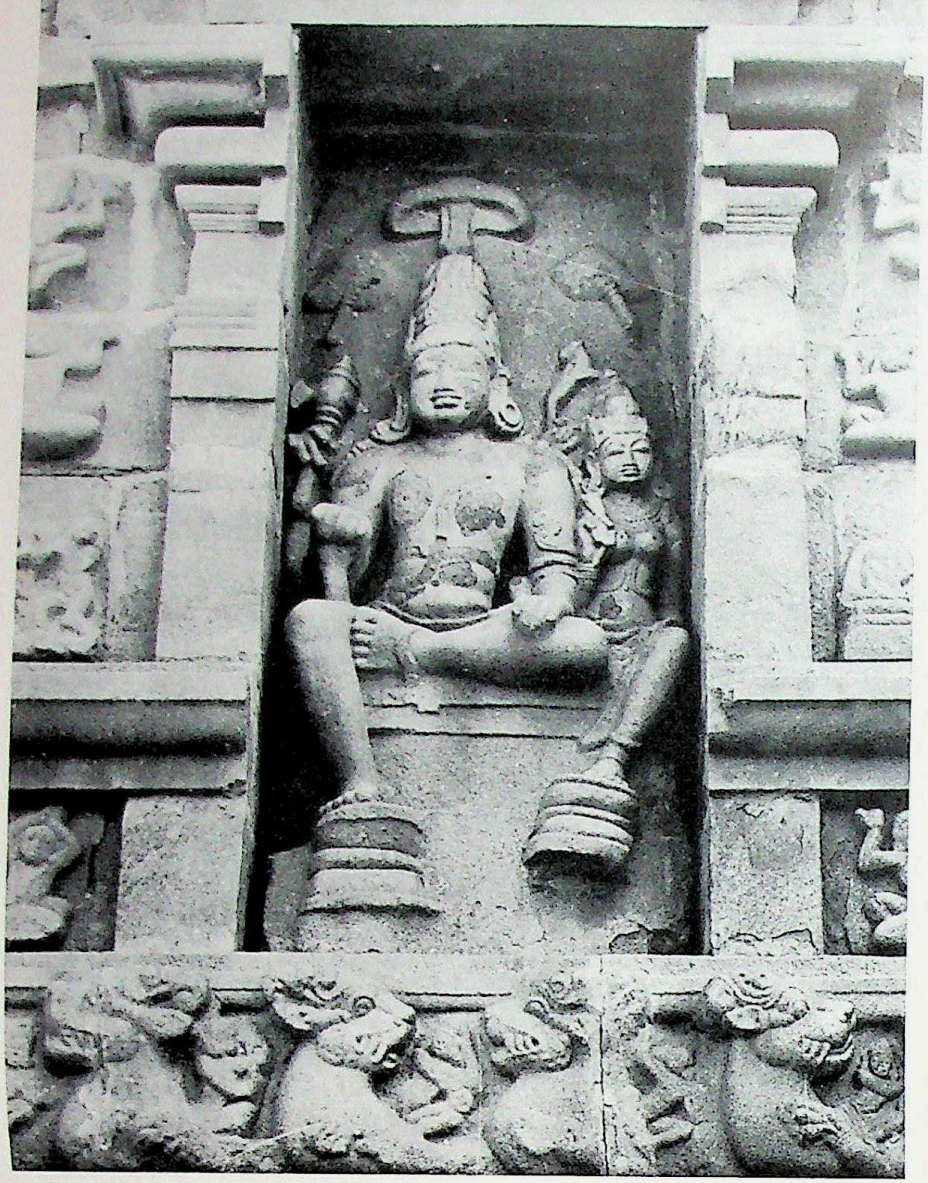
Pl 219 Bhikshatanar

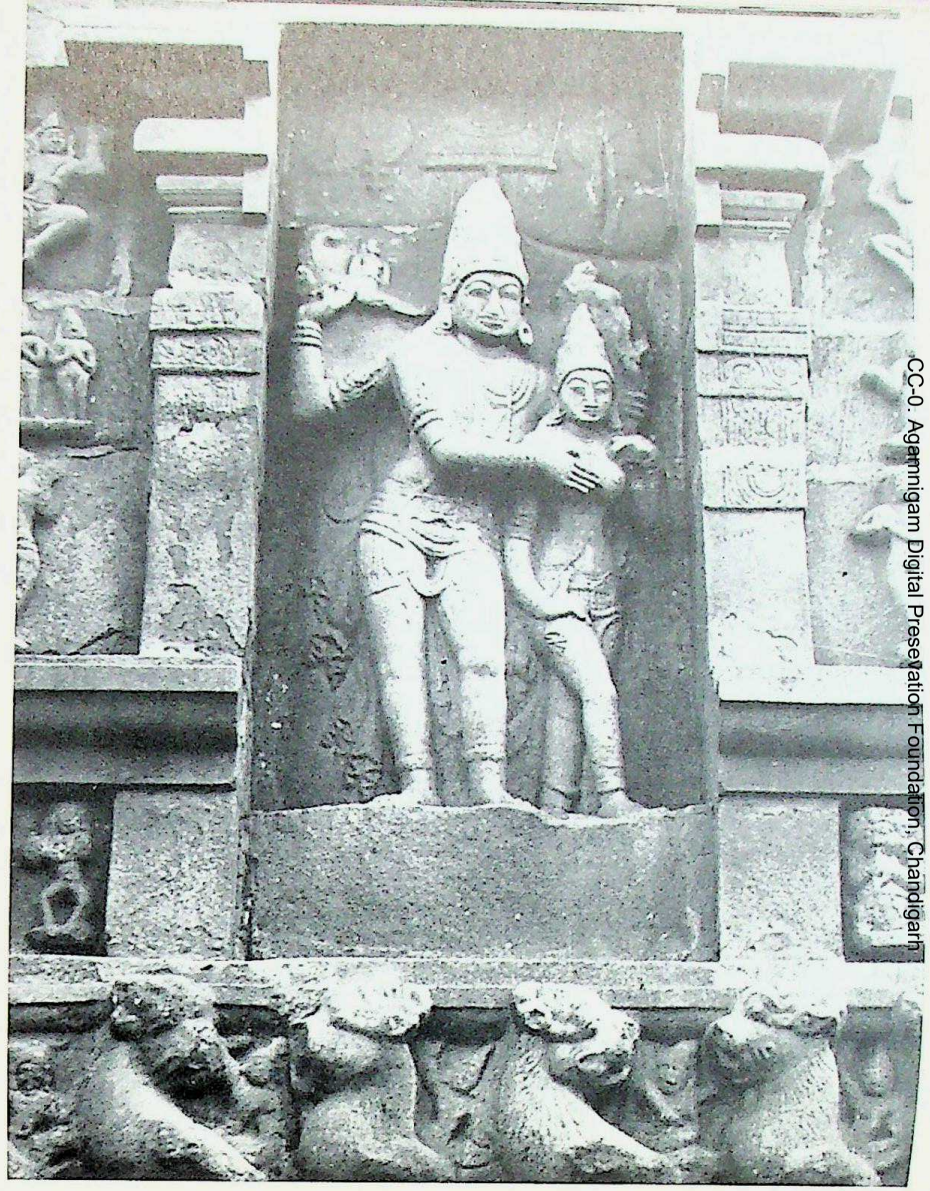


Pl 220 Manmathadahanamurti

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 221 Umasahitar



Pl 222 Gangadharar

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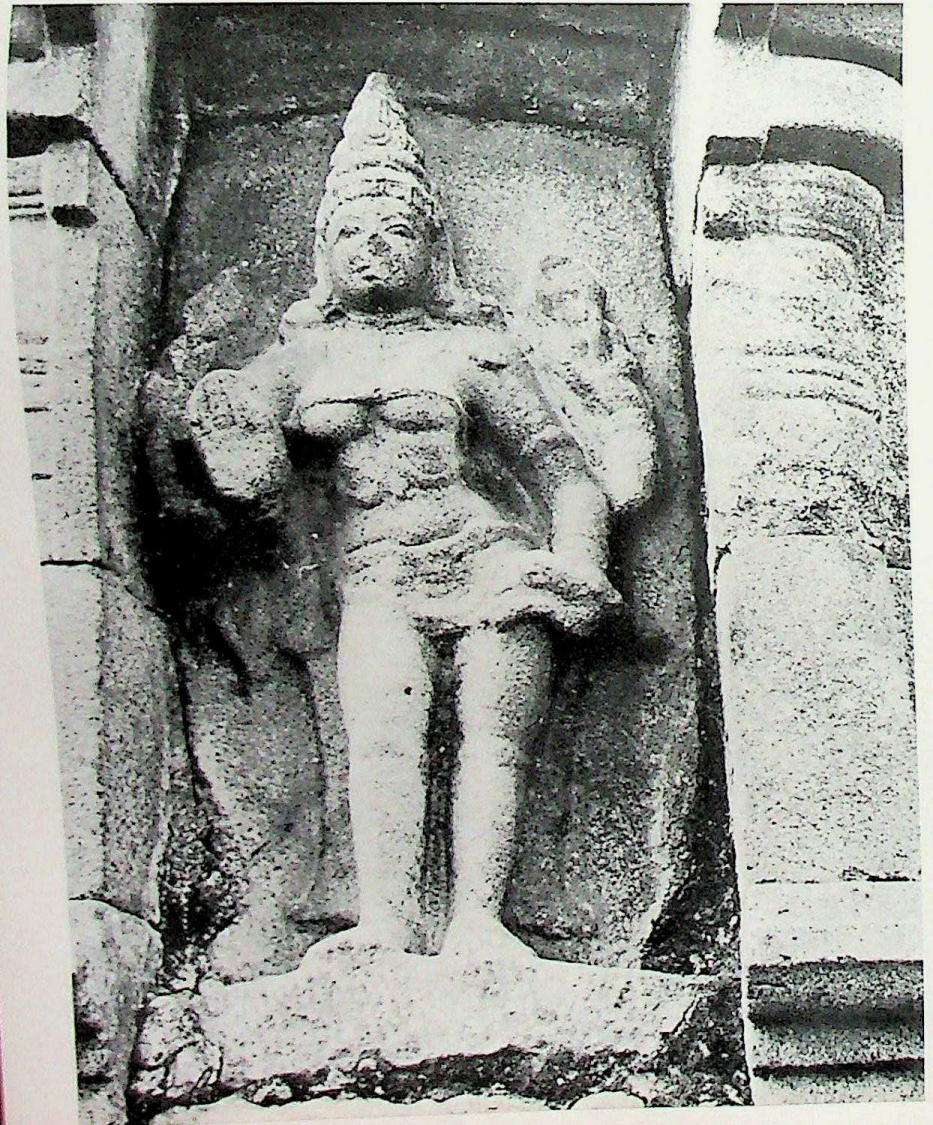
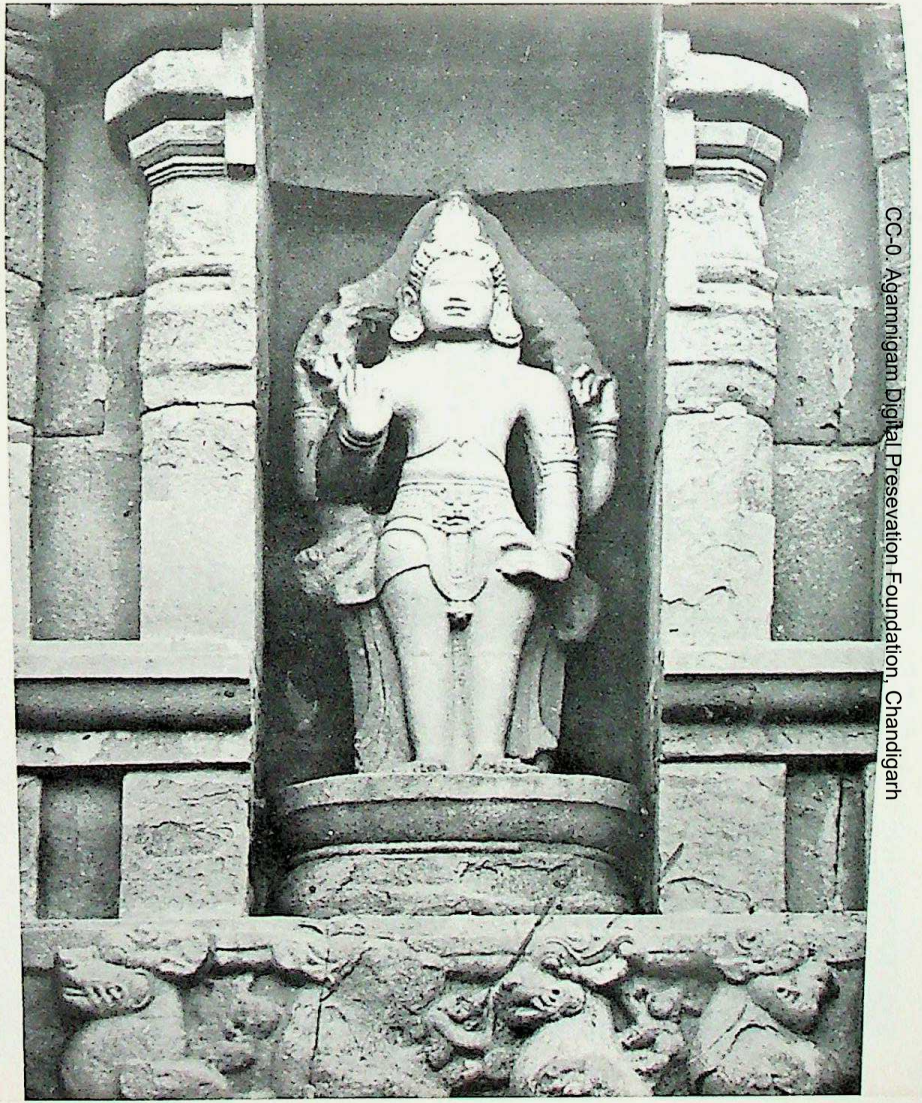
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

GANGAIKONDA
SOLAPURAM
Gangaikondasolisvaram

Pl 223 Durga



Pl 224 Subrahmanyar



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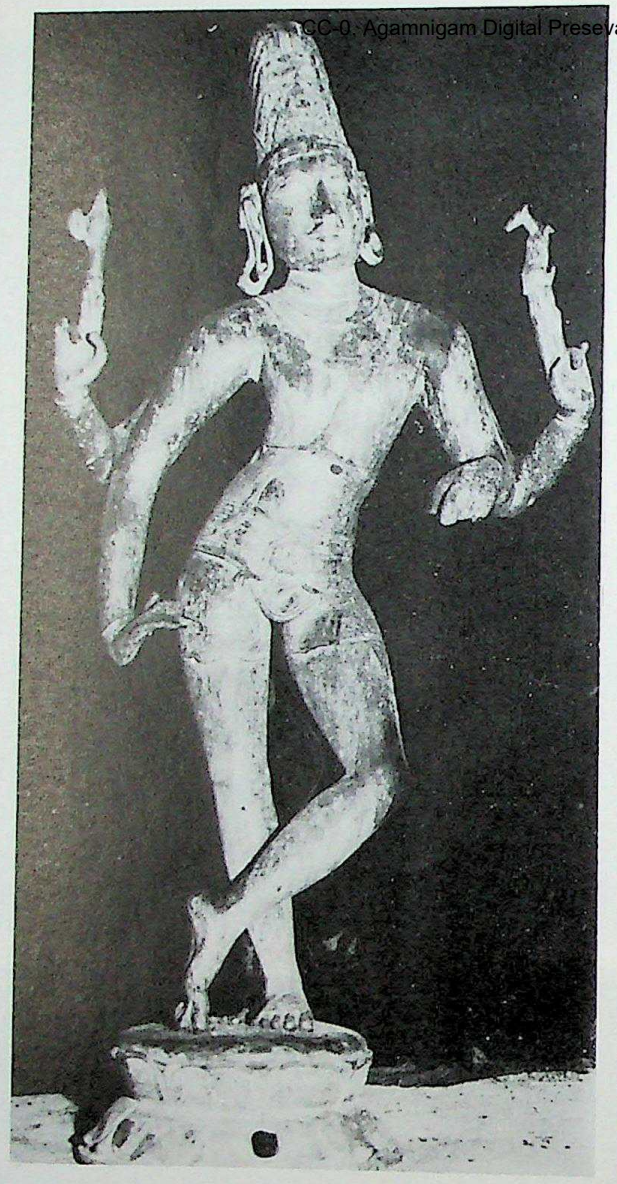
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 225 Vrishabhantikar
(*bronze*)

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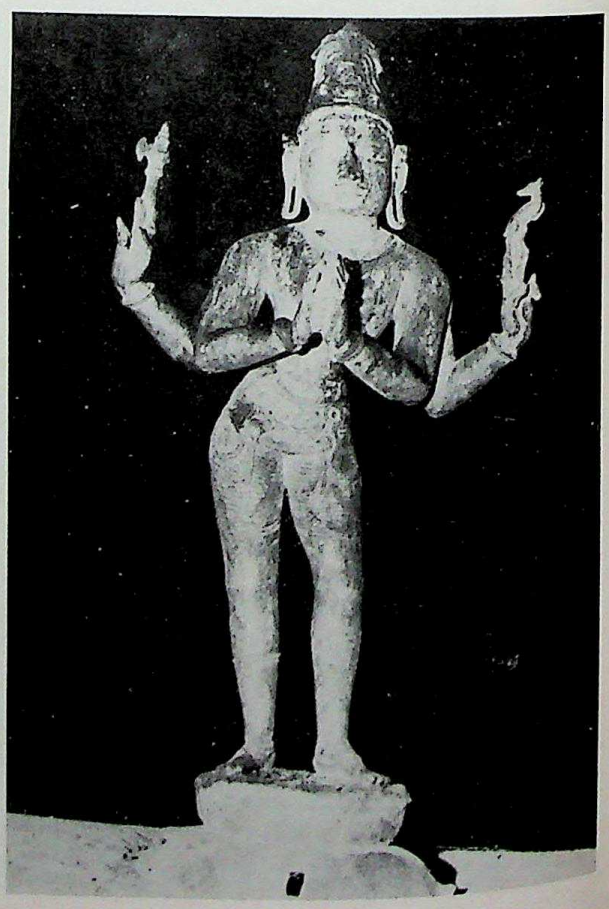
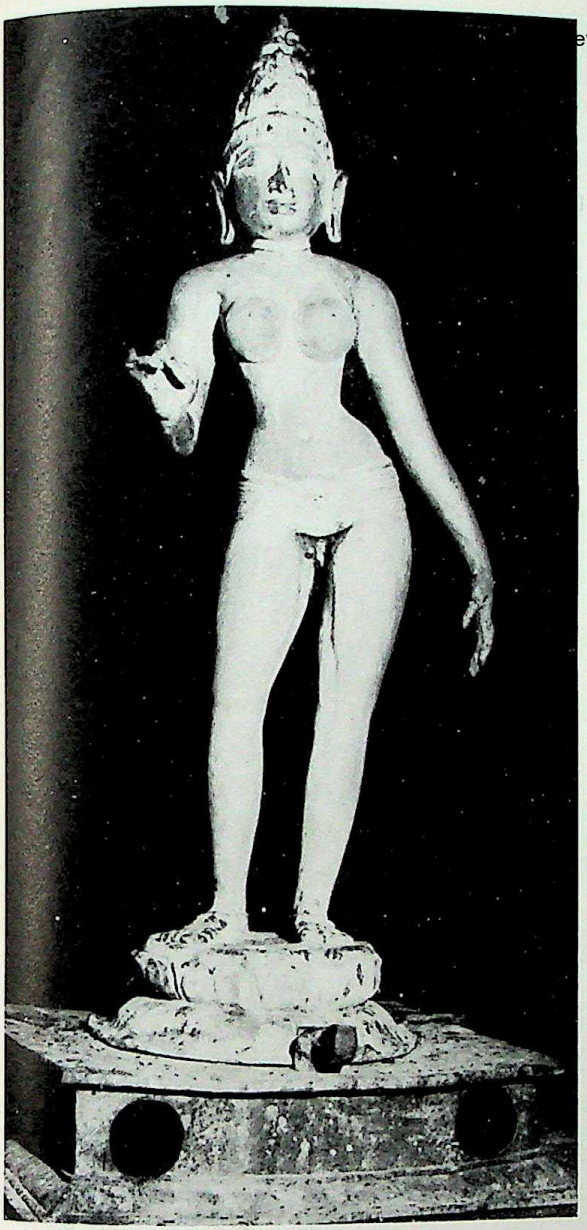
Gangaikondasolisvaram



Pl 226 Nandikesvarar
(*bronze*)

evation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 227 Tirul Amman
(*bronze*)

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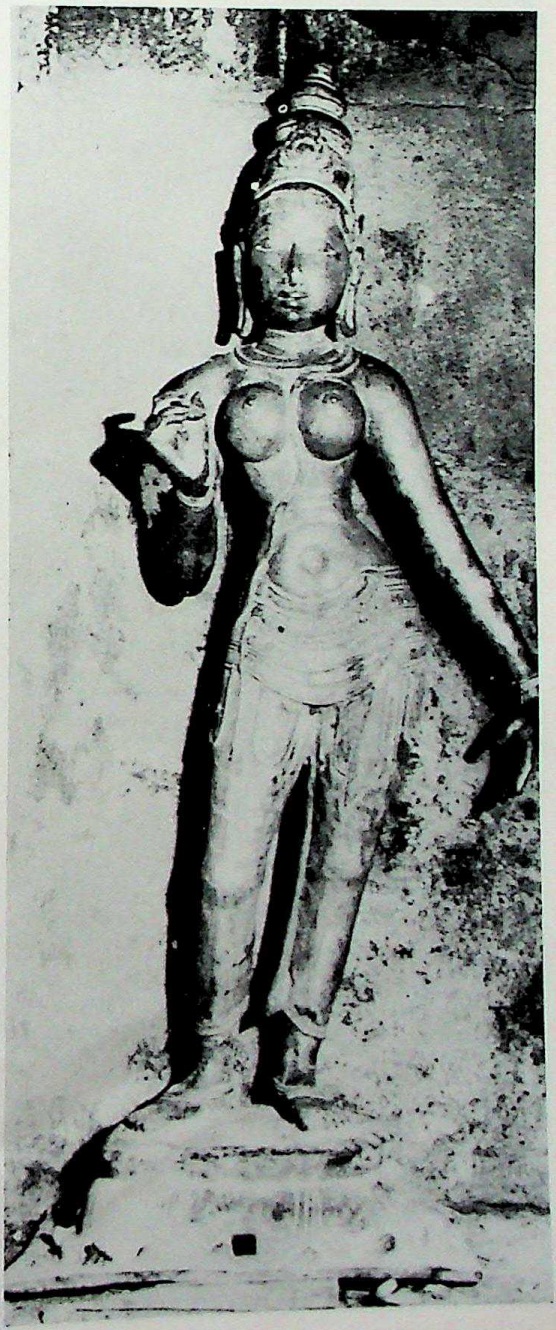
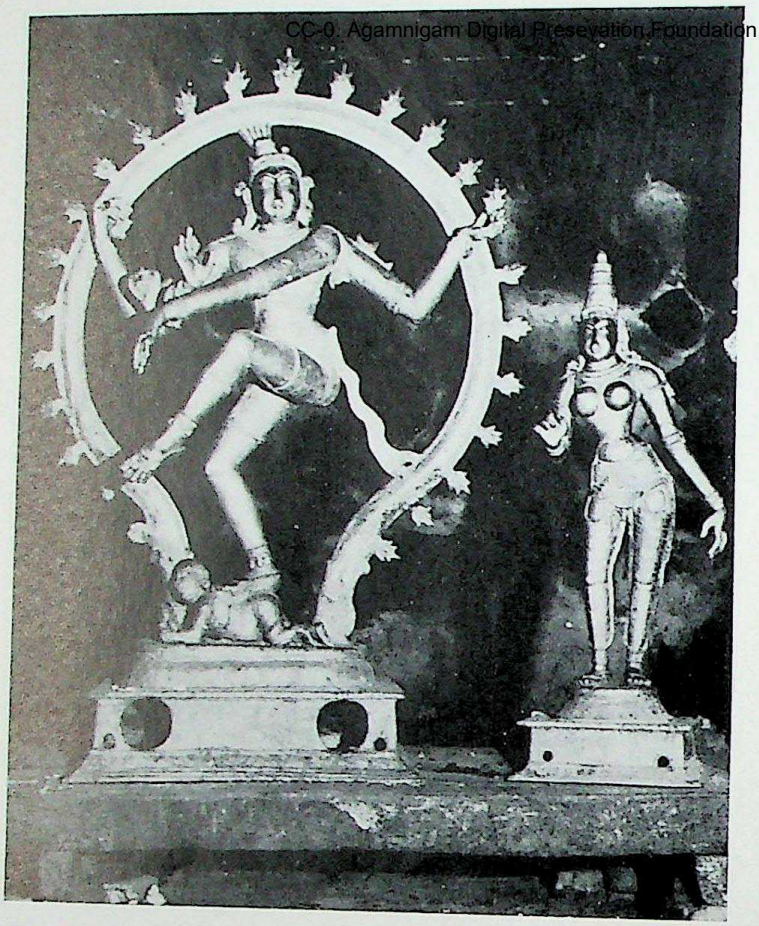
Gangaikondasolisvaram



Pl 228 Bhogasakti
(*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 229 Nataraja and Sivakami (*bronze*)

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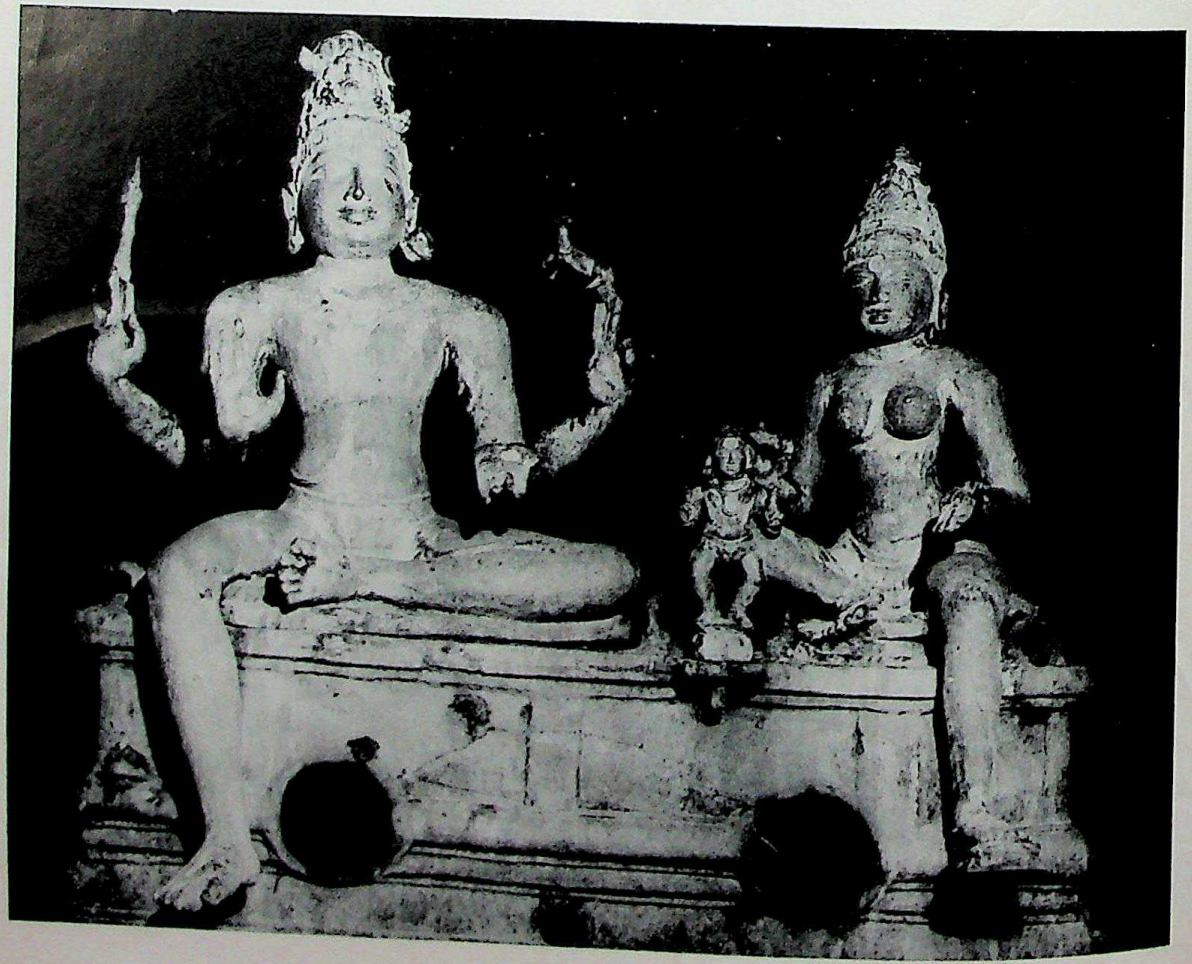
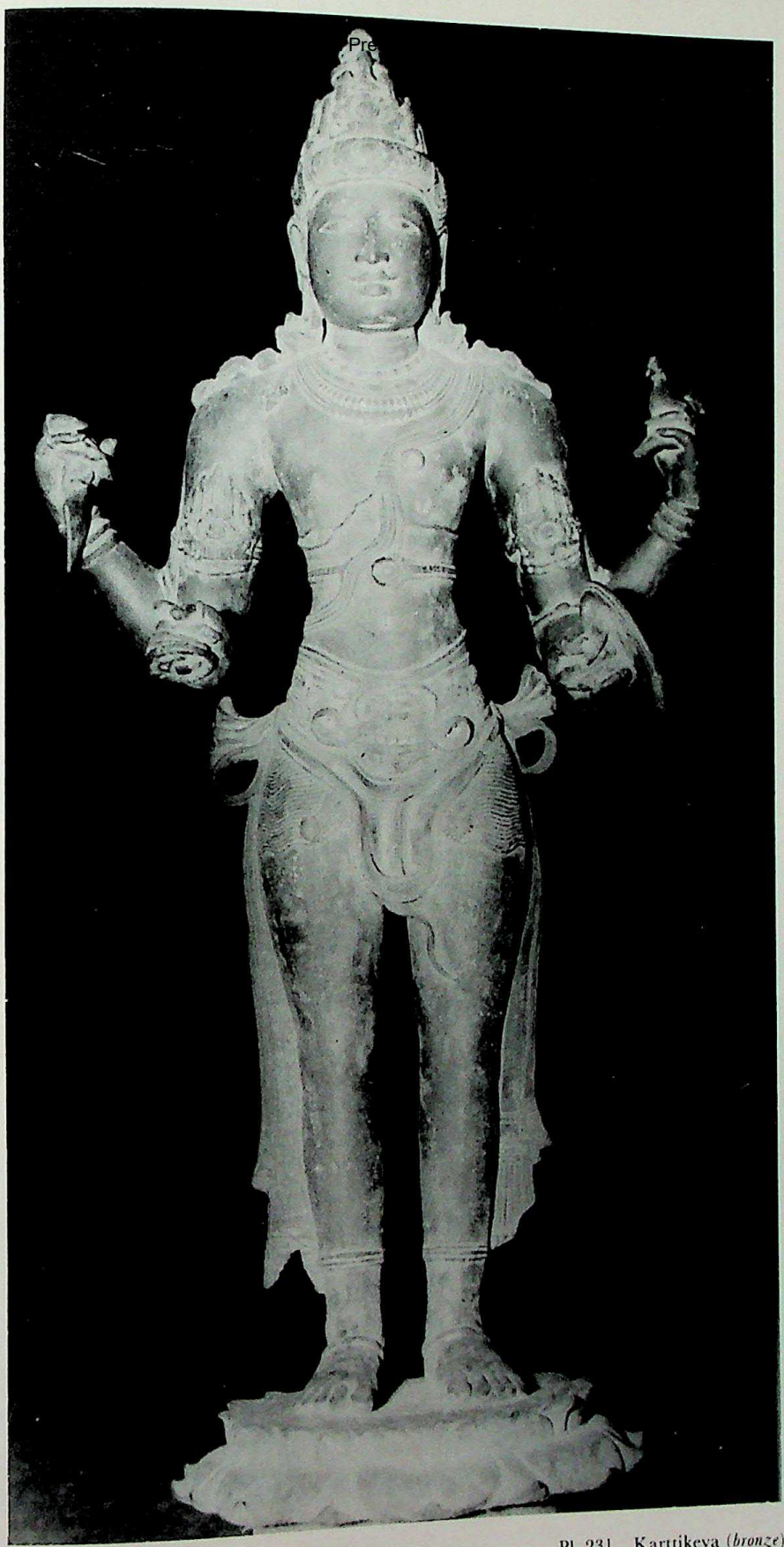
Gangaikondasolisvaram

Pl 230 Somaskandar (*bronze*)



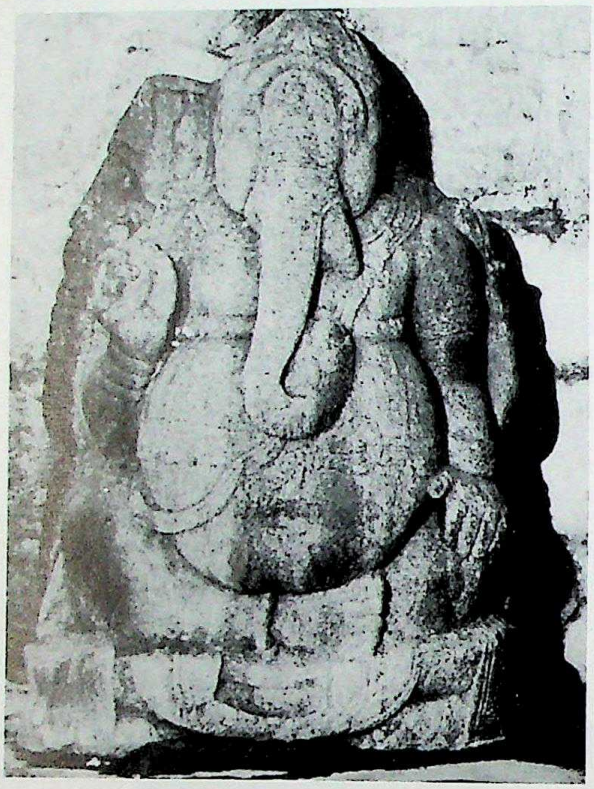


Pl 231 Karttikeya (*bronze*)

GANGAIKONDA
SOLAPURAM
Gangaikondasolisvaram

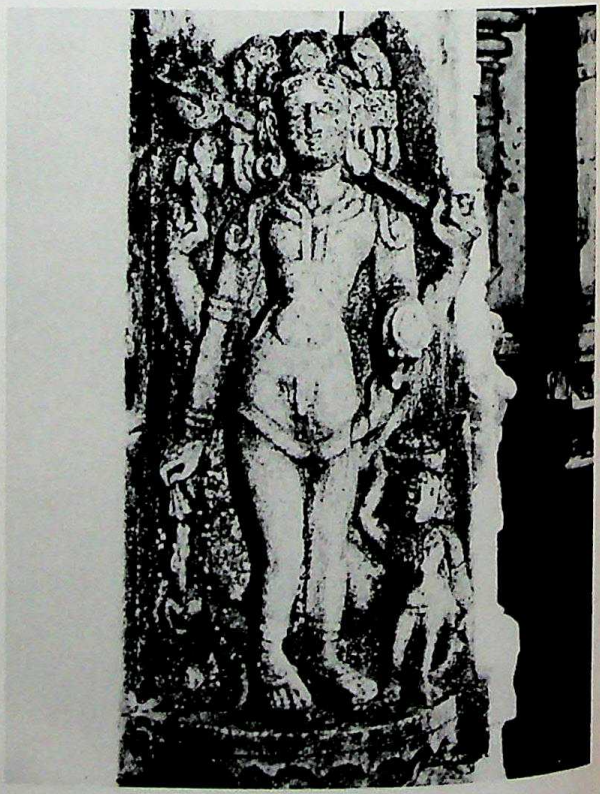
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 232 Ganapati



Pl 233 Adhikara Nandi

Pl 234 Nataraja



Pl 235 Bhikshatanar *(on a pillar)*

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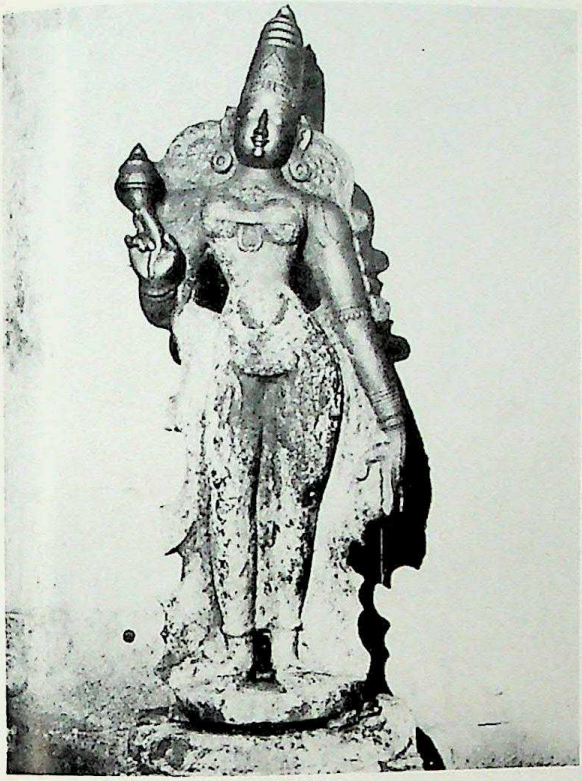
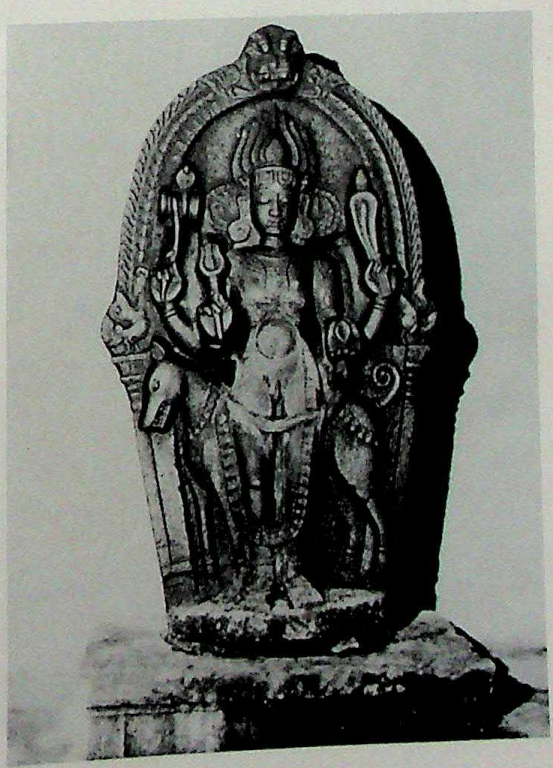
Pl 236 Uma



Pl 237 Brahma

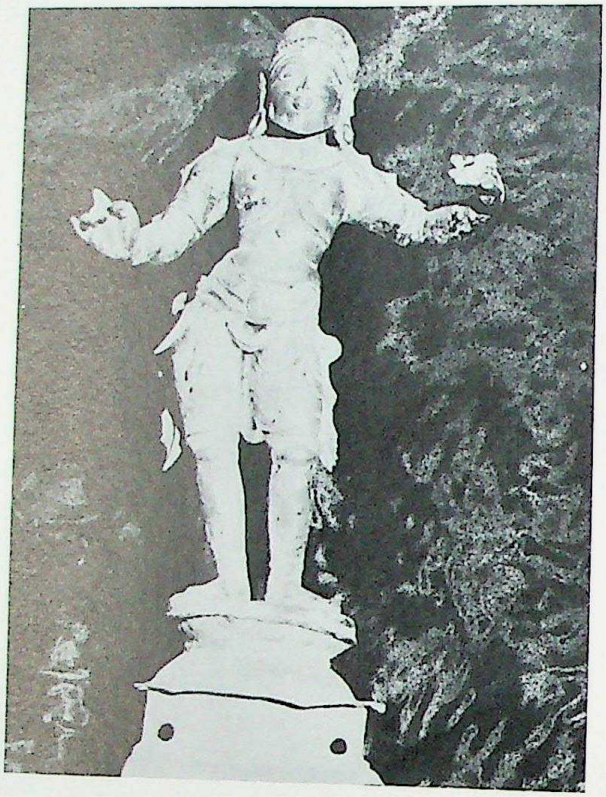
Pl 238 Dakshinamurti



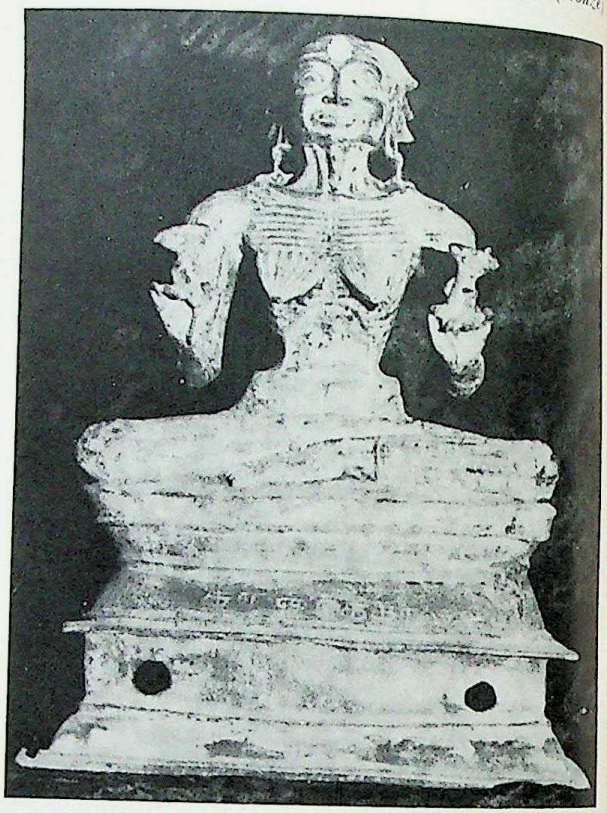
Pl 239 Bhairavar

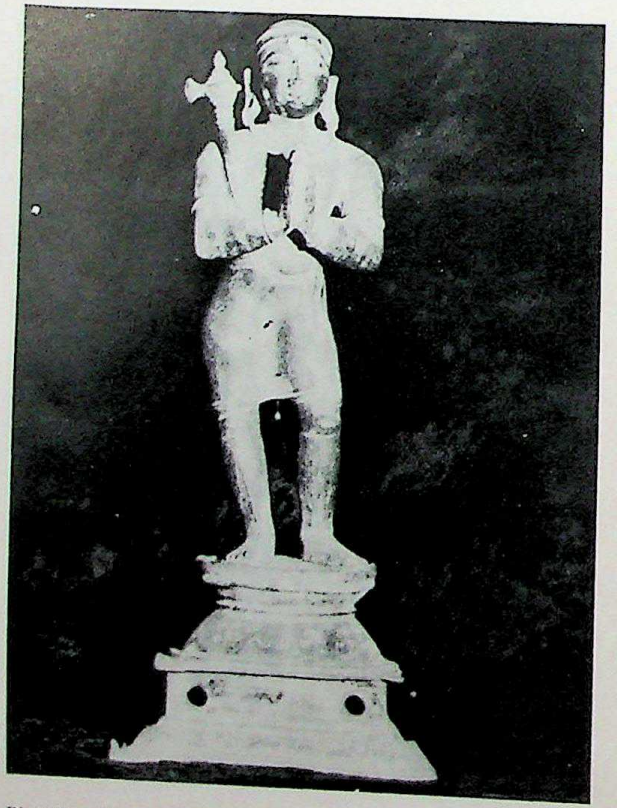
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 240 Kannappar (*bronze*)

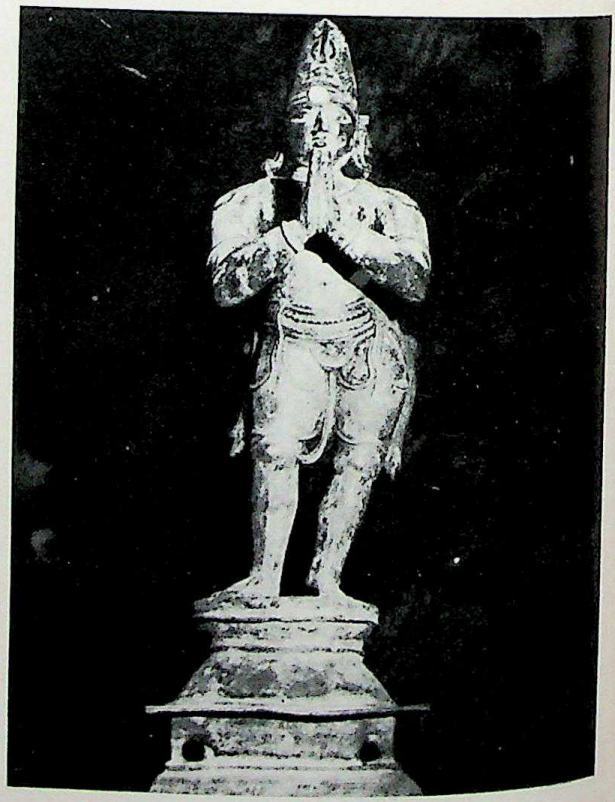


Pl 241 Karaikkal Ammaiyar (*bronze*)





Pl 242 Chandesvarar (*bronze*)



Pl 243 Cheraman Perumal (*bronze*)

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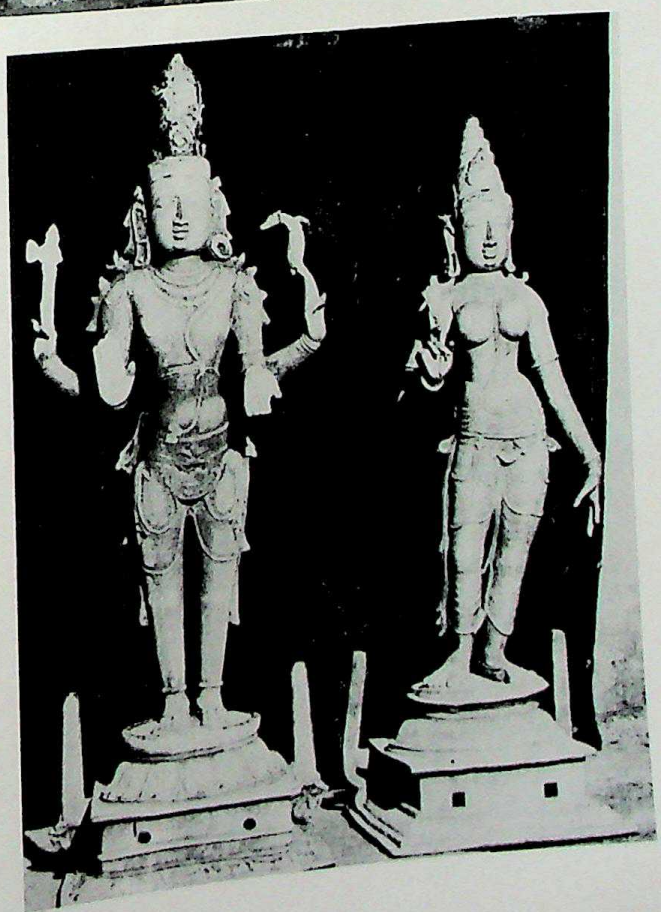
Pl 244 Nataraja and Sivakami (*bronze*)

UTTATTUR
Siddharatnesvarar temple

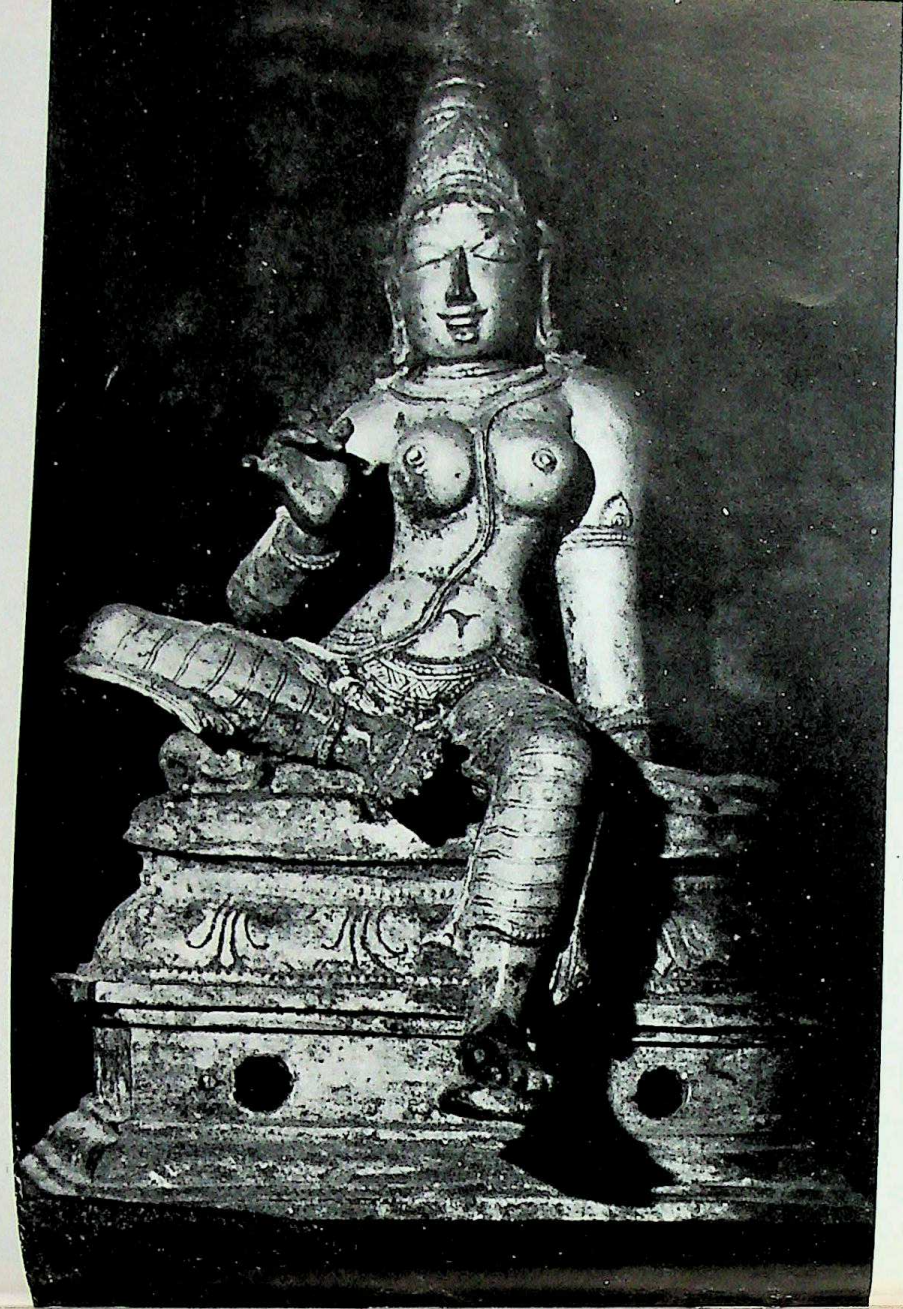


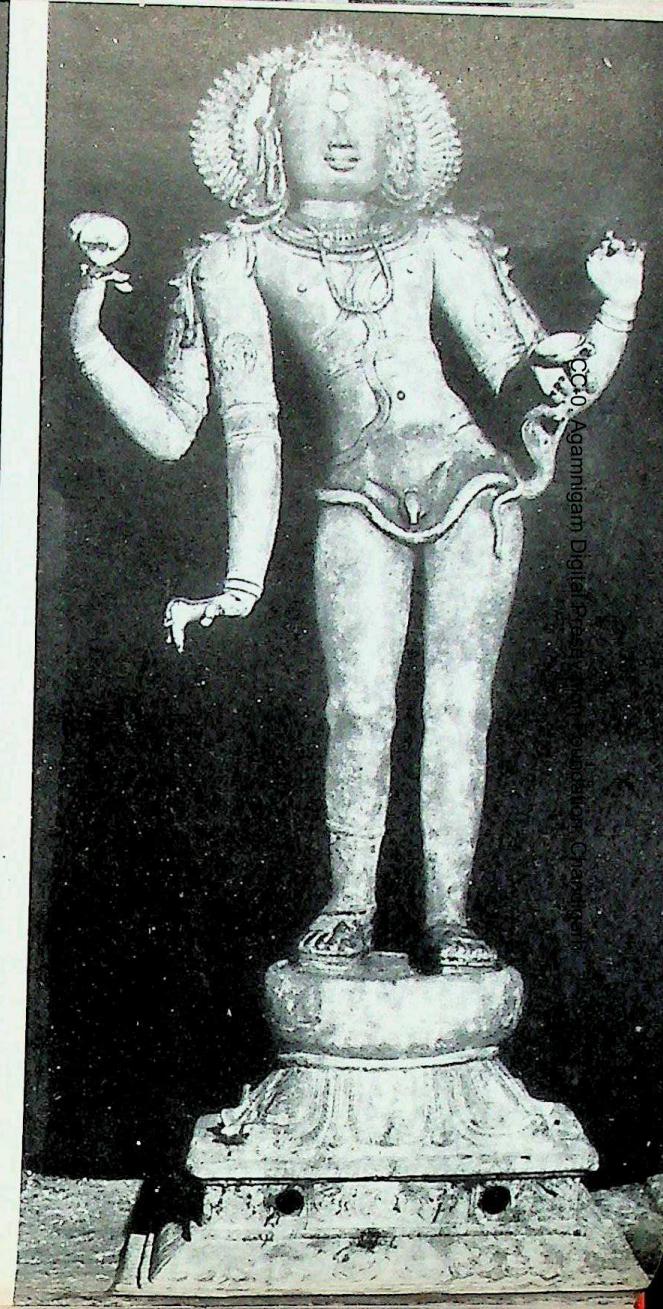
Pl 245 Chandrasekharar and Uma (*bronze*)

UTTATTUR
Siddharatnesvarar temple

Pl 246 Bhogasakti (*bronze, left*)

Pl 247 Bhikshatanar
(*bronze, right*)





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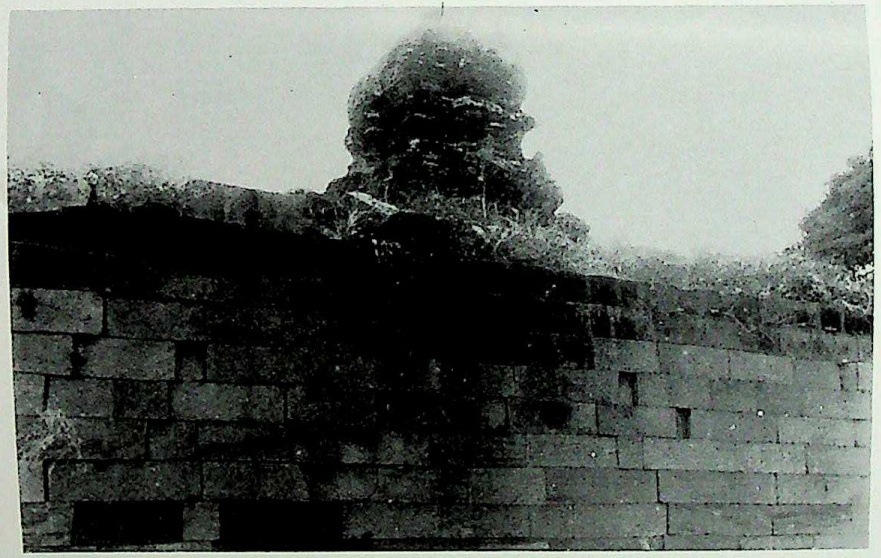
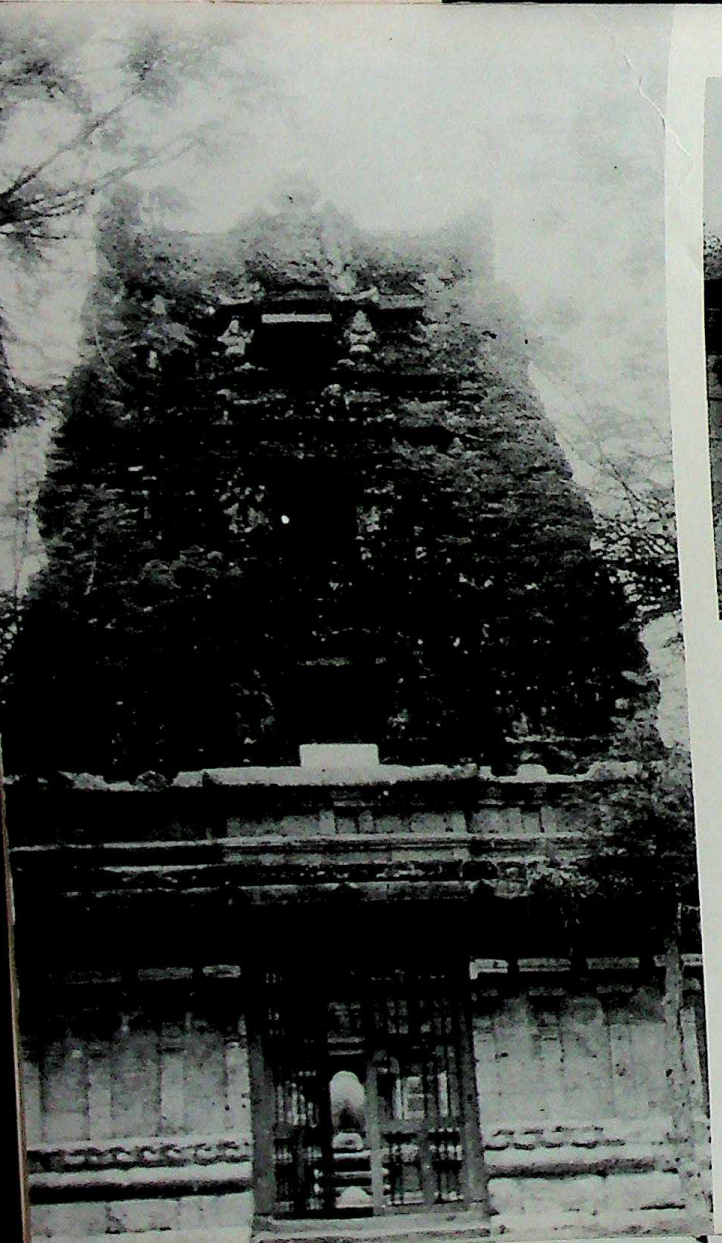
Pl 249 Ayyanar temple—general view



TIRUPPATTUR
Ayyanar temple

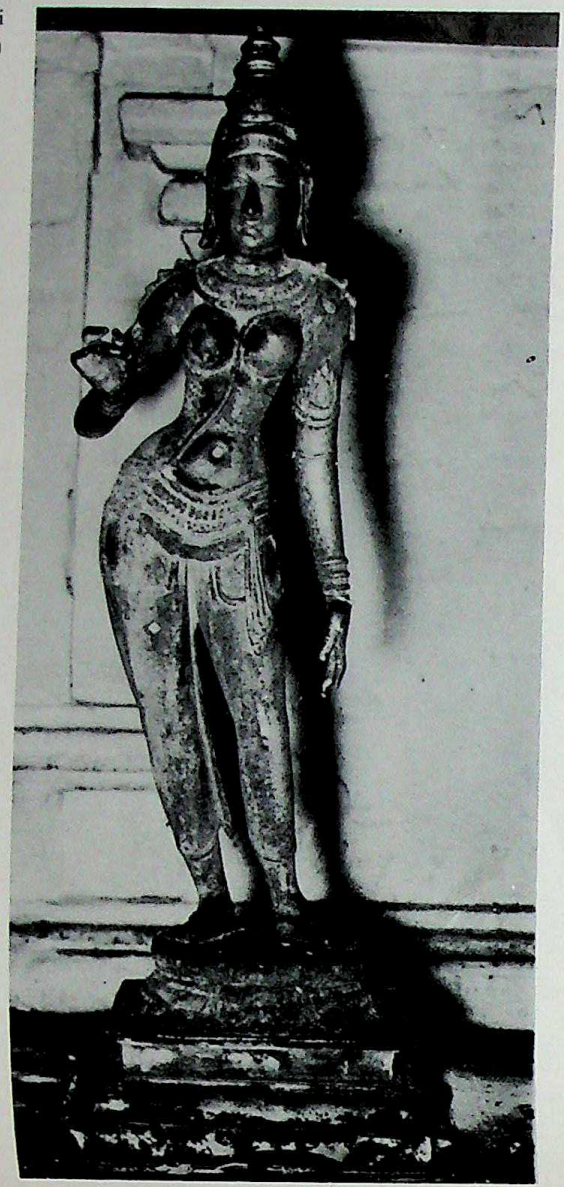


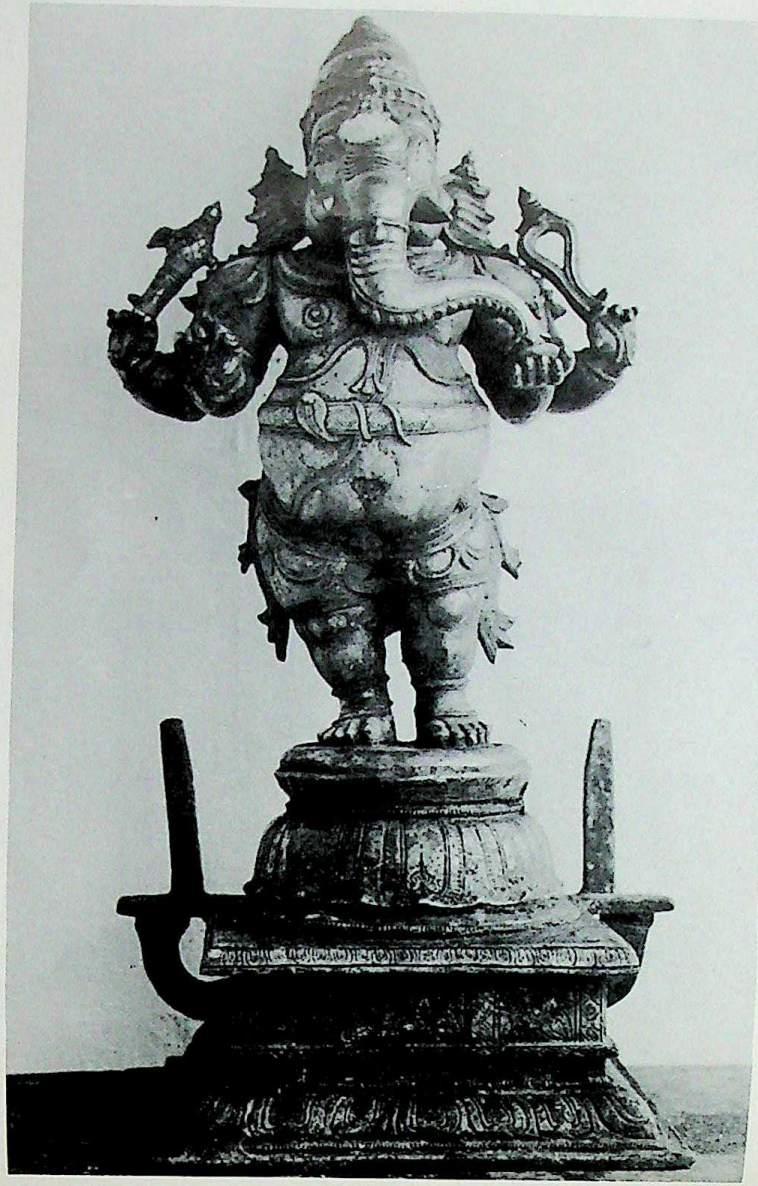
Pl 248 Gopuram

Pl 250 Ayyanar and Consorts

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 251 Bhogasakti
(*bronze*)





Pl 252 Ganapati
(*bronze*)

TIRUNALLARU
Darbharanyes-
varar temple

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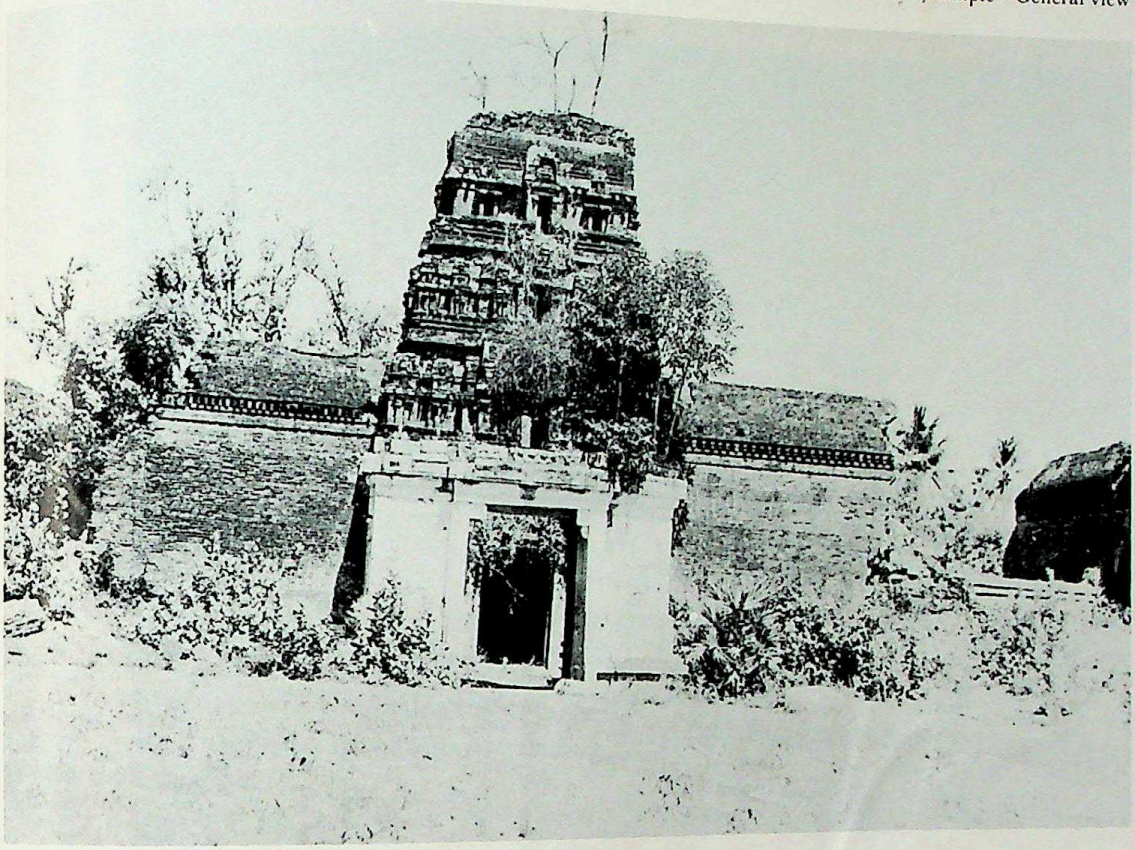
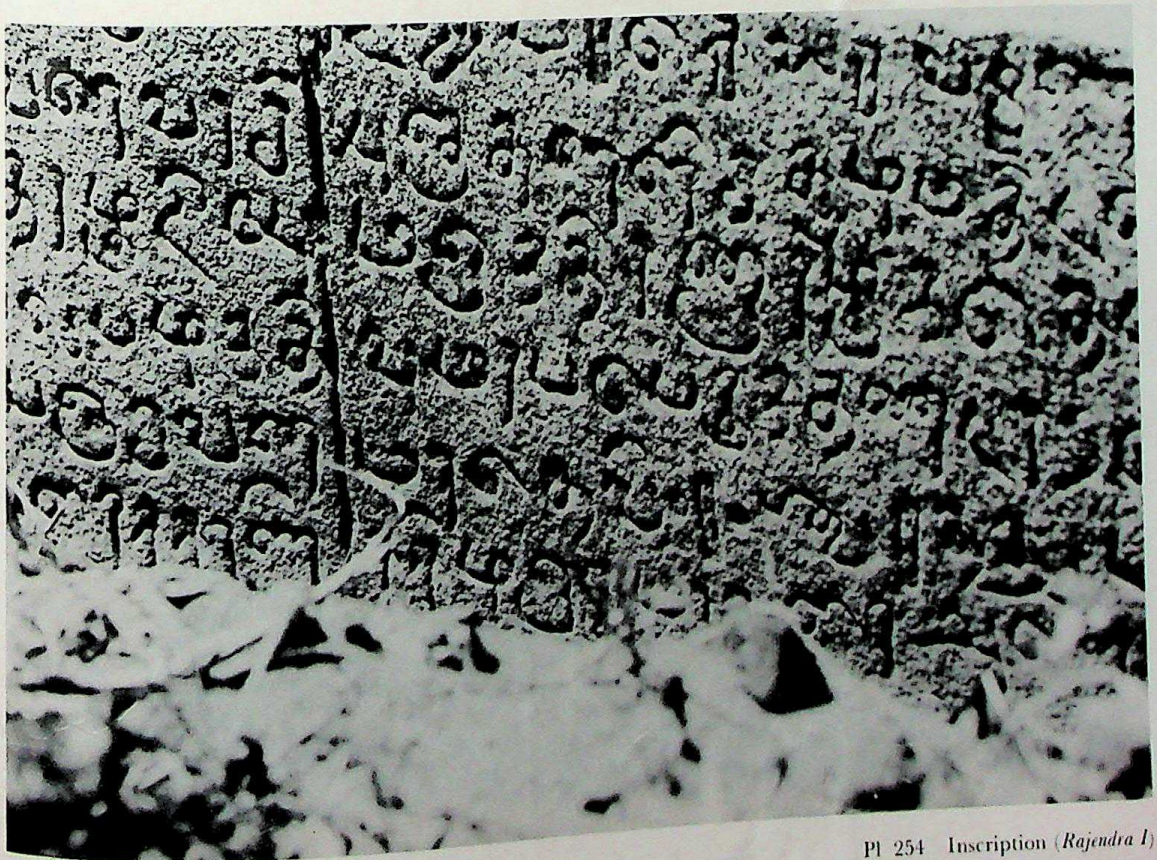
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

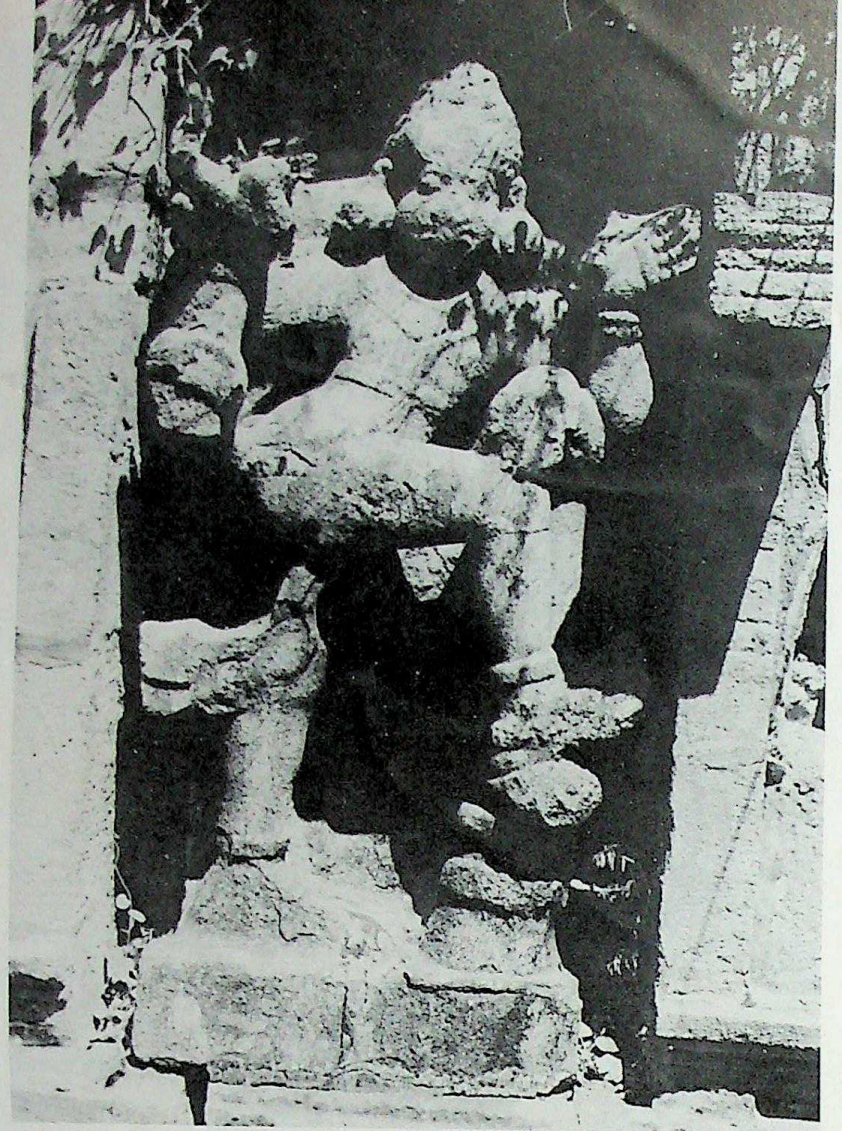
Pl 253 Ramanathasvamy temple—General view



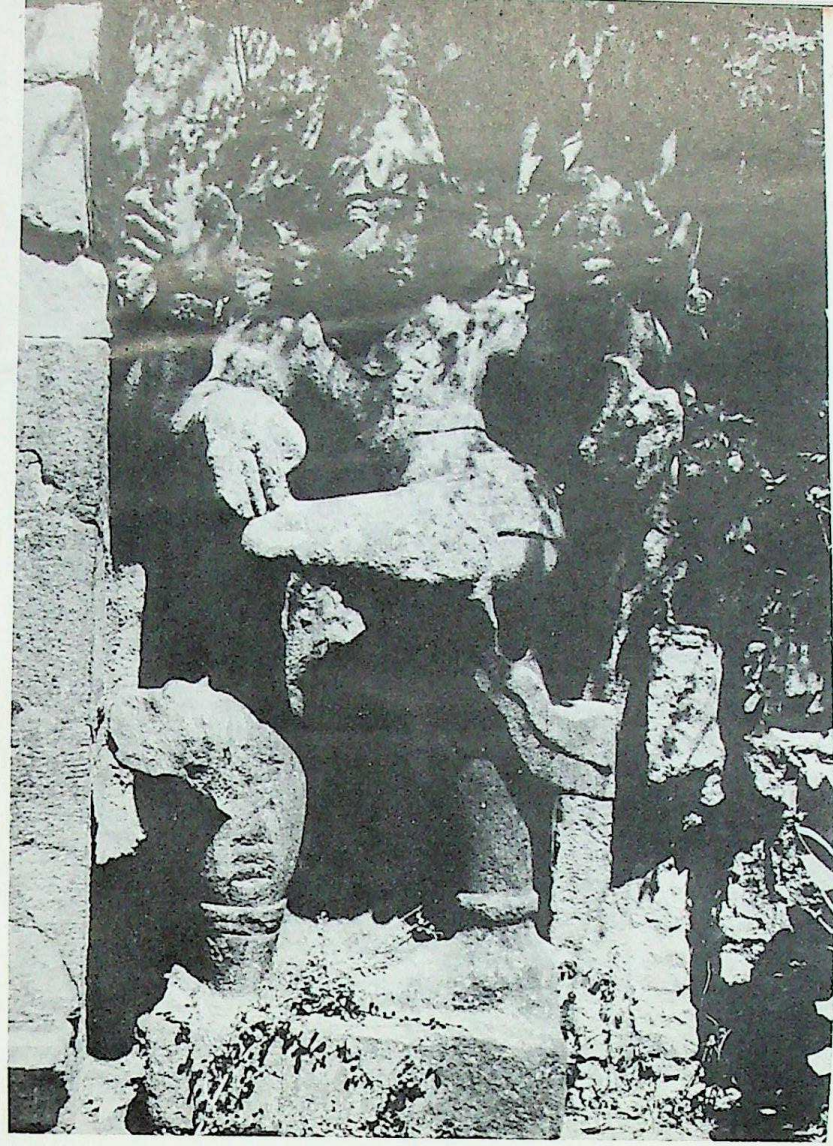


Pl 254 Inscription (*Rajendra I*)

RAMANATHANKOYIL
Ramanathasvamy temple
(Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)



Pl 255 Dvarapala



Pl 256 Dvarapala

RAMANATHANKOYIL
Ramanathasvamy temple
(Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)

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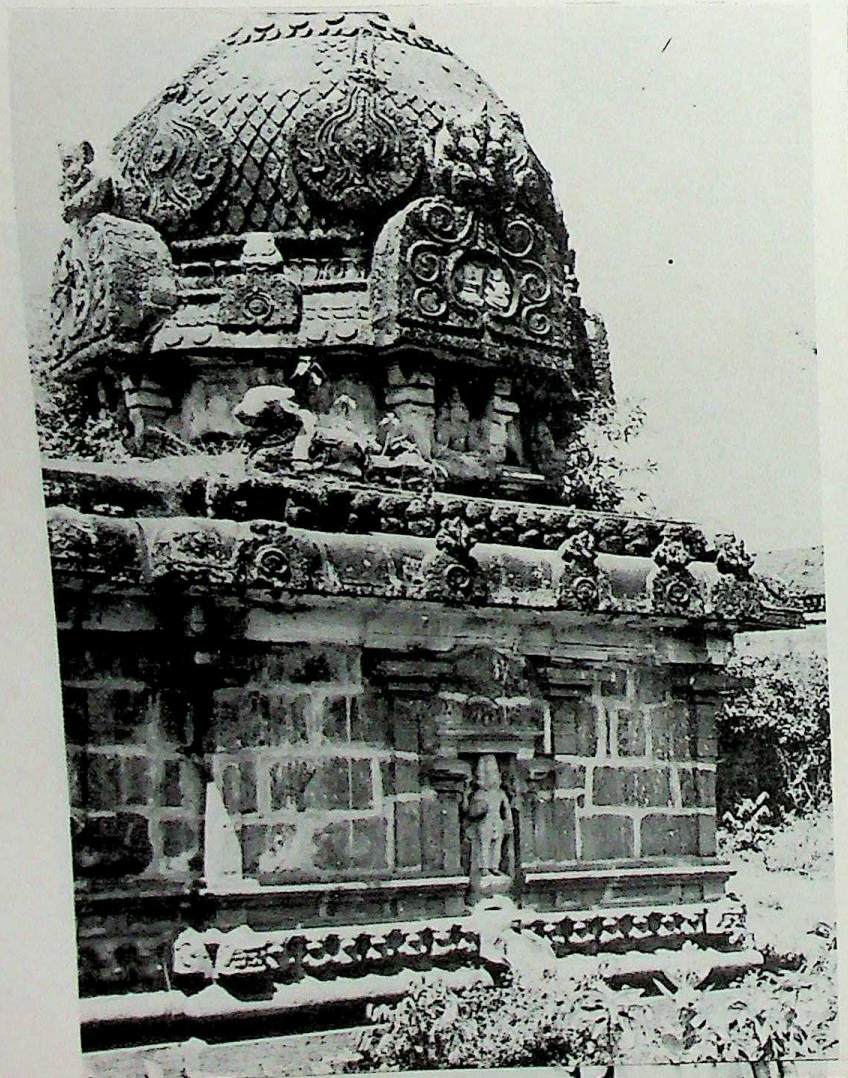
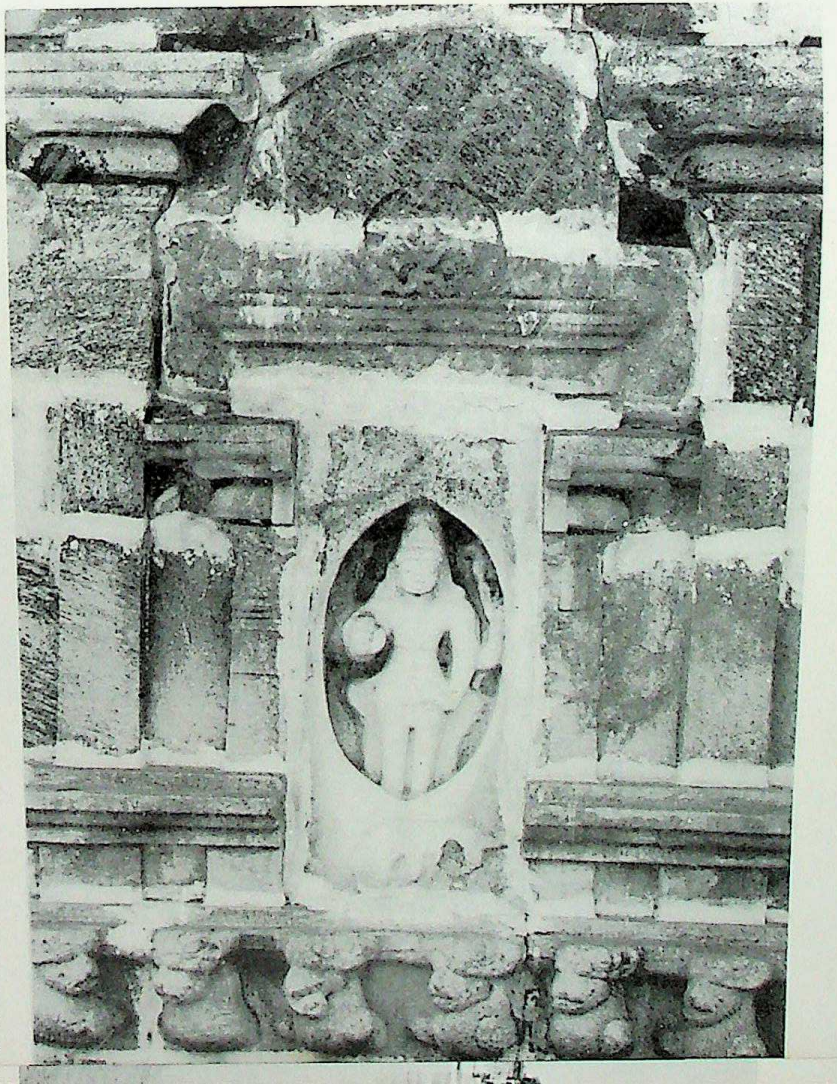
RAMANATHANKOYIL
Ramanathasvamy temple
(Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)

Pl 257 Srivimana



Pl 258 Lingodbhavar



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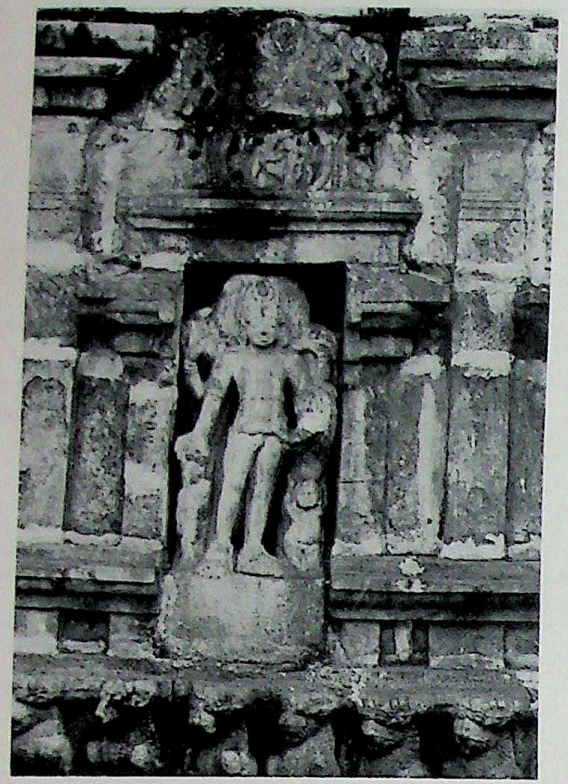
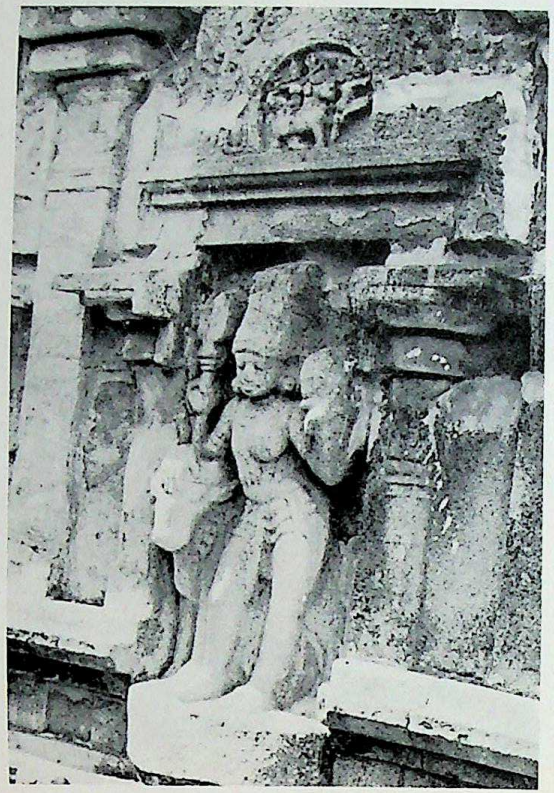
RAMANATHANKOYIL
Ramanathasvamy temple
(Panchavan Madevi Isvaram)



Pl 259 Bhikshatanar

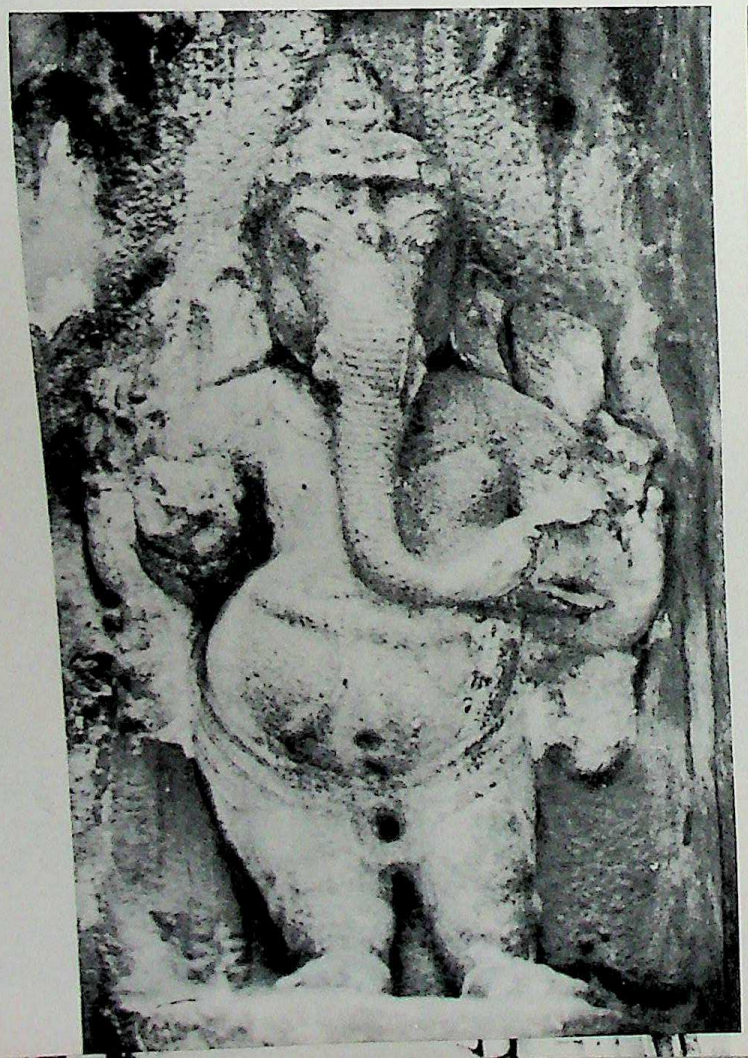
Pl 260 Ardhanari



Pl 261 Gangadharar

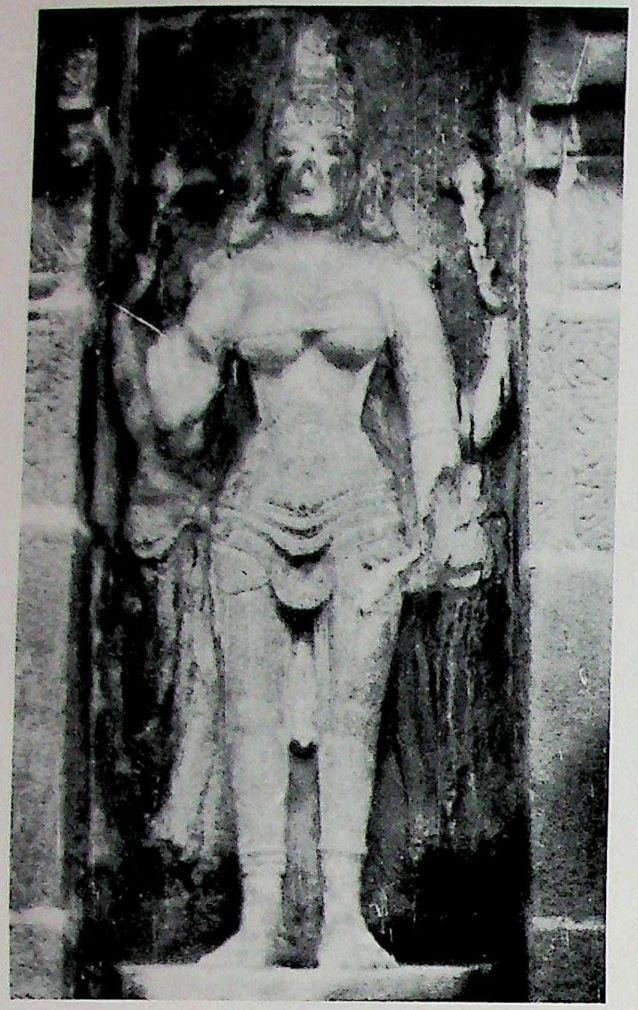
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 262 Ganapati



Pl 263 Brahma

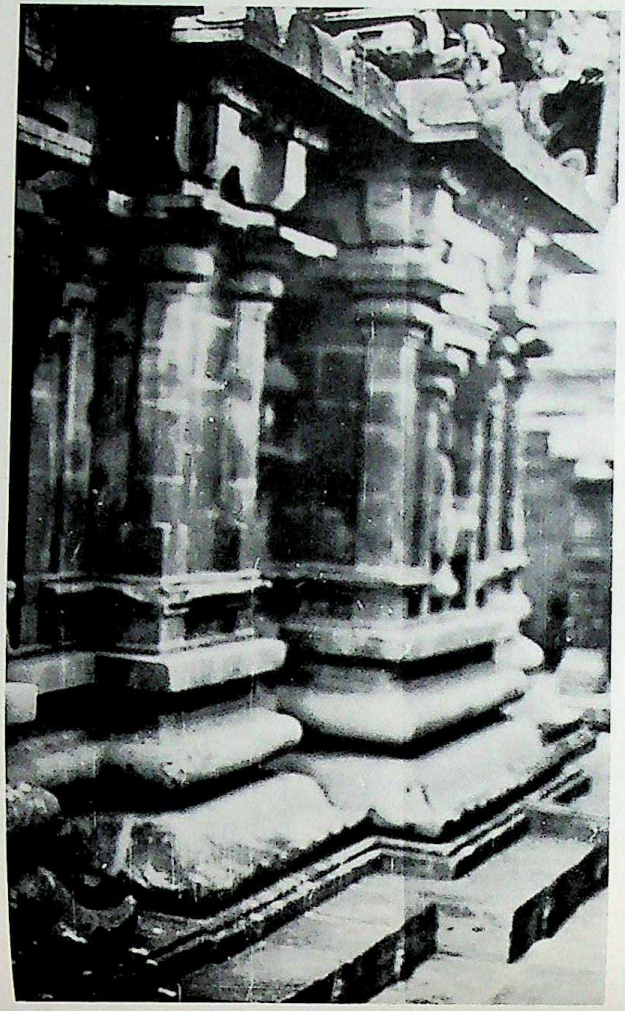
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

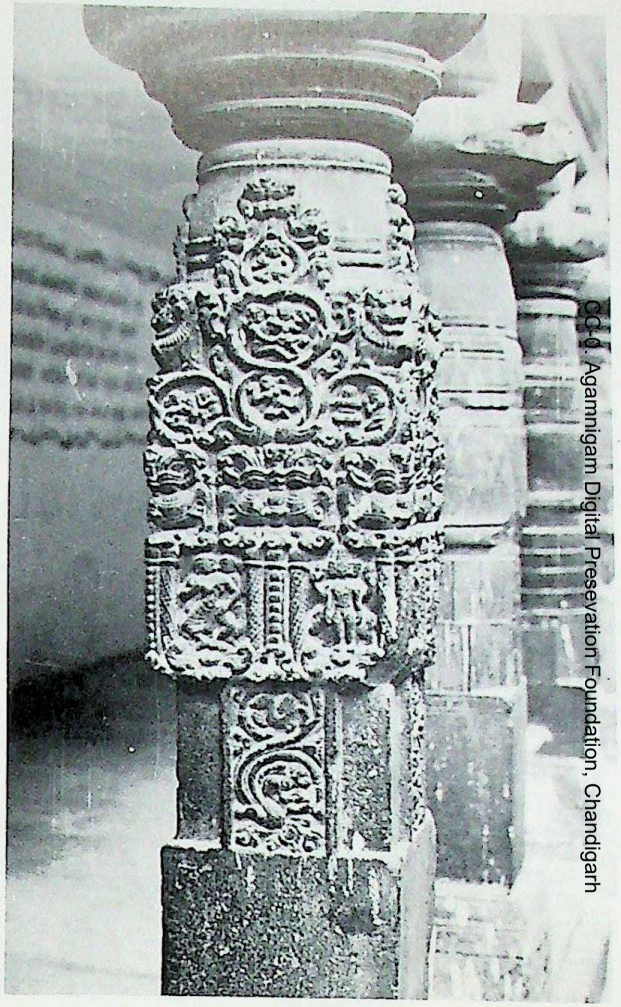


Pl 264 Durga

TIRUVAIYARU
Ten Kailasam

Pl 265 Ten Kailasam—General view





Pl 266 Nolamba pillars in the peristyle

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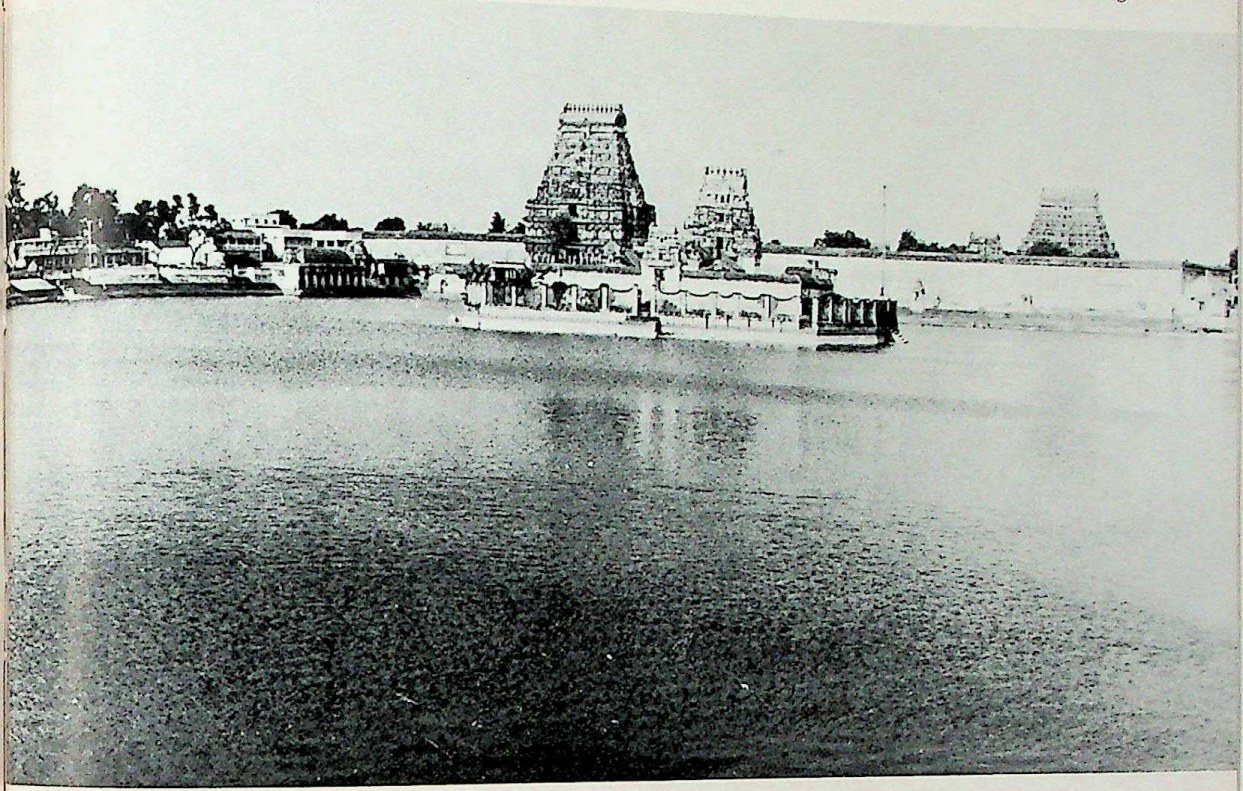
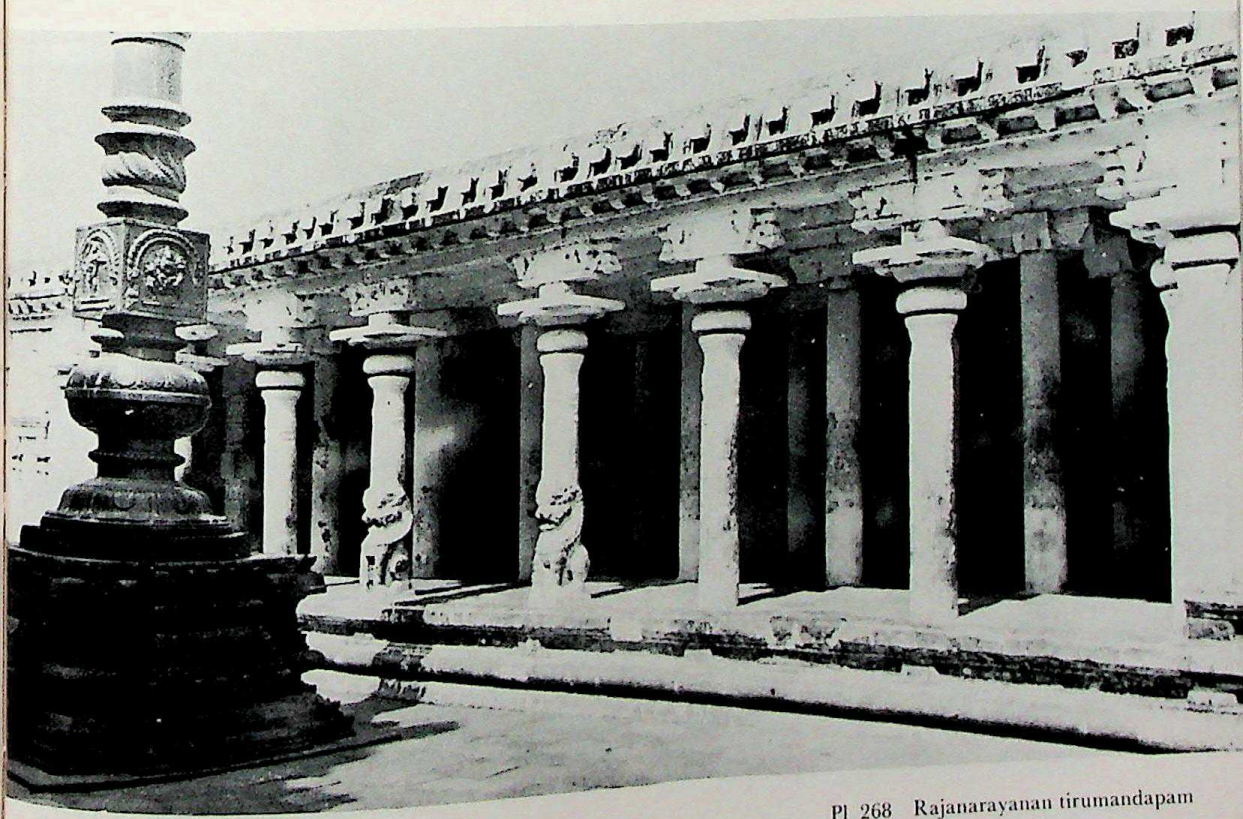
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 267 General view with Kamalalayam tank in foreground

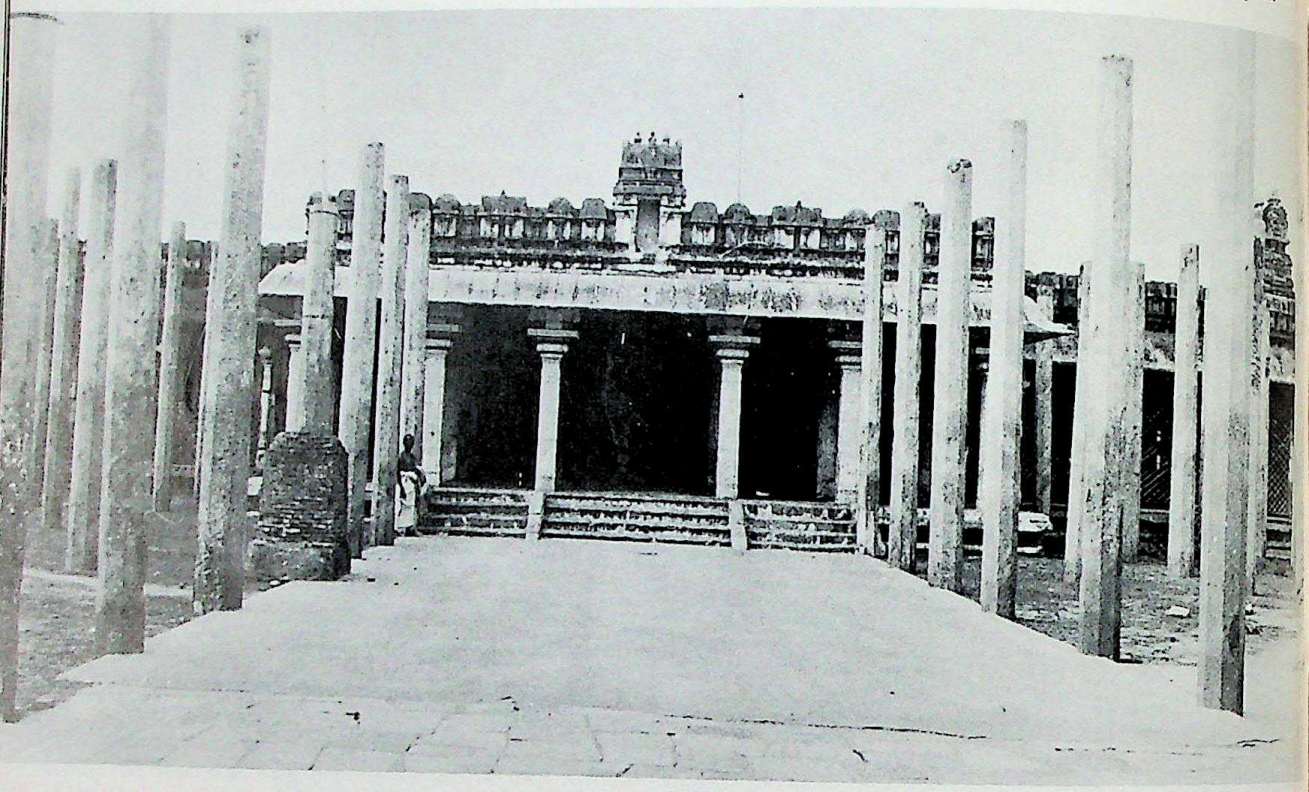


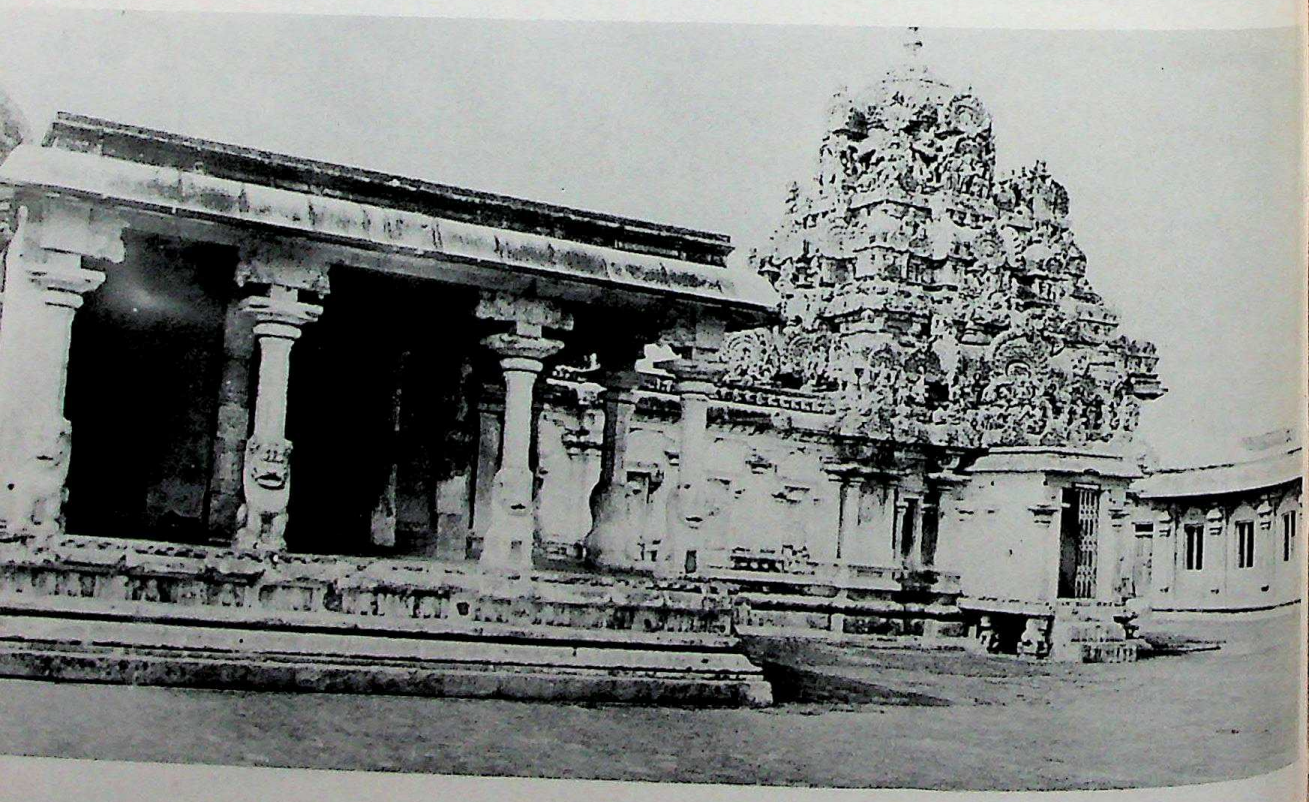


Pl 268 Rajanarayanan tirumandapam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 269 Devasriyan mandapam

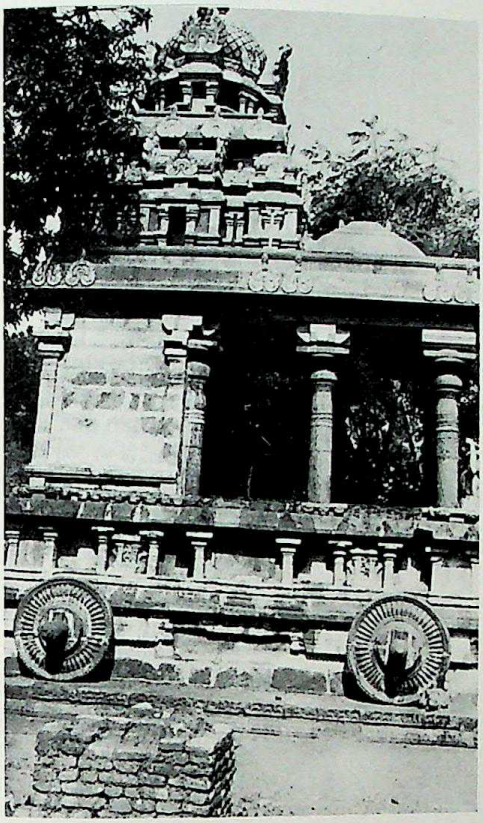




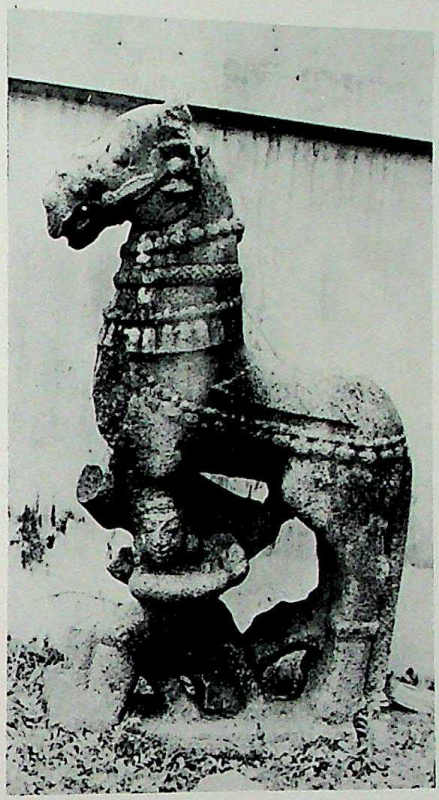
Pl 270 Achalesvaram, with the hall in front

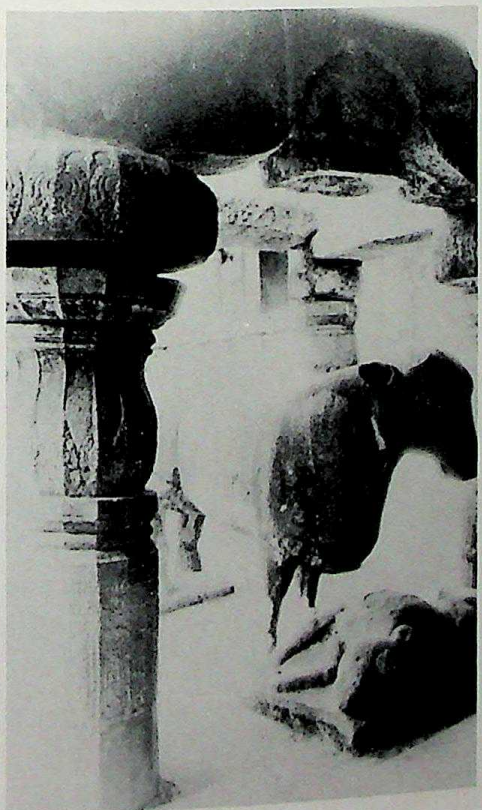
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 271 Manu Niti Cholan episode—the chariot crushing the calf

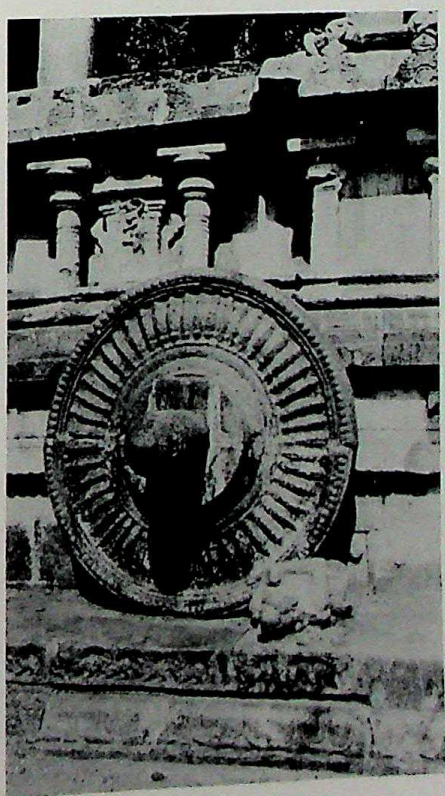


Pl 272 Manu Niti Cholan episode—The Horse





Pl 273 Manu Niti Cholan episode—The cow demanding justice

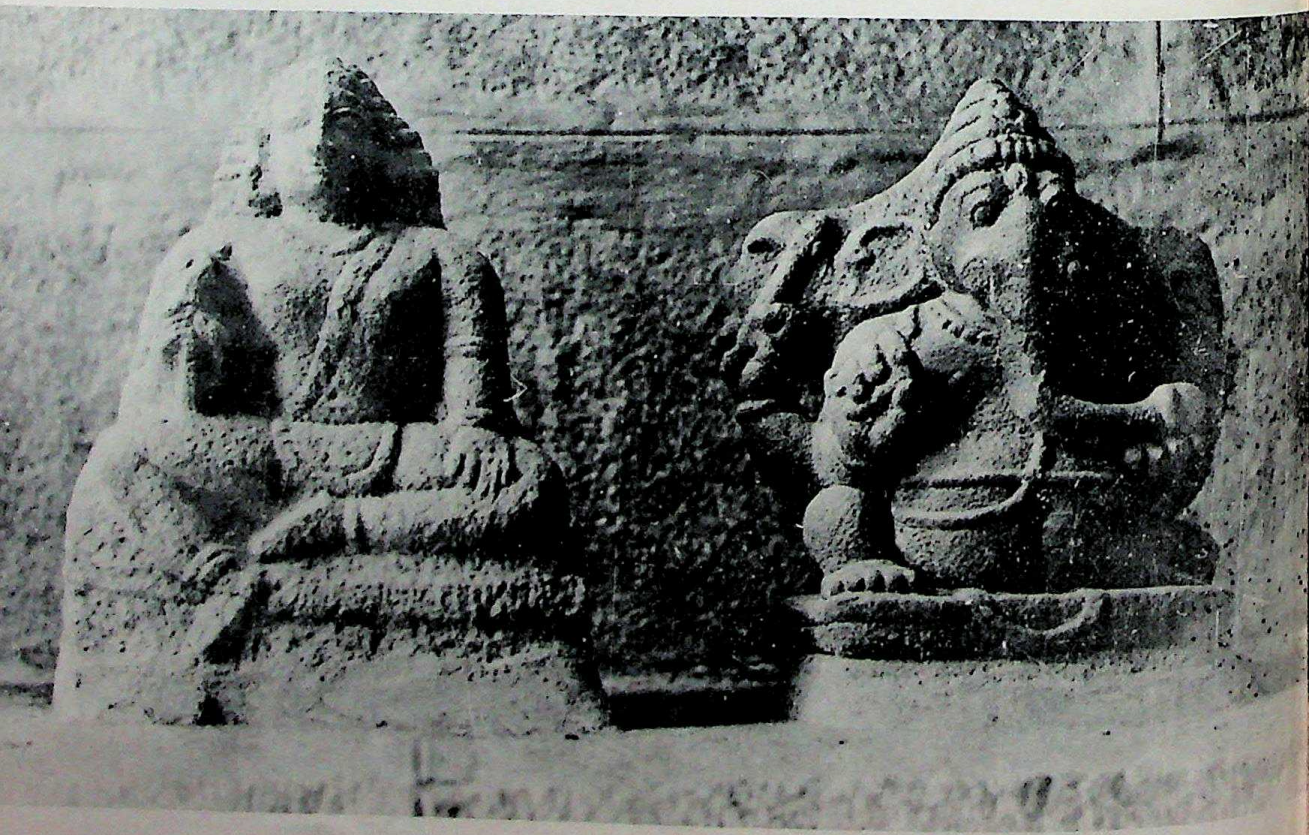


Pl 274 Manu Niti Cholan episode—The prince crushed

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

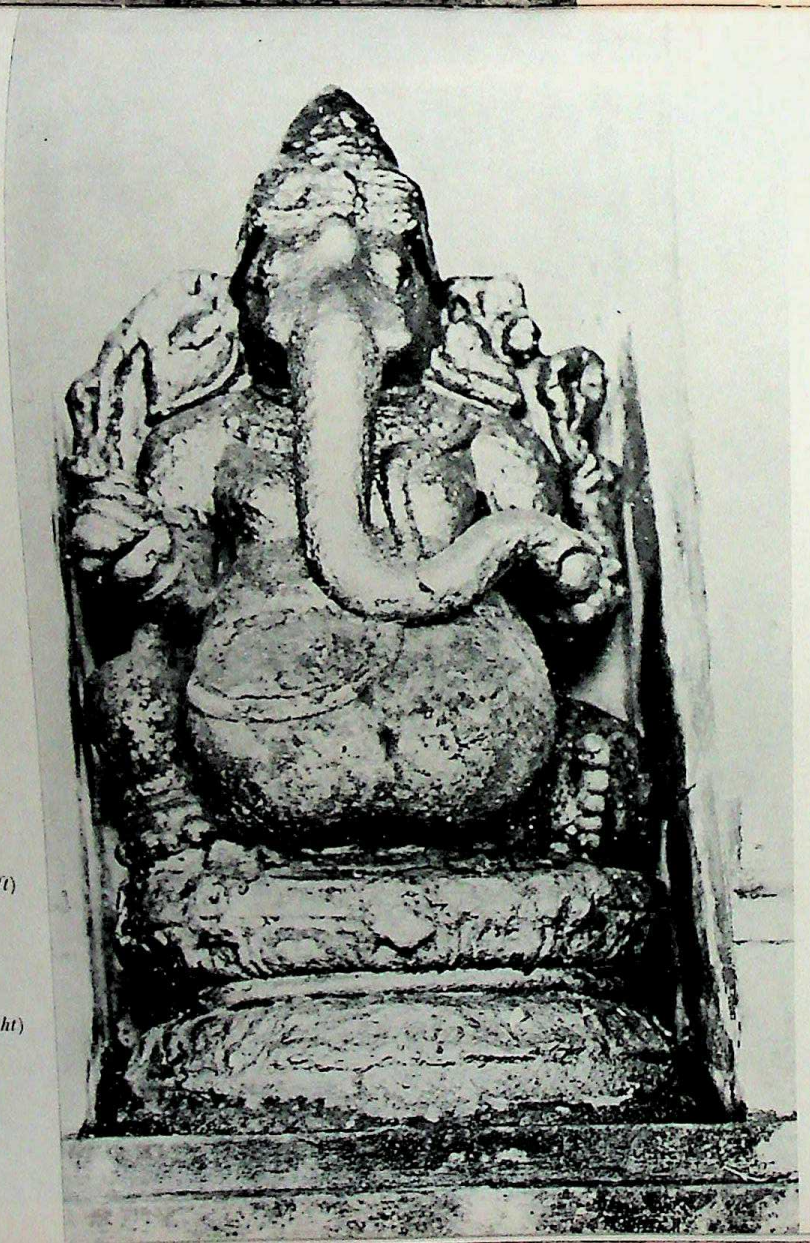
Pl 275 Annapurni

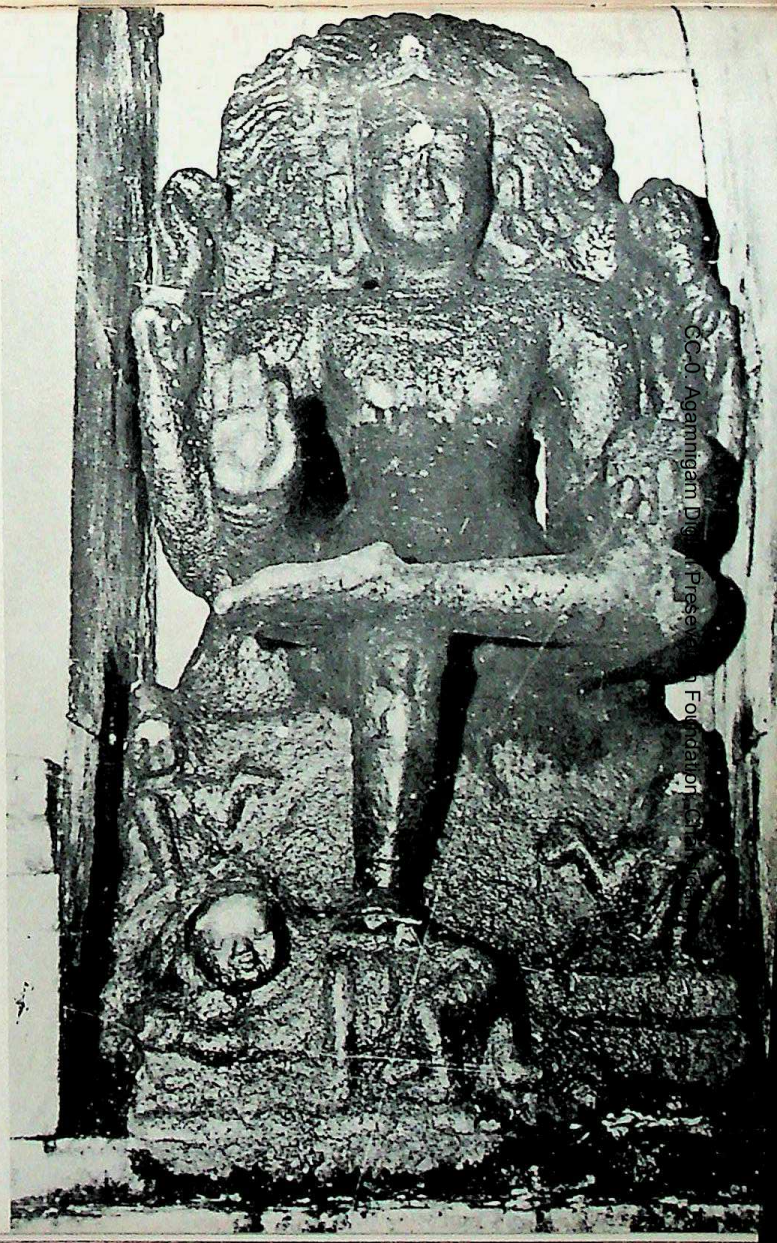
Pl 276 Durga



Pl 277 Virabhadrar and Ganapati (Sapta-matrika group)

KUVAM
Tripurantakesvaram



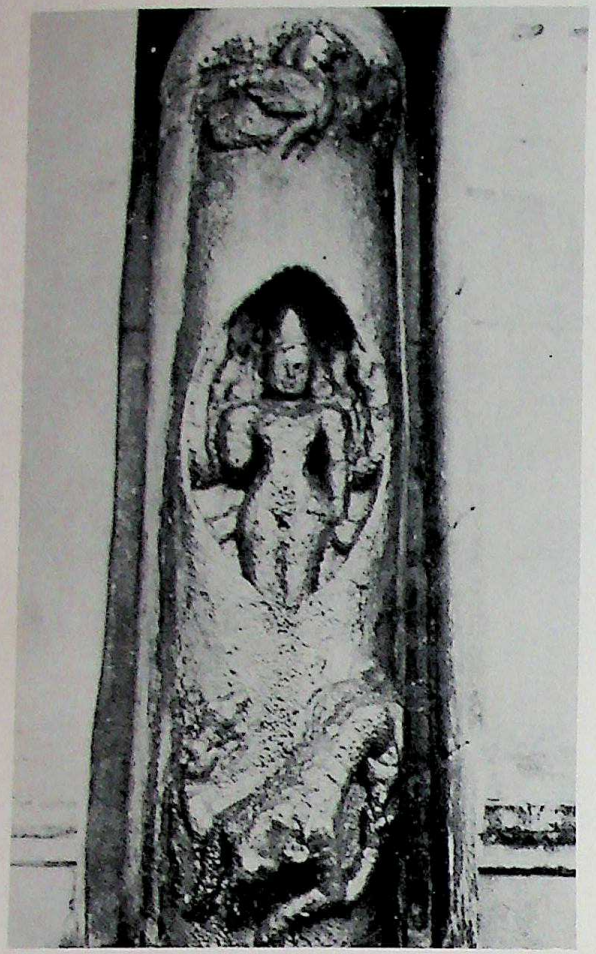


Pl 278 Ganapati (*left*)

Pl 279 Dakshinamurti (*right*)

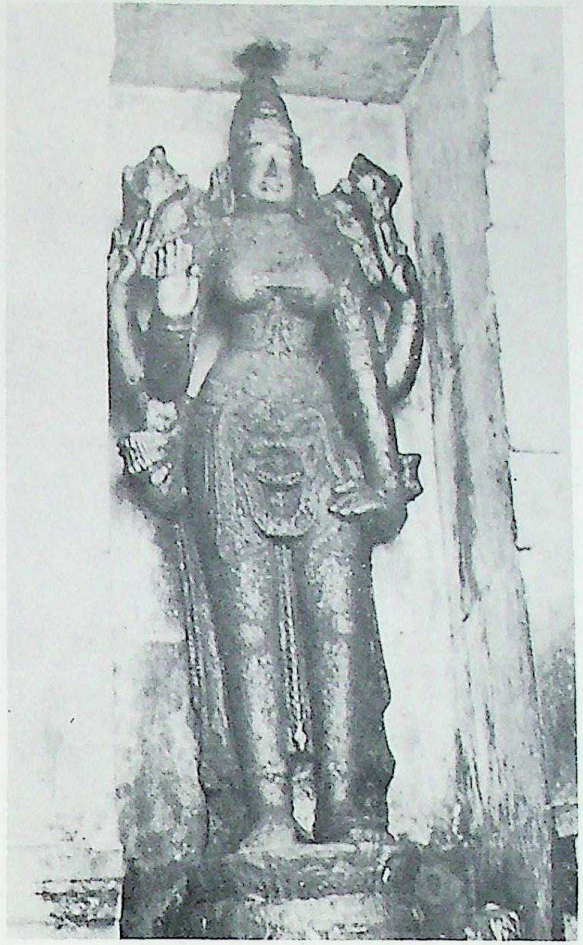
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,

KUVAM
Tripurantakesvaram



Pl 280 Lingodbhavar

Pl 281 Brahma



Pl 282 Durga

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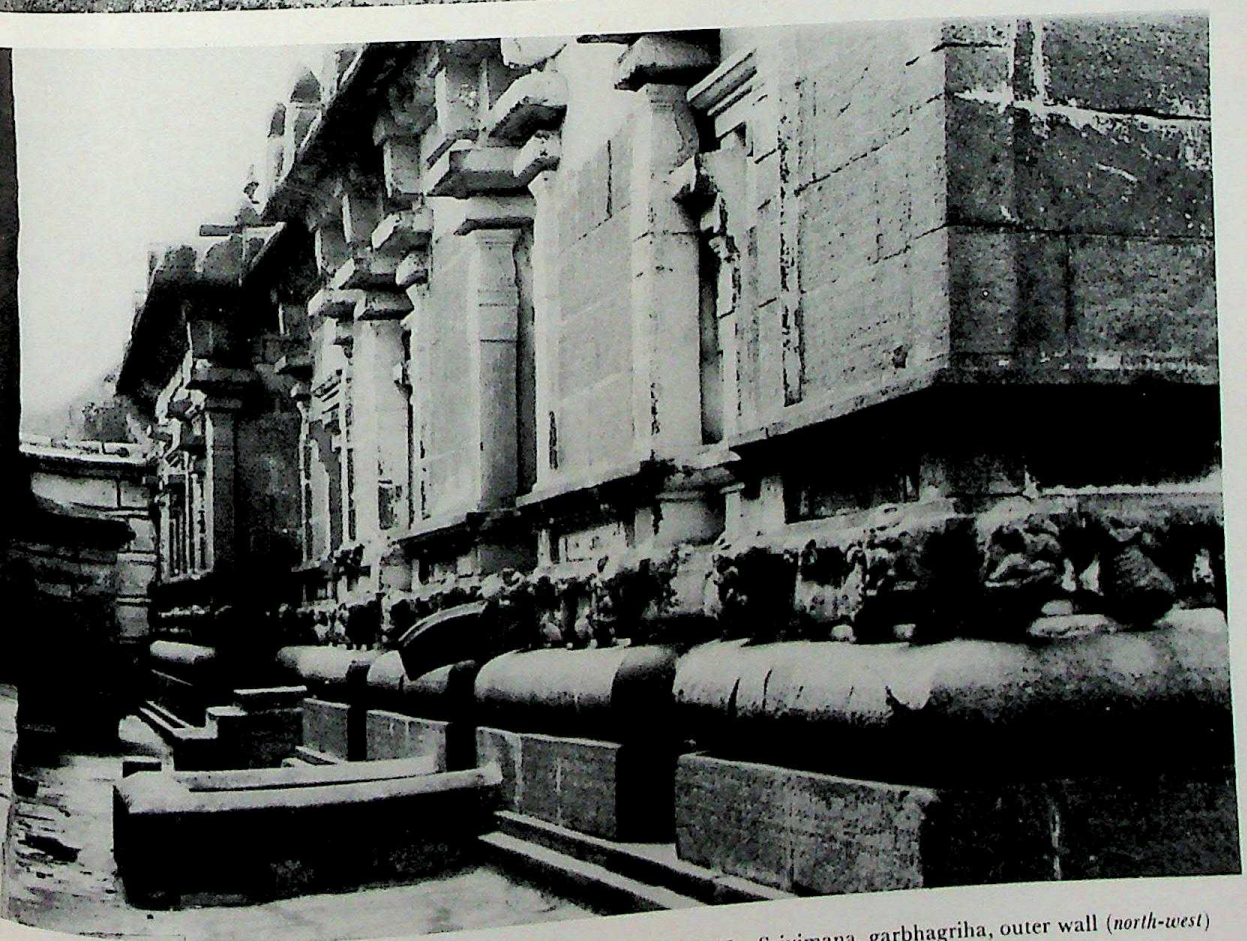
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

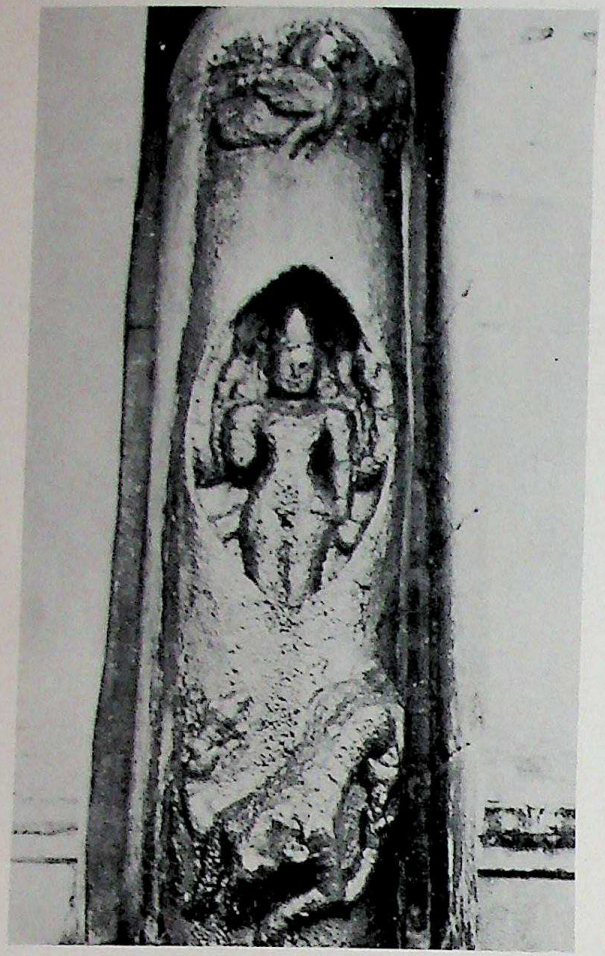
Pl 283 Srivimana (*south-east*)

Pl 284 Srivimana (*south-west*)



Pl 285 Srivimana, garbhagriha, outer wall (*north-west*)

TIRUPPASUR
Vachisvaram temple



Pl 280 Lingodbhavar

KUVAM
Tripurantakesvaram

Pl 281 Brahma

Pl 282 Durga

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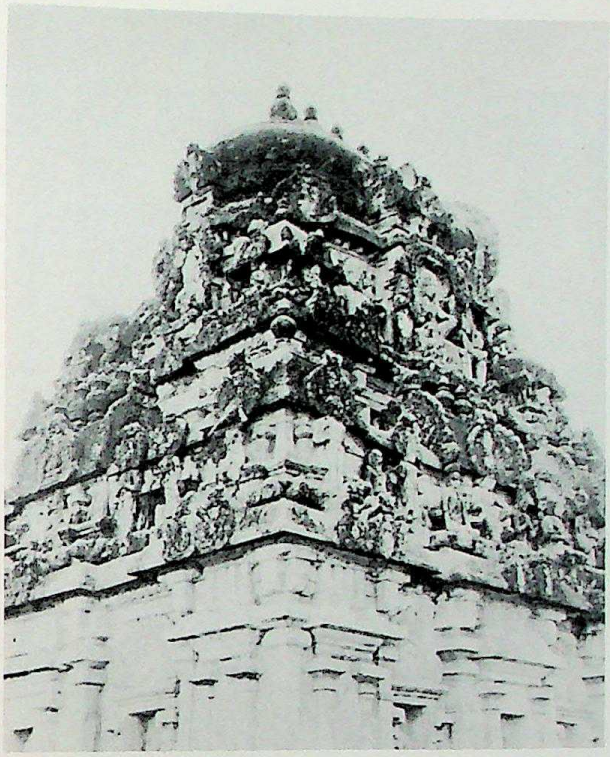
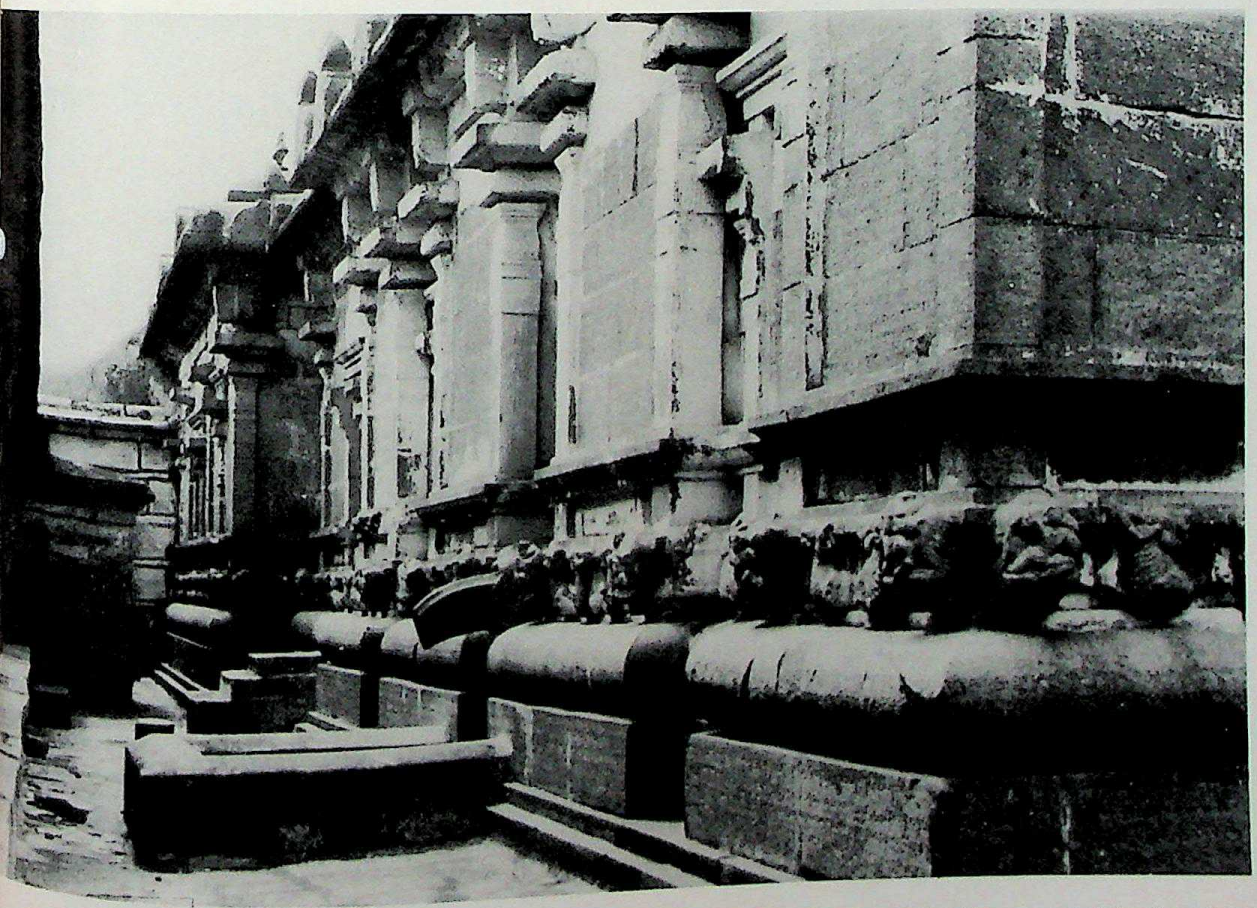
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 283 Srivimana (*south-east*)

Pl 284 Srivimana (*south-west*)

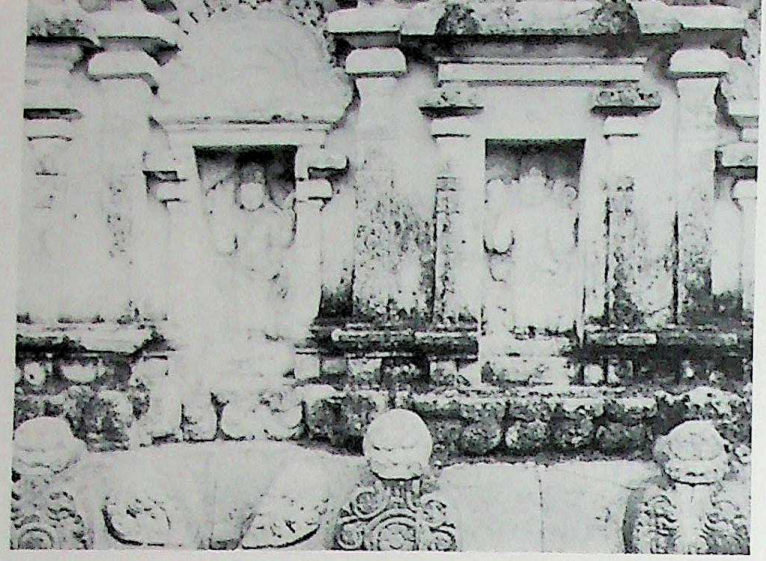




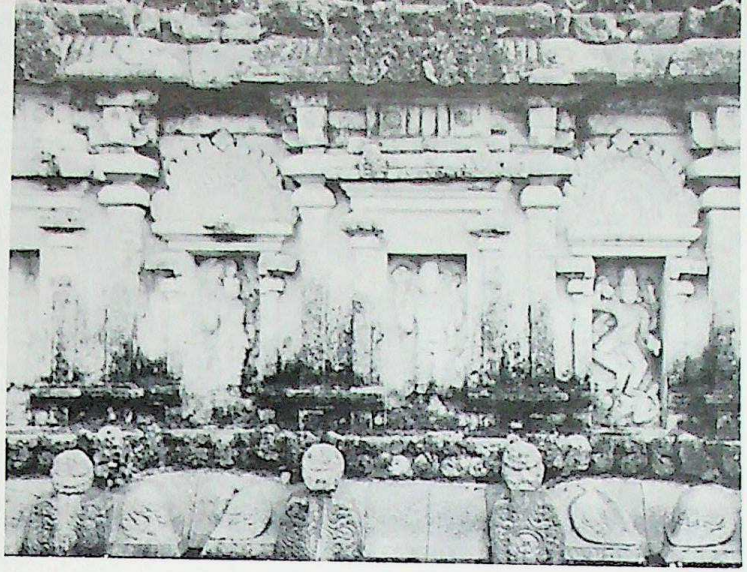
Pl 285 Srivimana, garbhagriha, outer wall (*north-west*)

TIRUPPASUR

Vachiswaram temple



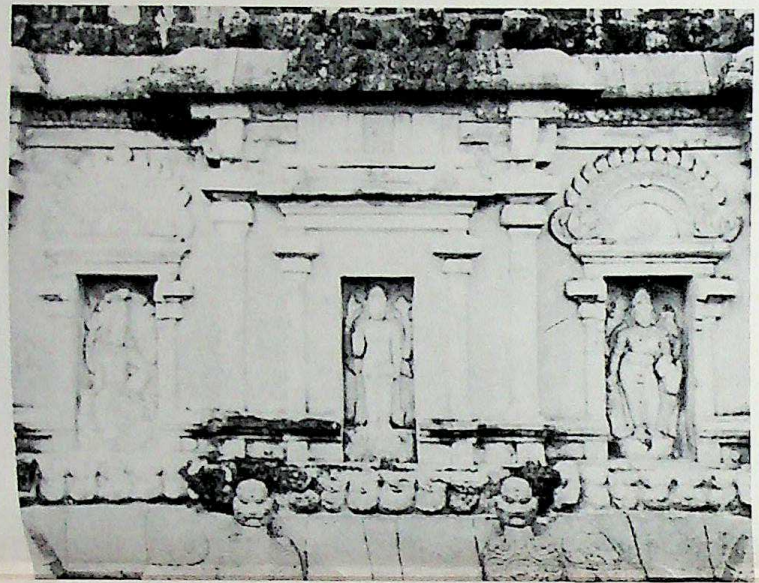
Pl 286 Upper tala—North face



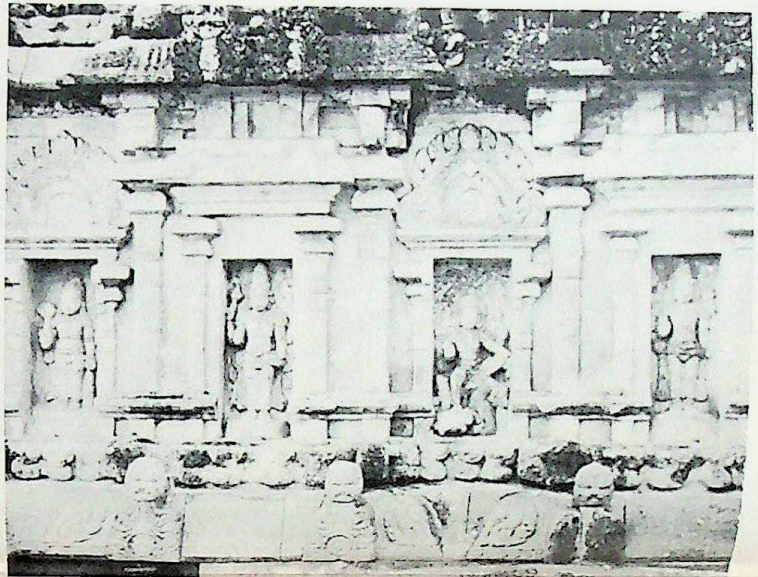
Pl 288 Upper tala—North face (*another section*)

TIRUPPASUR
Vachisvaram temple

Pl 287 Upper tala—West face



Pl 289 Upper tala—South face



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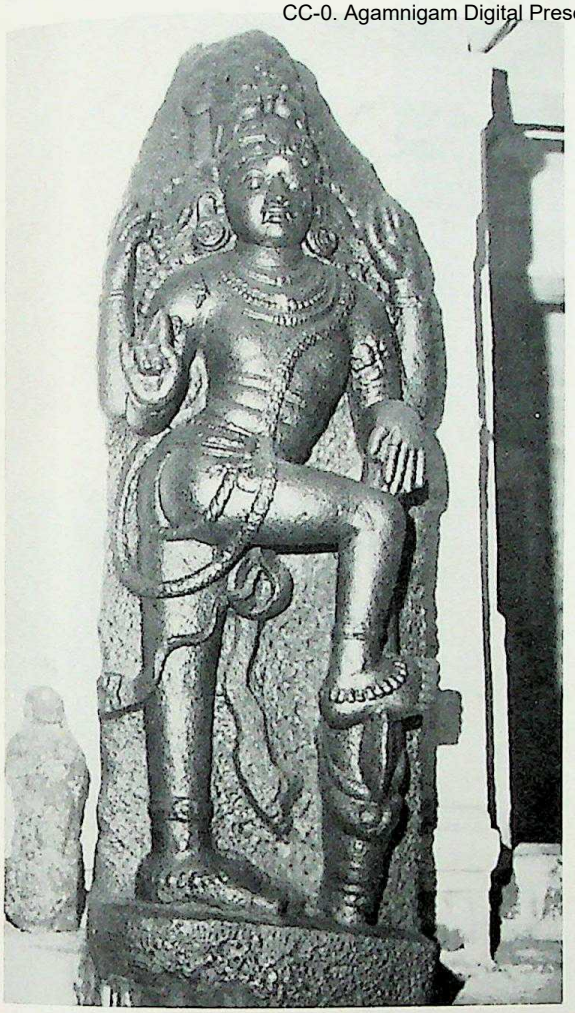
Pl 290 Dvarapala



Pl 291 Dvarapala

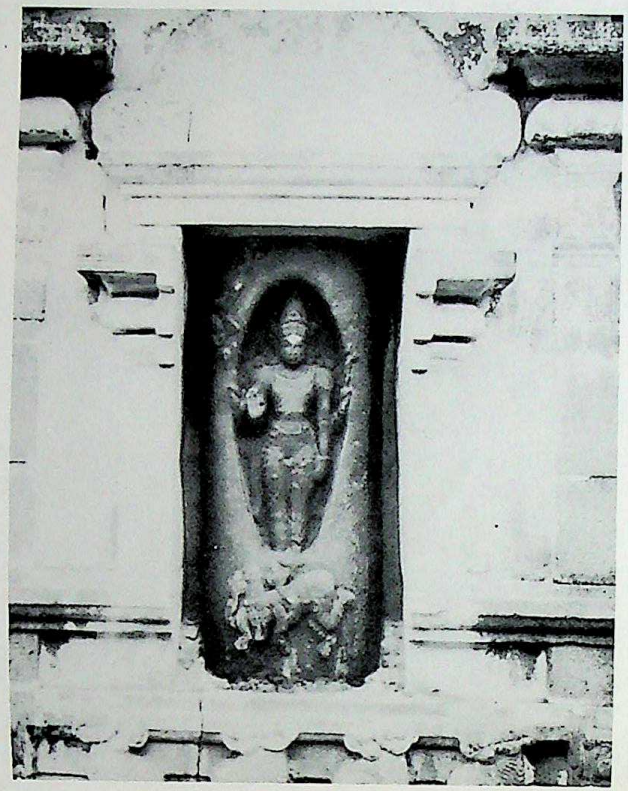
Pl 292 Virabhadrar

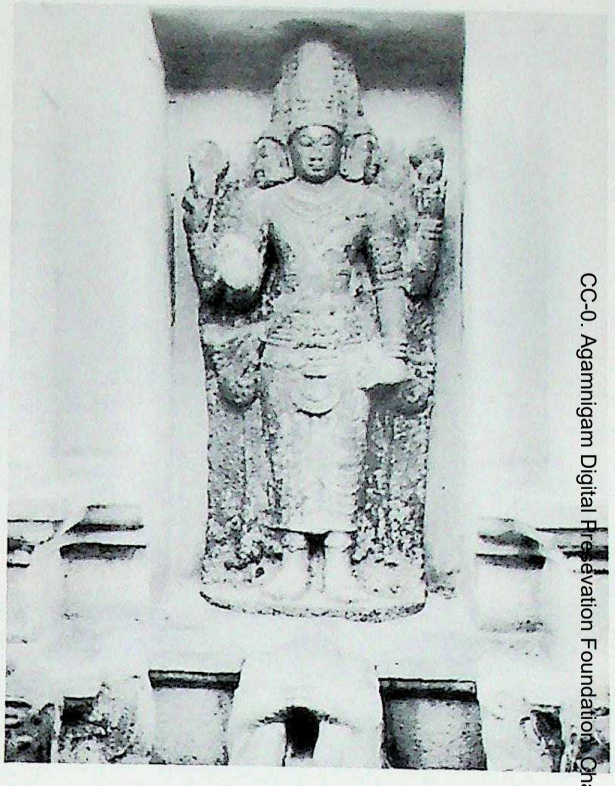
Pl 293 Bhairavar

Pl 294 Ganapati

TIRUPPASUR
Vachisvaram temple

Pl 295 Lingodbhavar

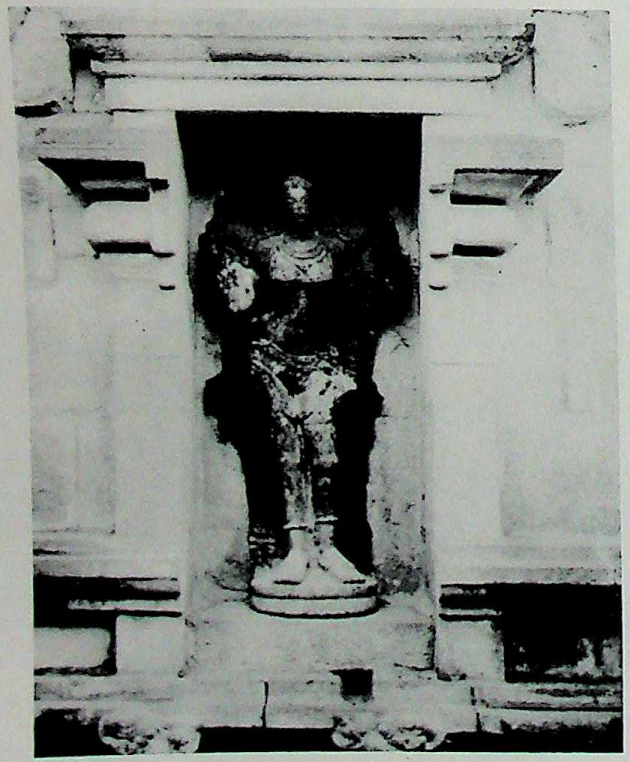


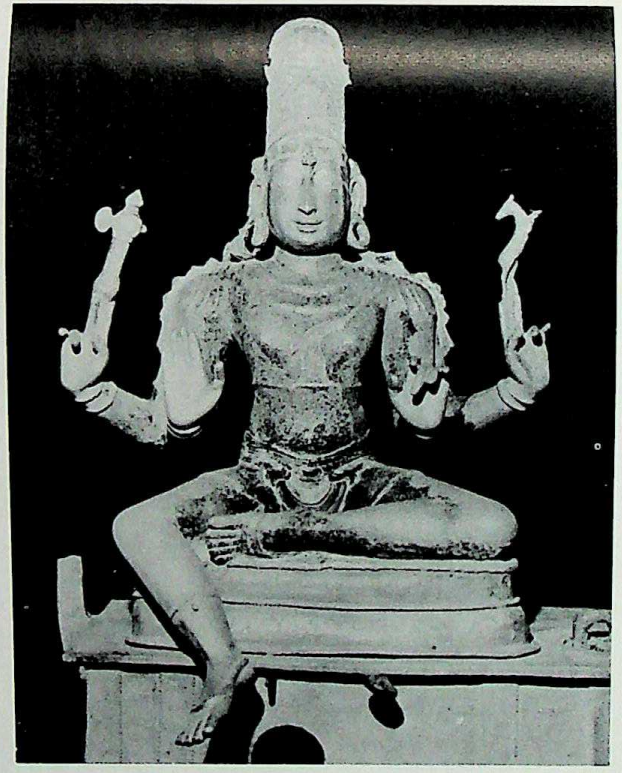


Pl 296 Brahma

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 297 Durga





Pl 298 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

TIRUPPASUR
Vachisvaram temple

Pl 299 Tani Amman (*bronze*)

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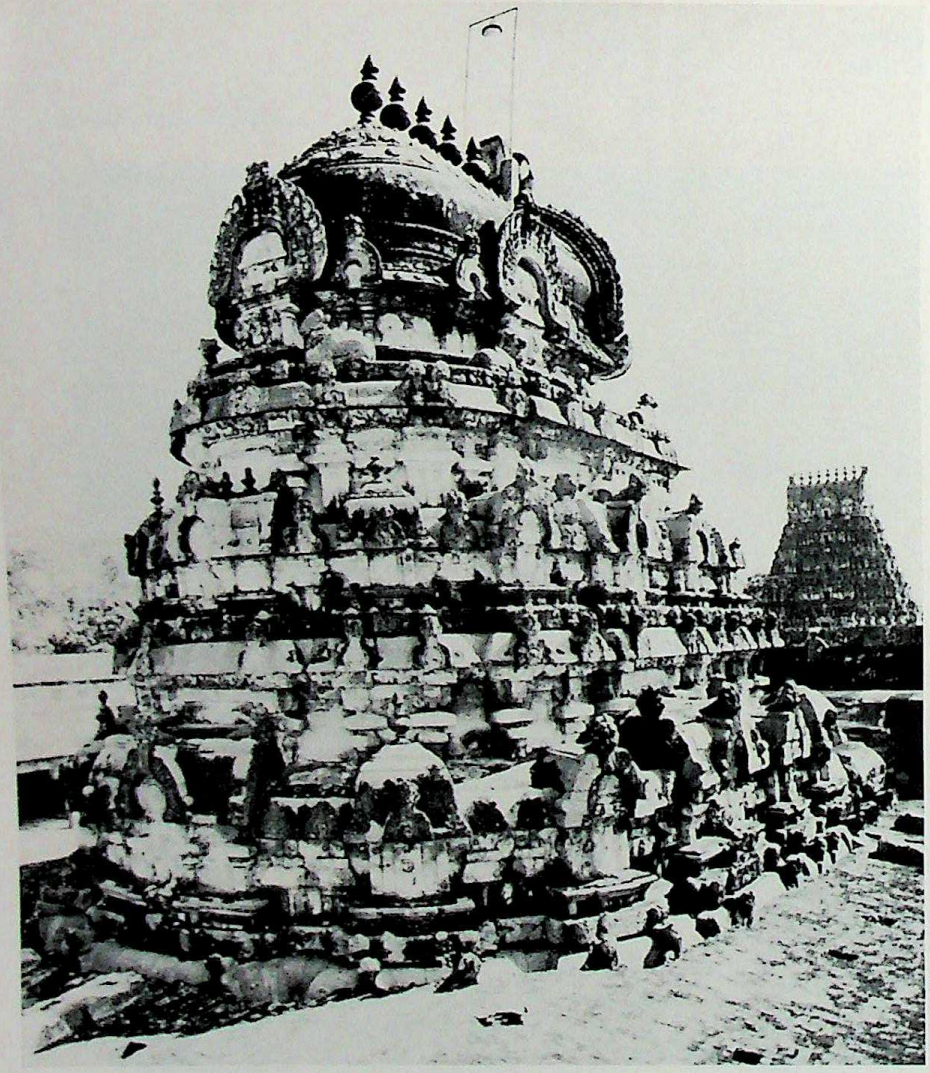
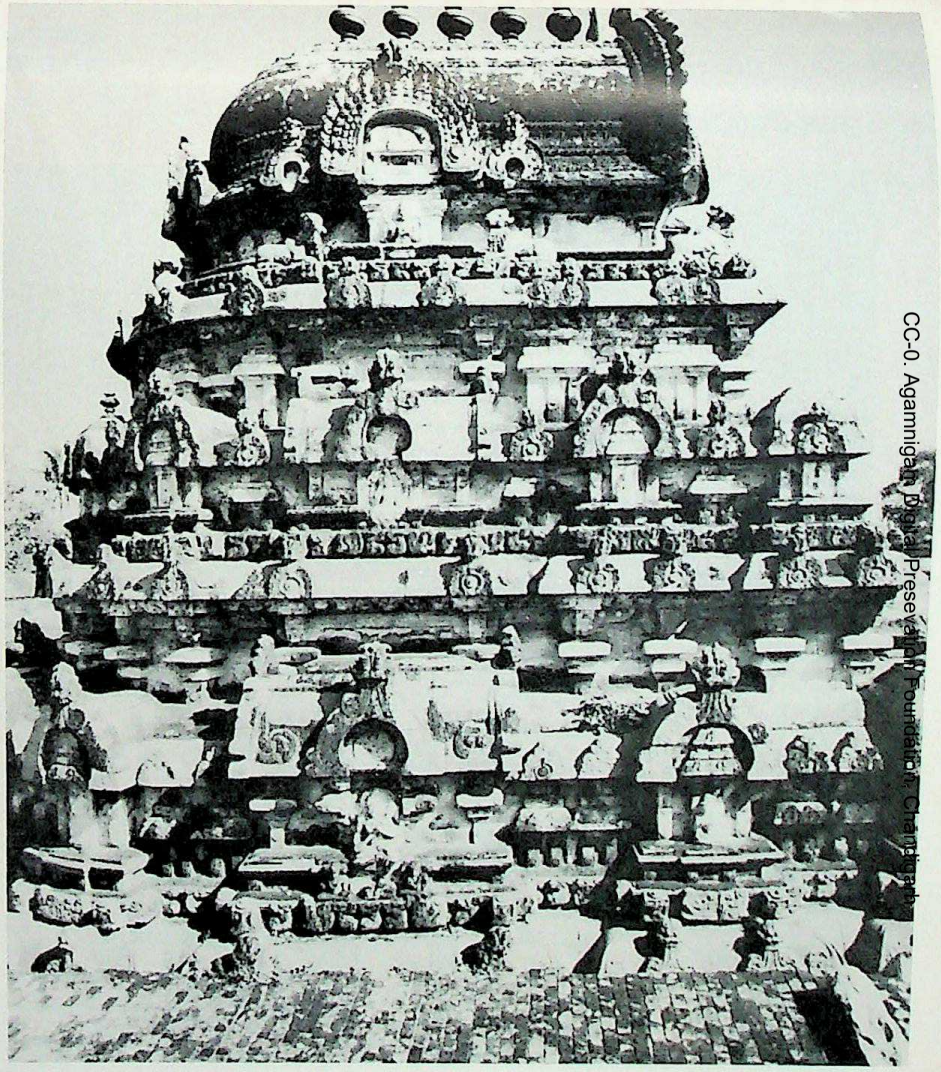
Pl 300 Apsidal Srivimana—East view

TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple



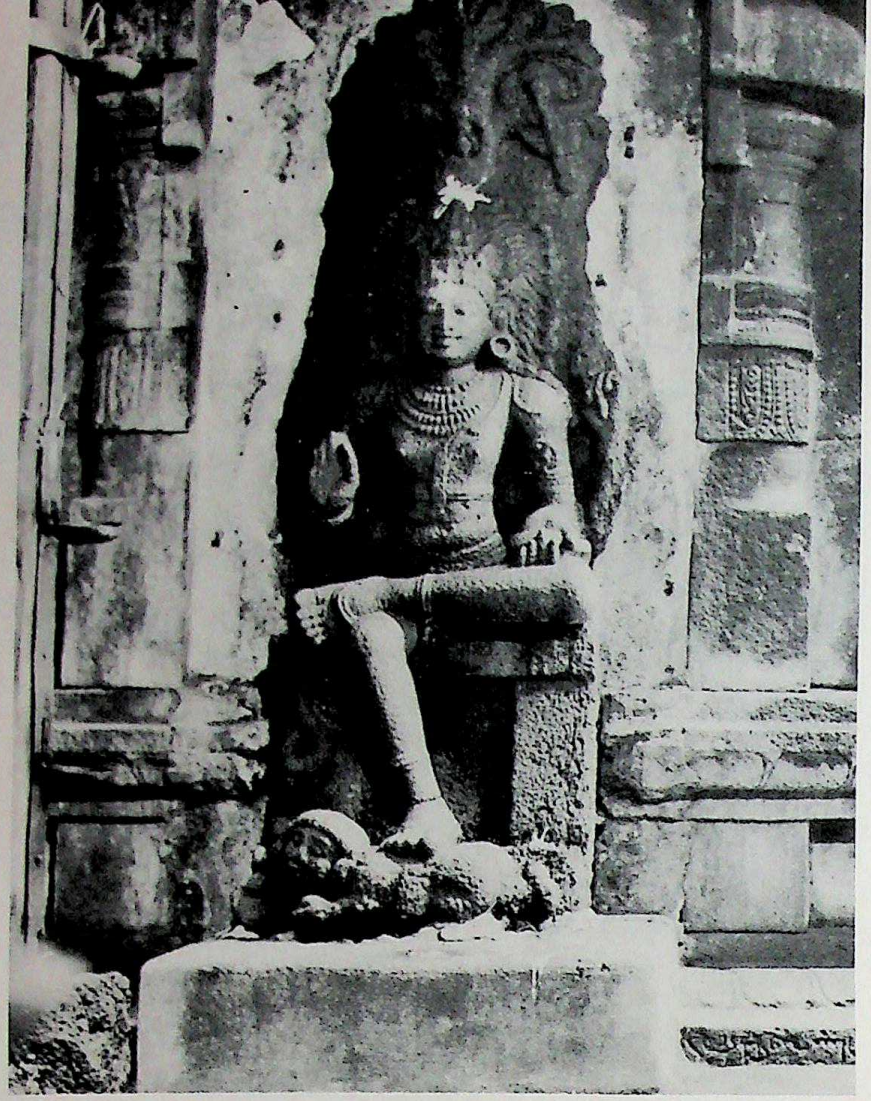
Pl 301 Apsidal Srivimana—rear view



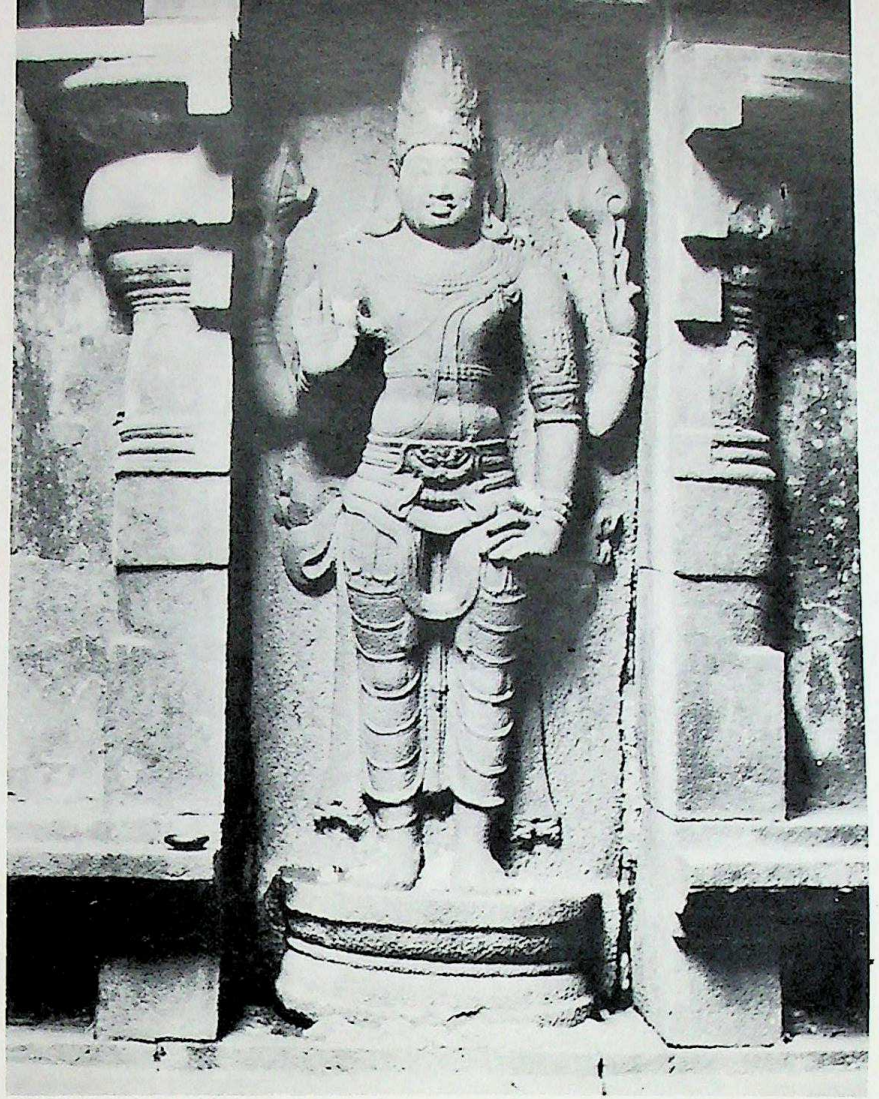
Pl 302 Apsidal Srivimana
—side view

Tiruvorriyur
Adipurisvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh



Pl 303 Dakshinamurti



Pl 304 Vishnu

TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple

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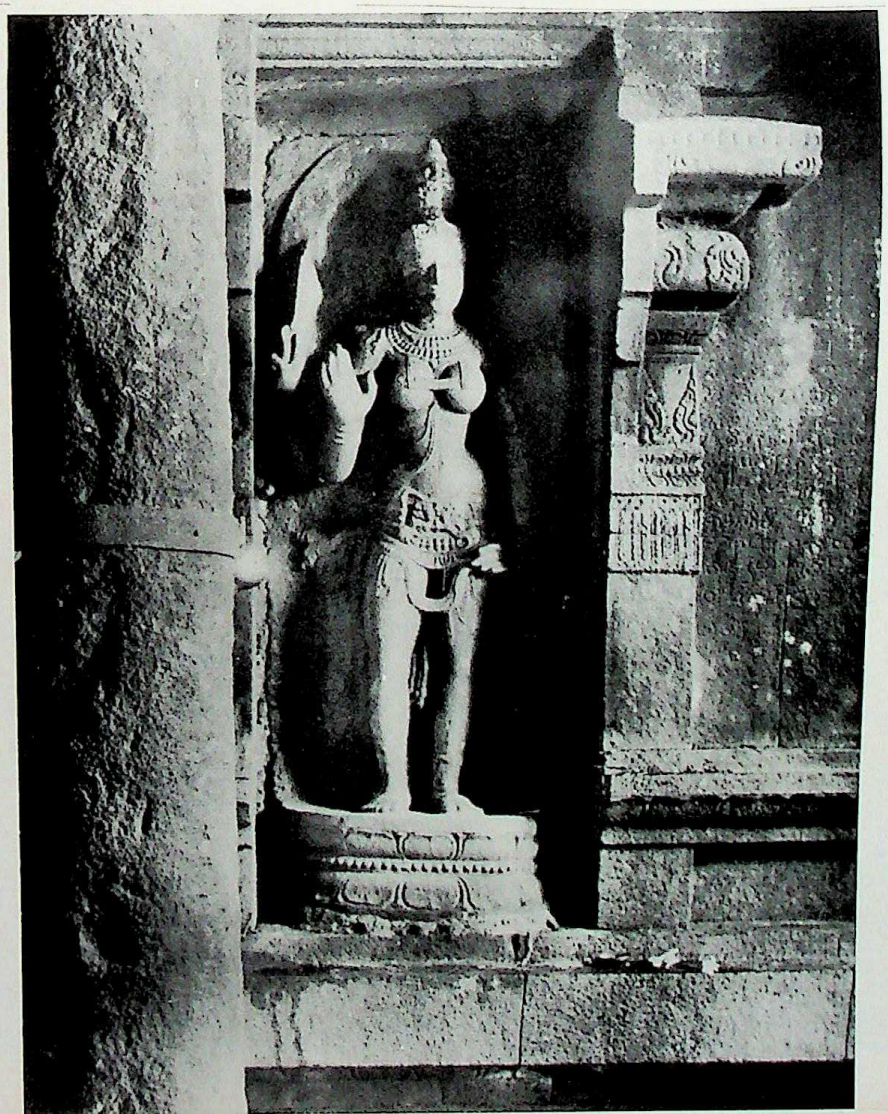
TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple

Pl 305 Brahma

Pl 306 Durga



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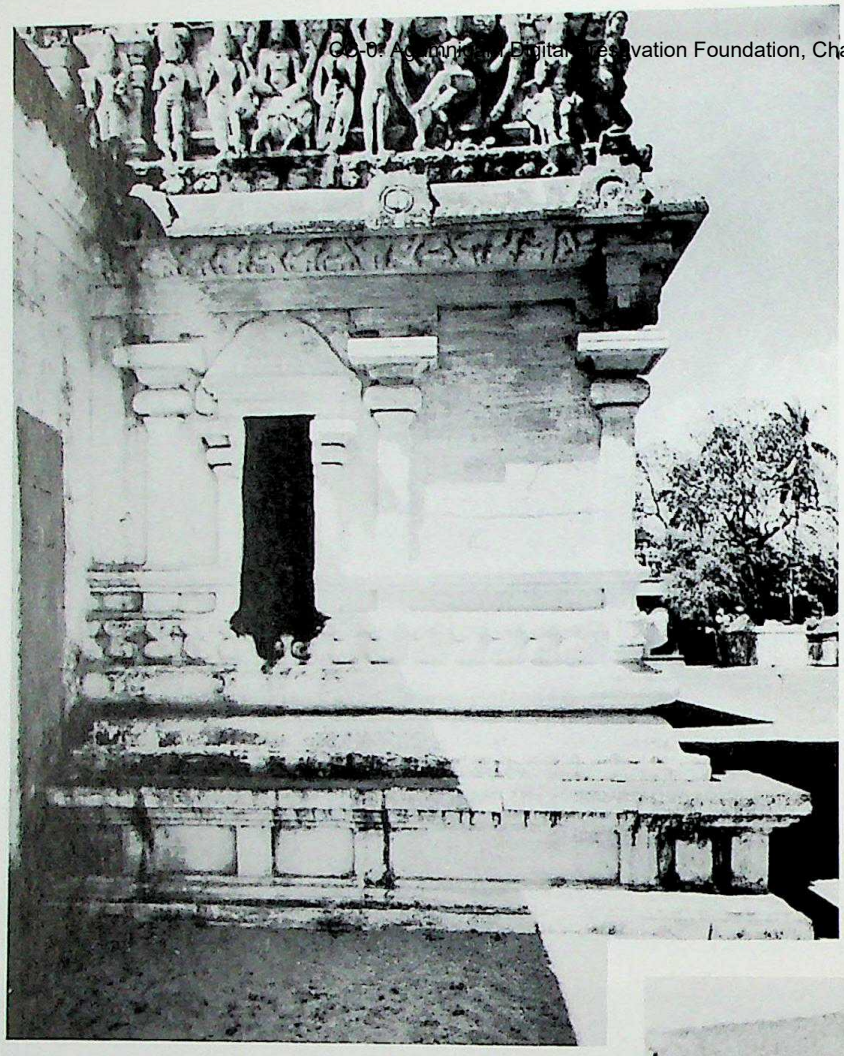
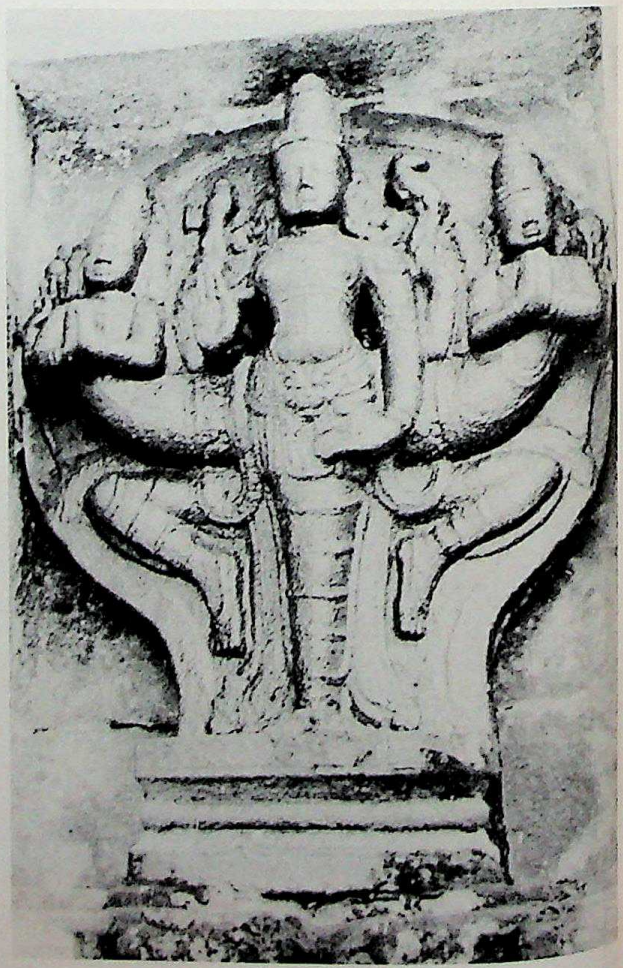
Pl 307 Nataraja shrine



TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple



Pl 308 Ekapadamurti—niche figure, rear of Nataraja shrine

Pl 309 Kali

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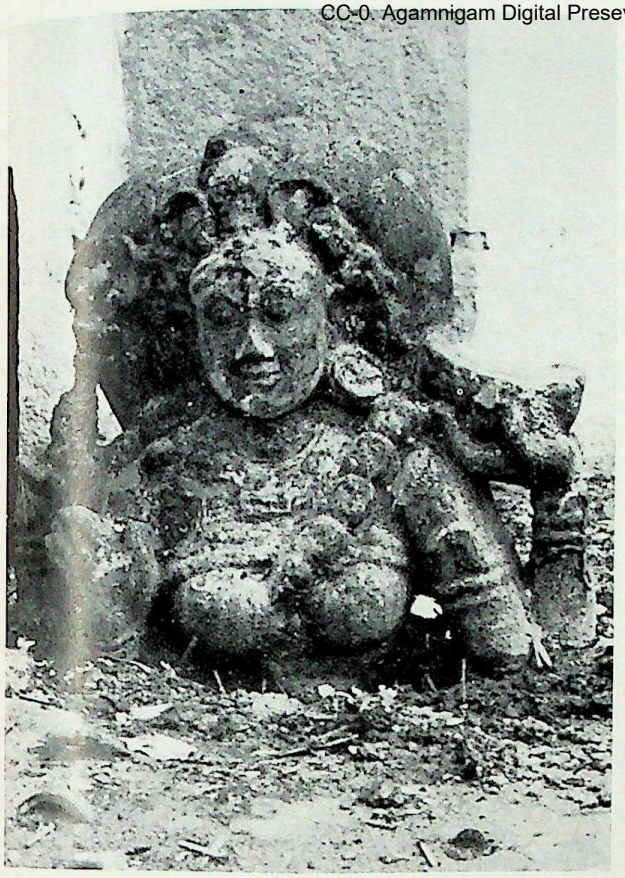
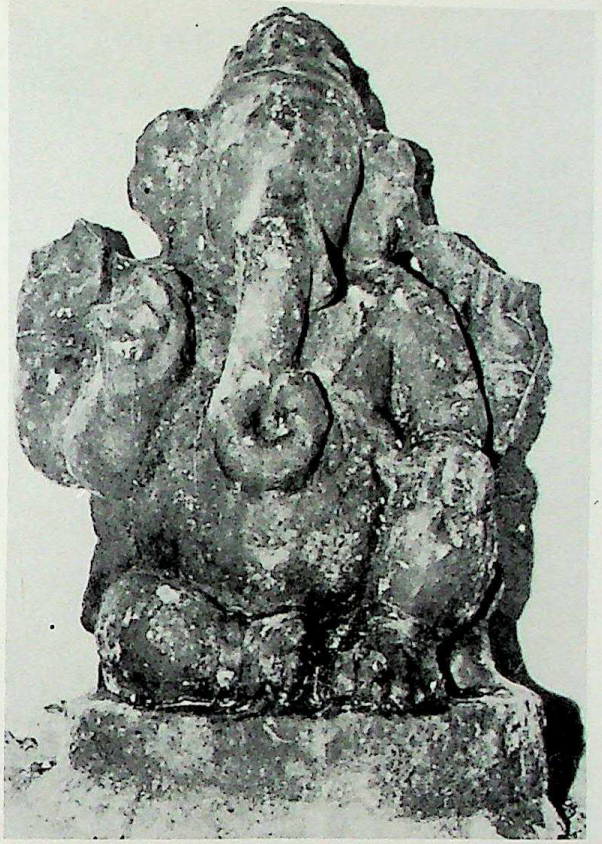
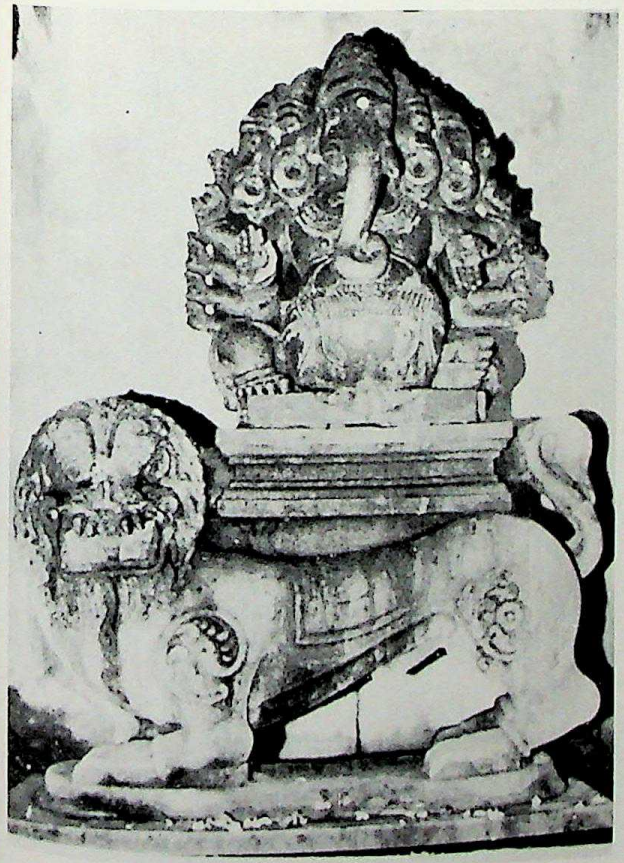
Pl 310 Ganapati



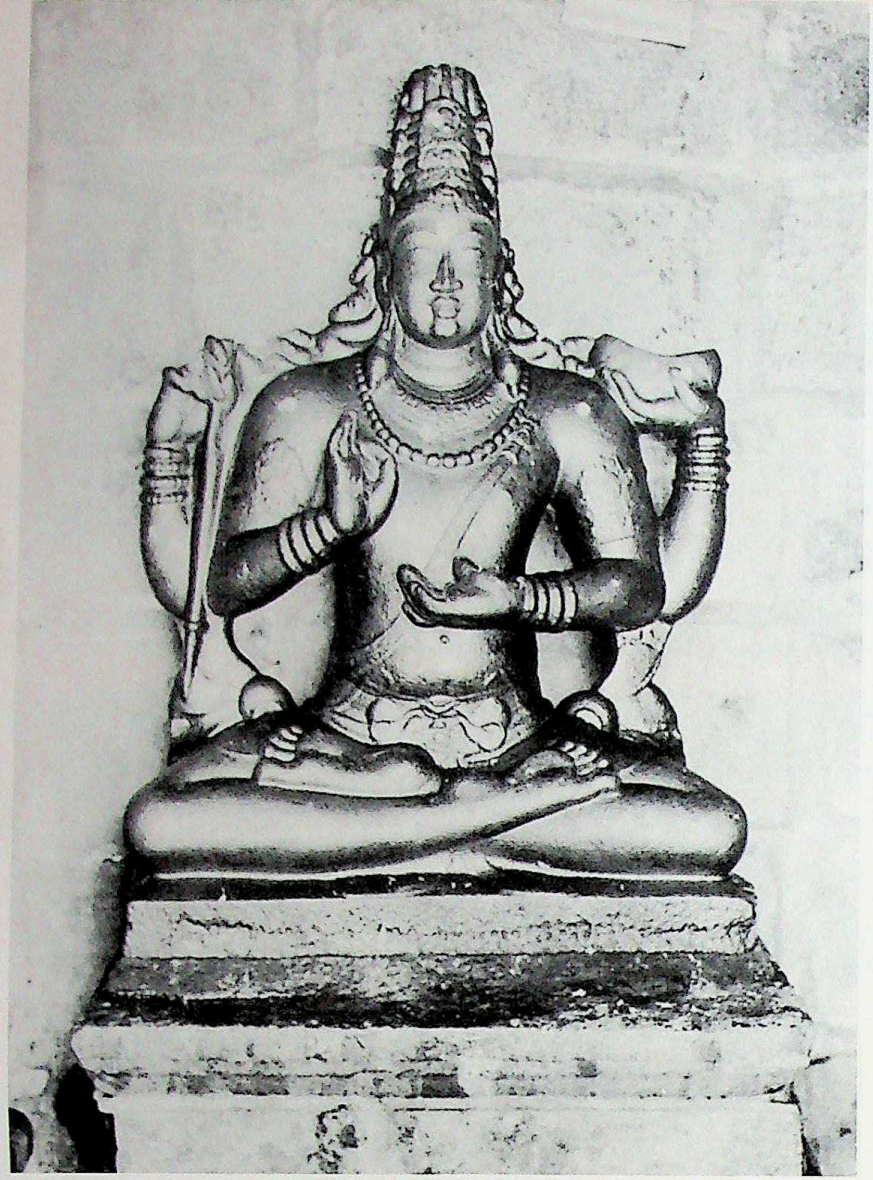




Pl 311 Panchamukha Ganapati

Pl 312 Subrahmanyar

TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple



Pl 313 Gaulisa

Pl 314 Adi-Sankaracharya, with disciples

TIRUVORRIYUR
Adipurisvarar temple

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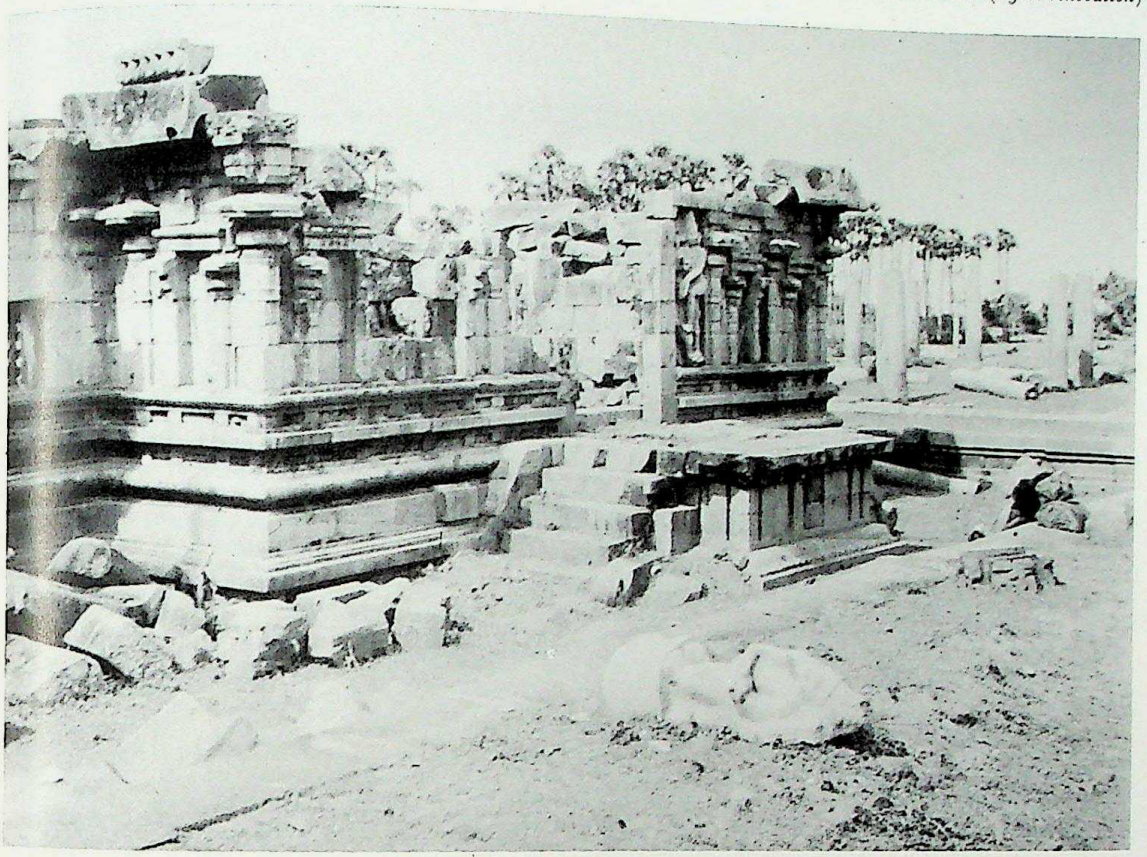
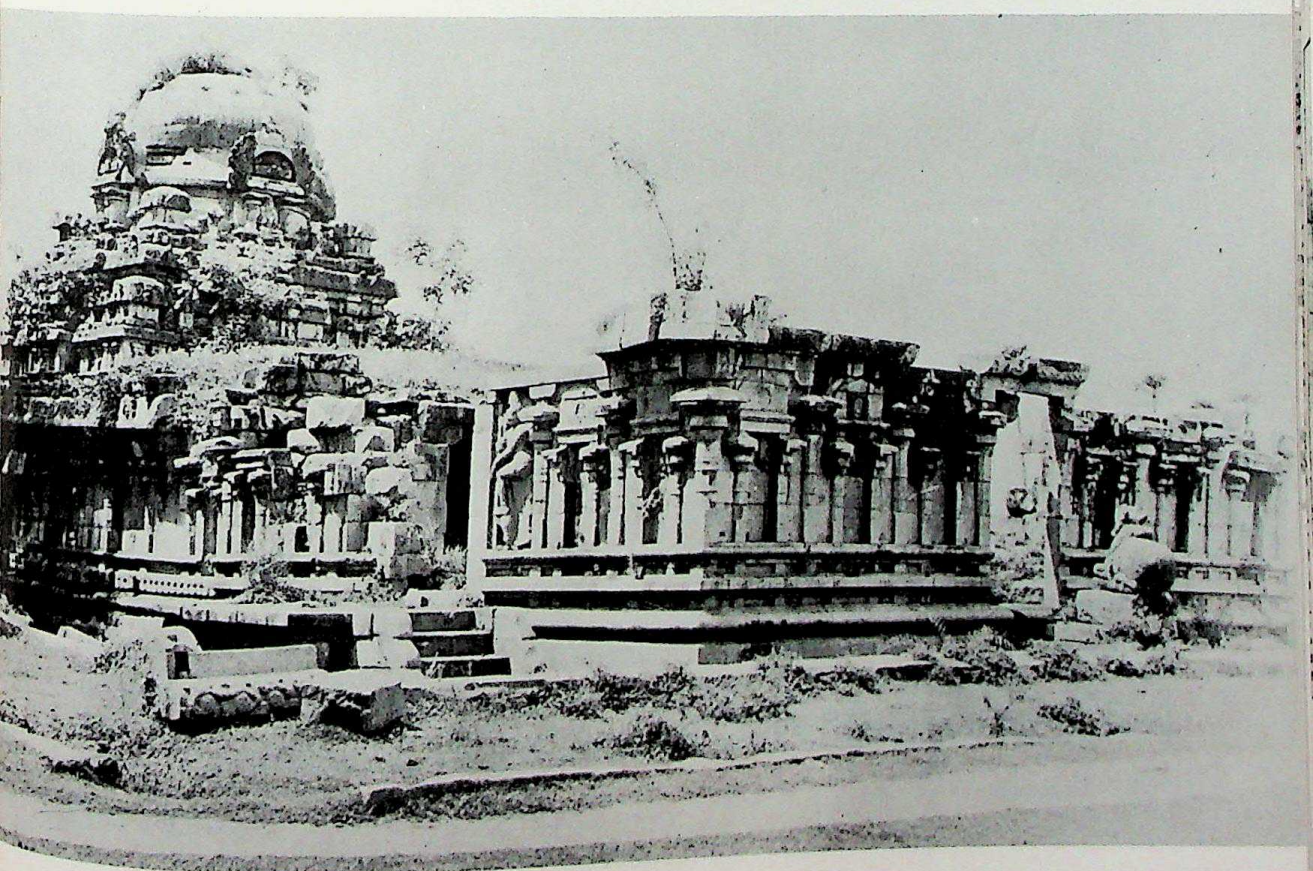
Pl 315 Jagannathesvarar temple—General view (*before renovation*)



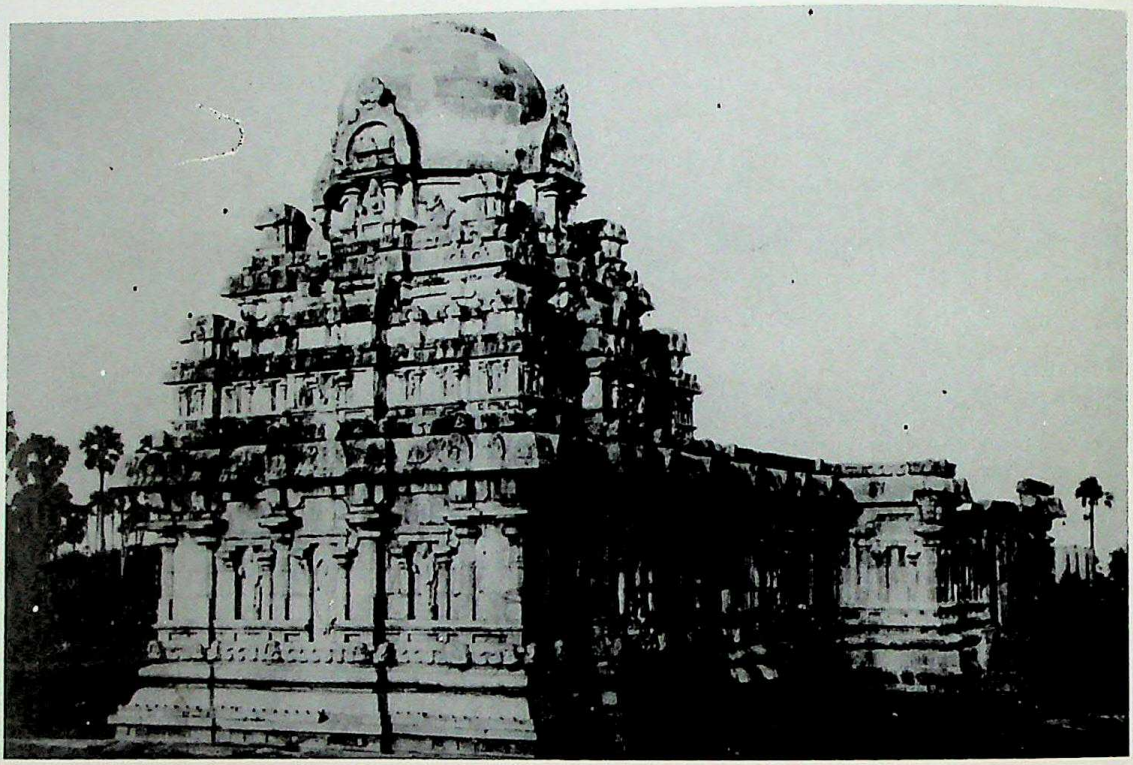


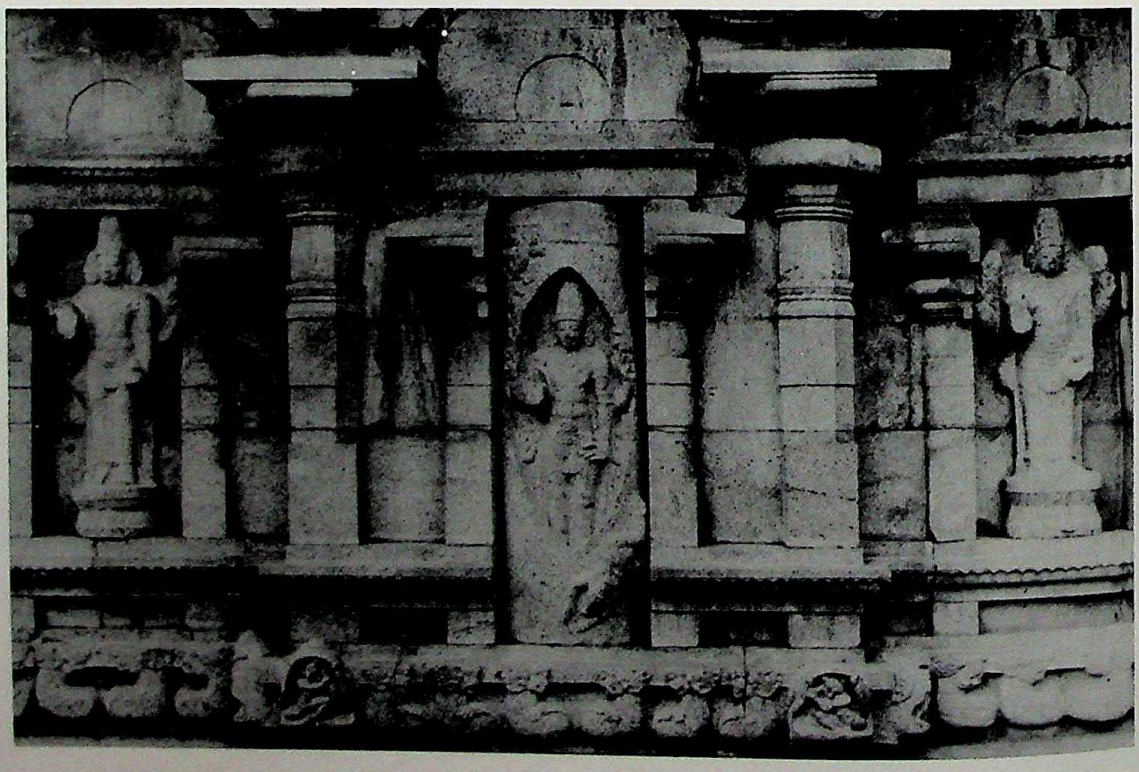
Pl 316 Jagannathesvarar temple—General view (*before renovation*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KULAMBANDAL
Jagannathesvarar temple
(Gangaikondasolisvaram)

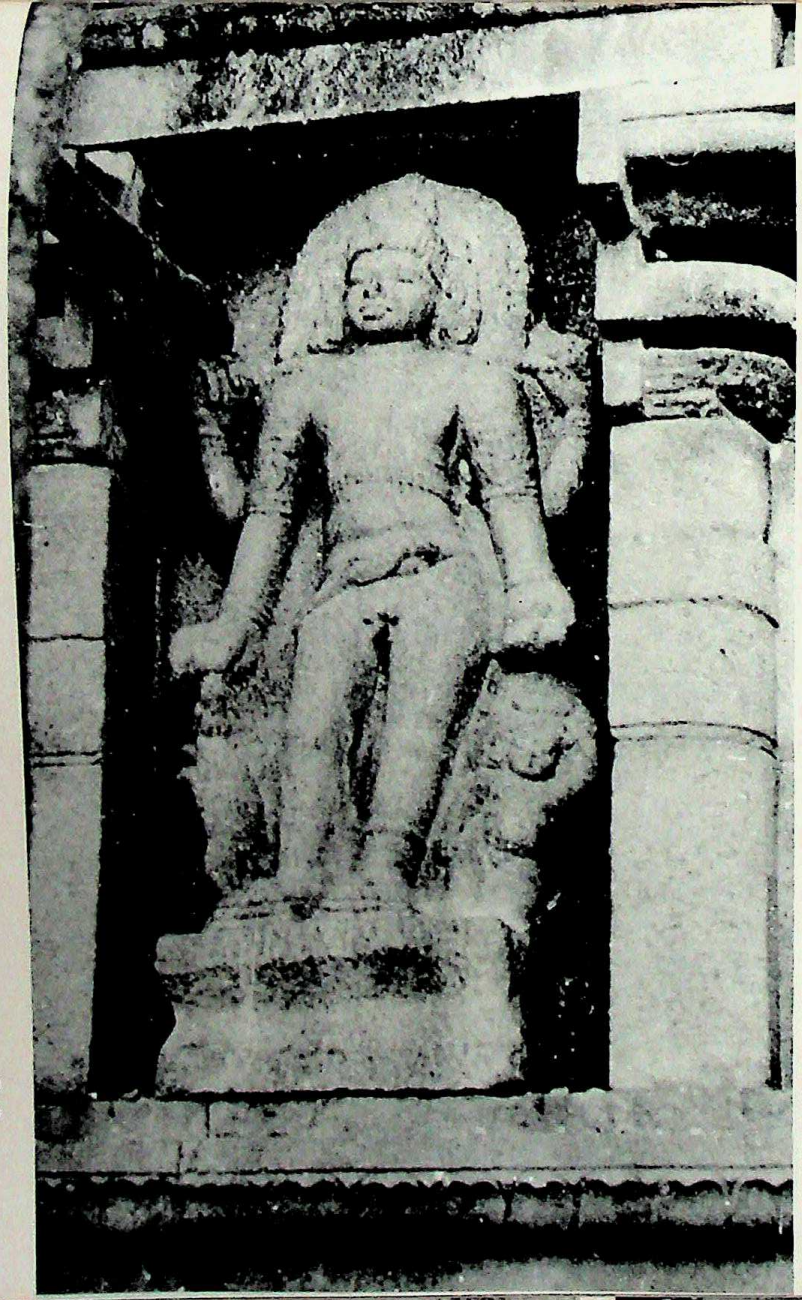
Pl 317 Jagannathesvarar temple—General view (*after renovation*)

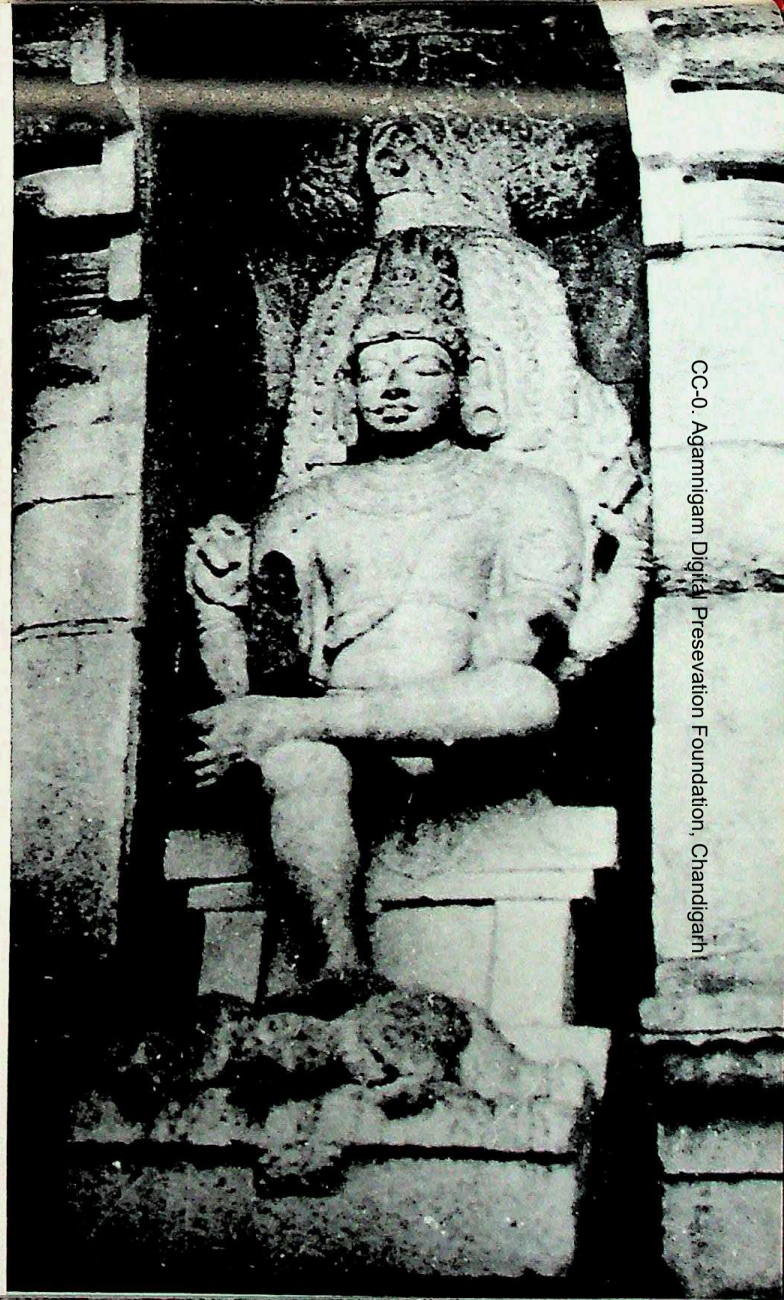




Pl 318 Garbhagriha, west face.

KULAMBANDAL
Jagannathesvarar temple
(Gangaikondasolisvaram)



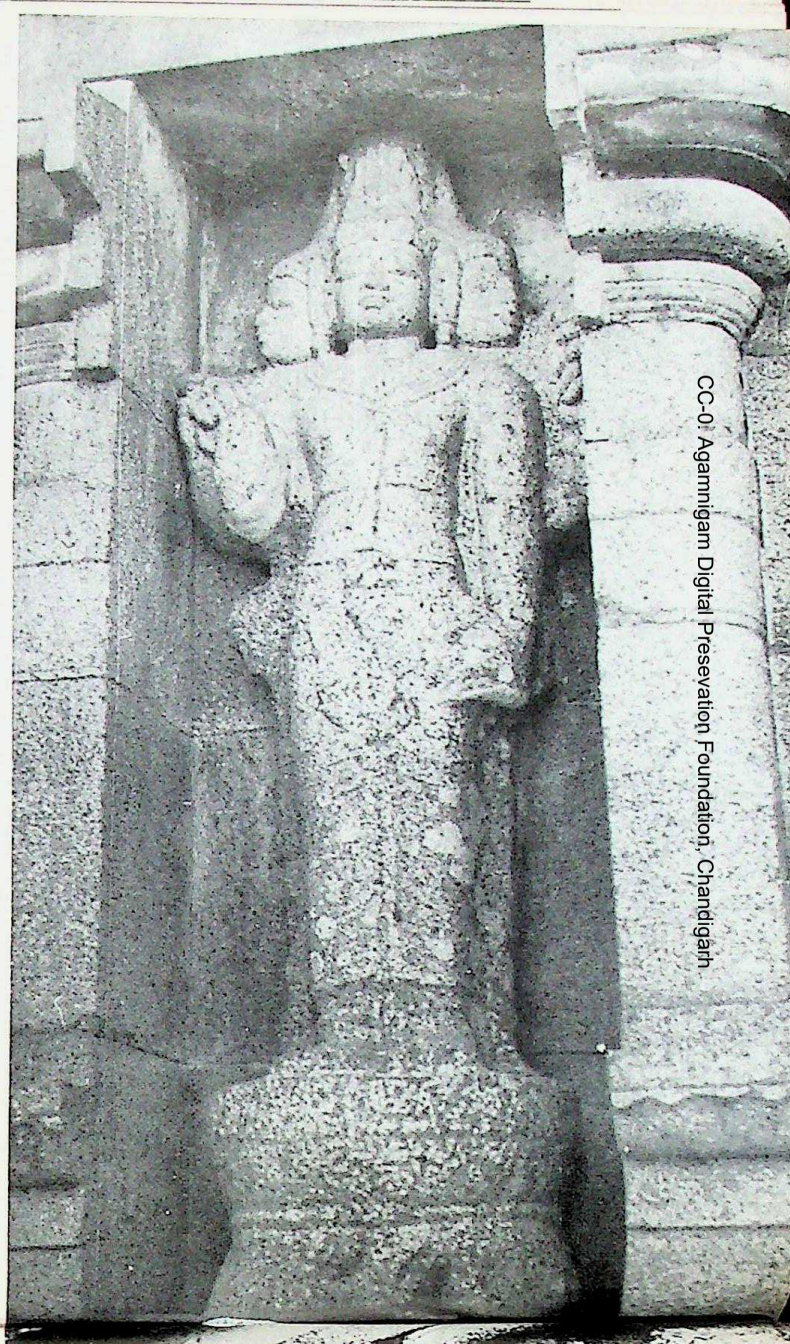


Pl 319 Bhikshatanar (*left*)

Pl 320 Dakshinamurti (*right*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KULAMBANDAL
Jagannathesvarar temple
(Gangaikondasolisvaram)

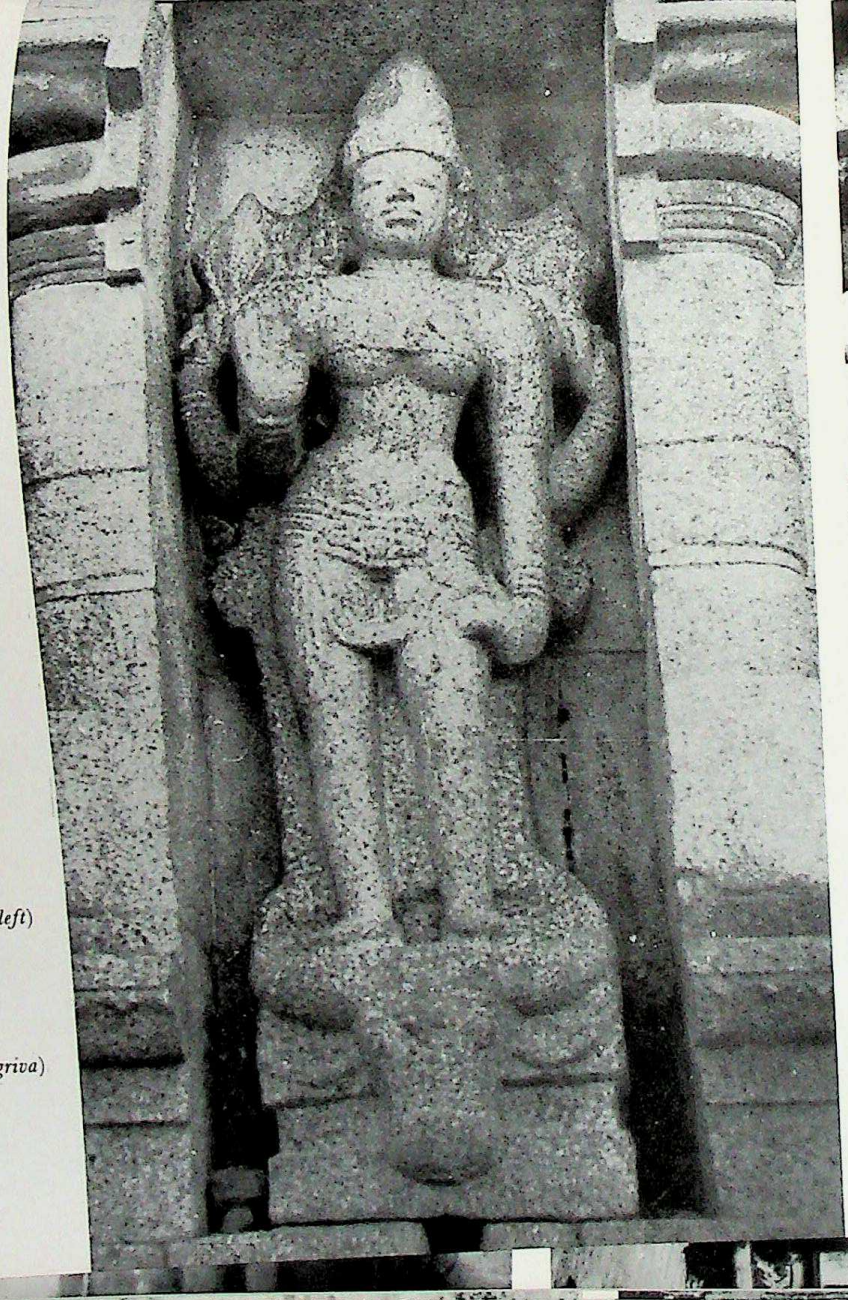


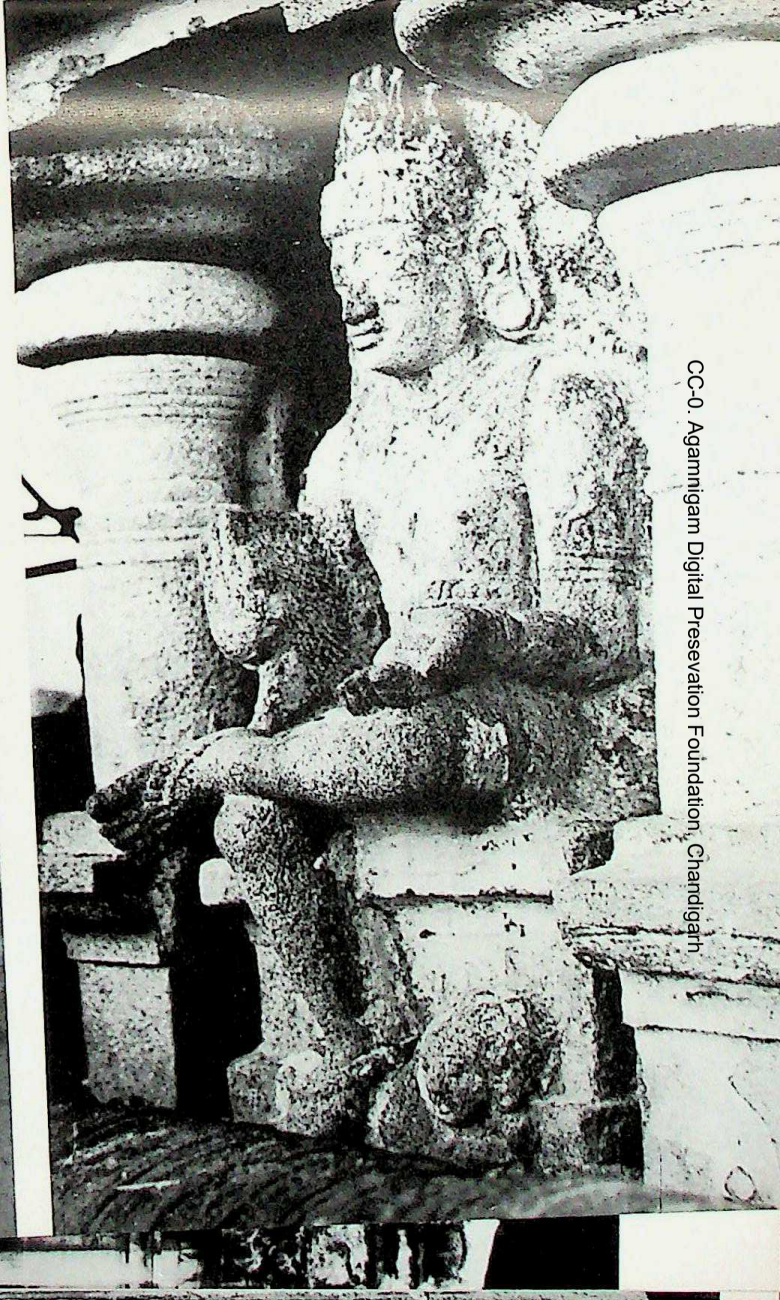
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Pl 321 Lingodbhavar (*left*)

Pl 322 Brahma (*right*)

KULAMBANDAL
Jagannathesvarar temple
(Gangaikondasolisvaram)





Pl 323 Durga (*left*)

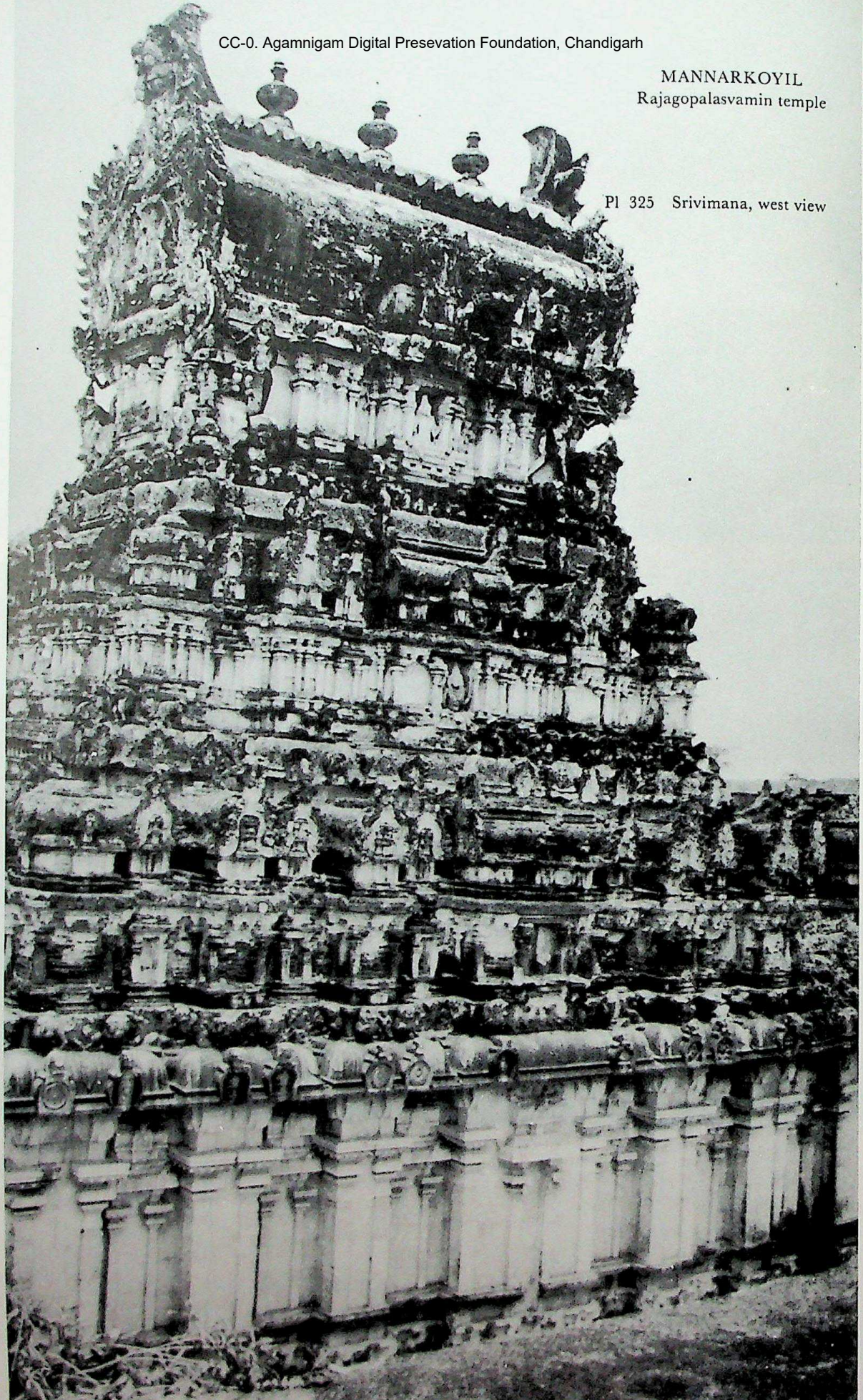
Pl 324 Dakshinamurti (*griva*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MANNARKOYIL
Rajagopalasvamin temple

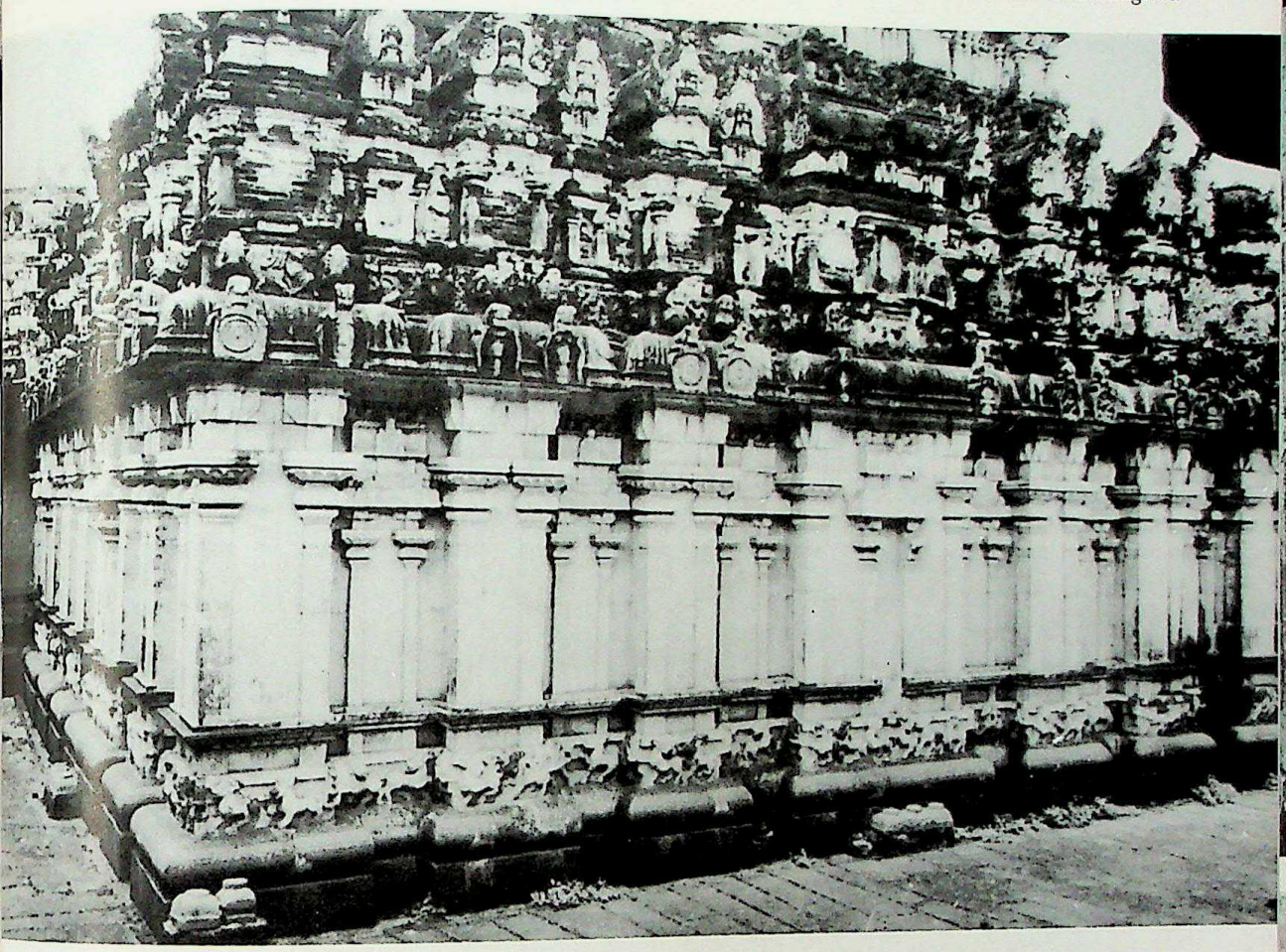
Pl 325 Srivimana, west view



MANNARKOYIL
Rajagopalasvamin temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

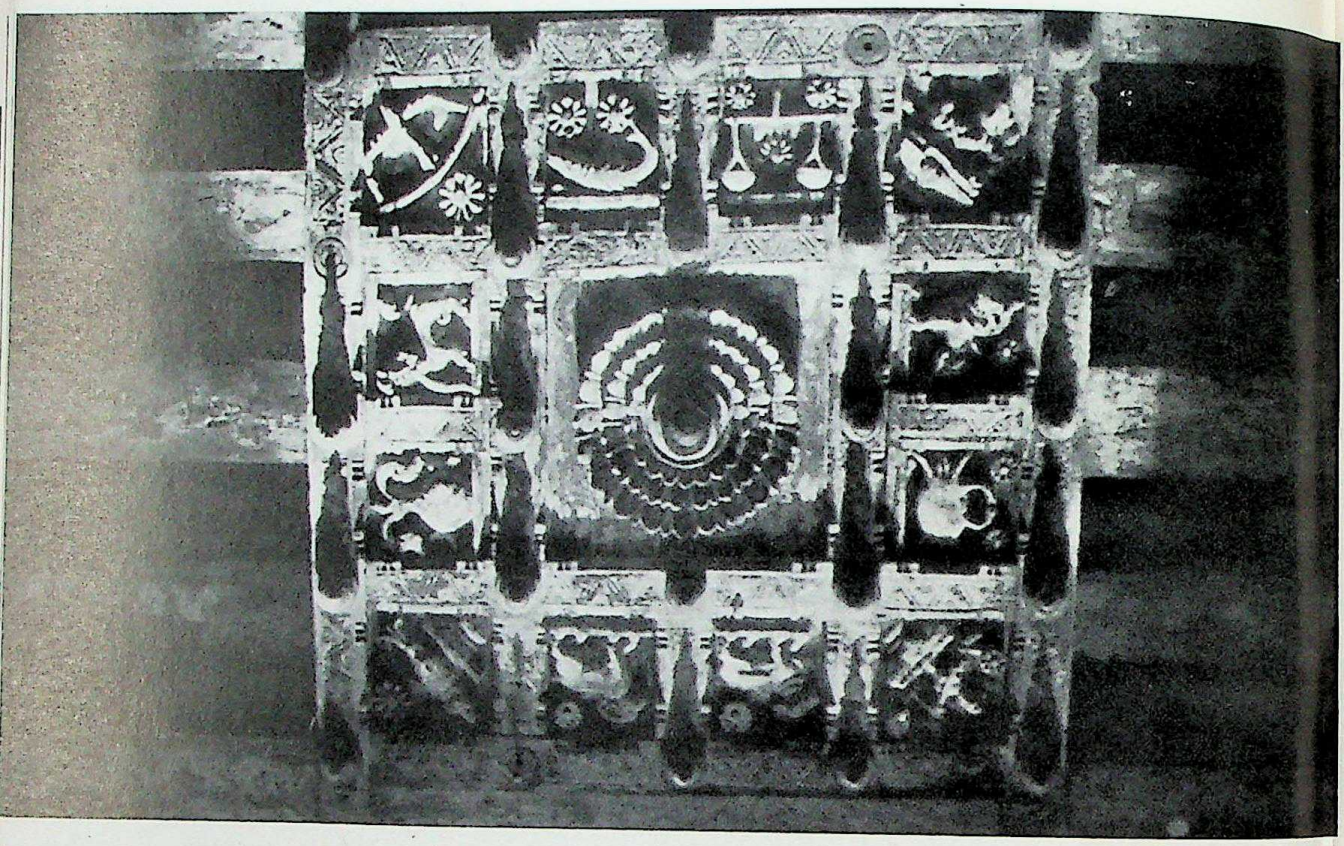
Pl 326 Garbhagriha

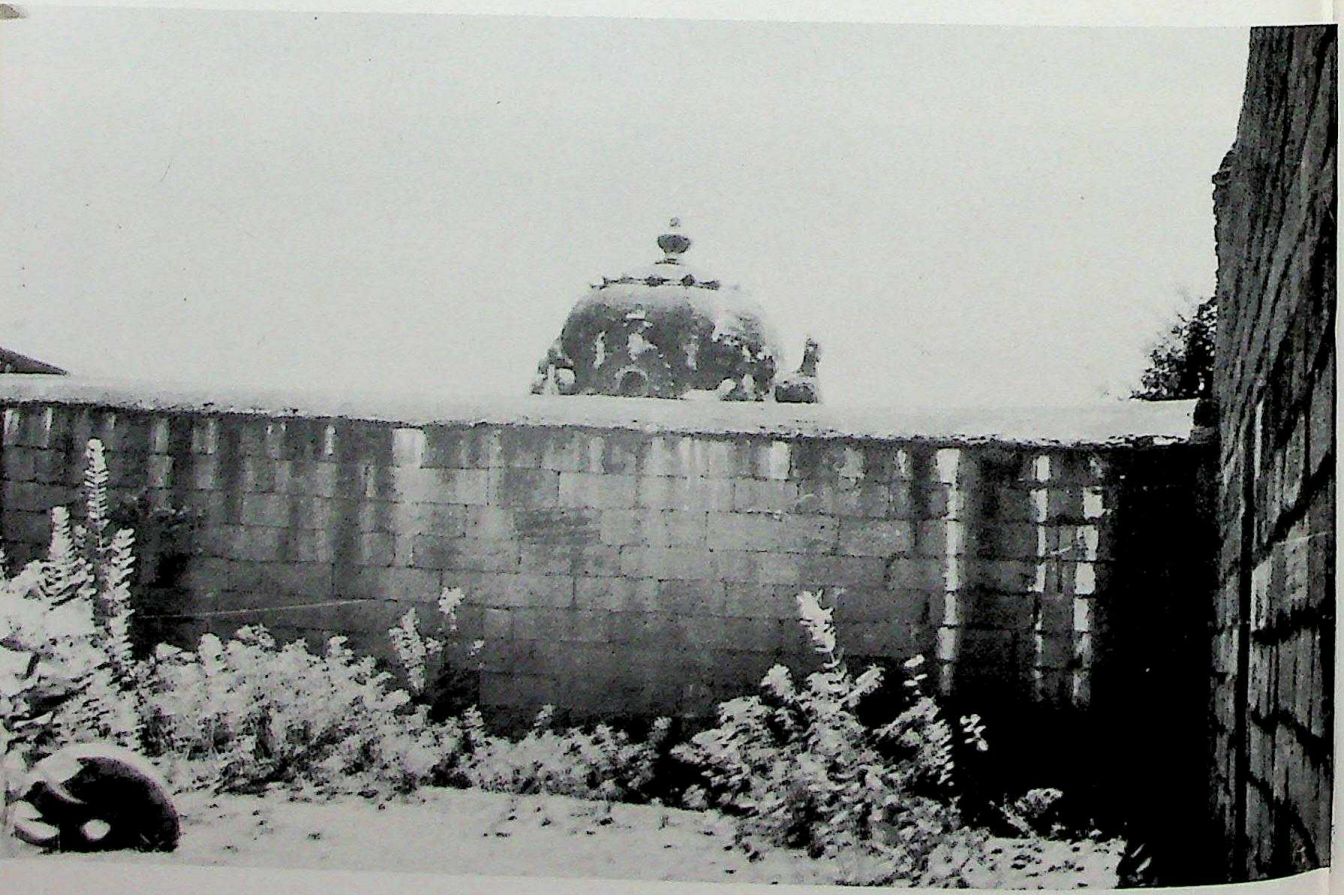


Pl 327 Garbhagriha adhishthanam mouldings

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

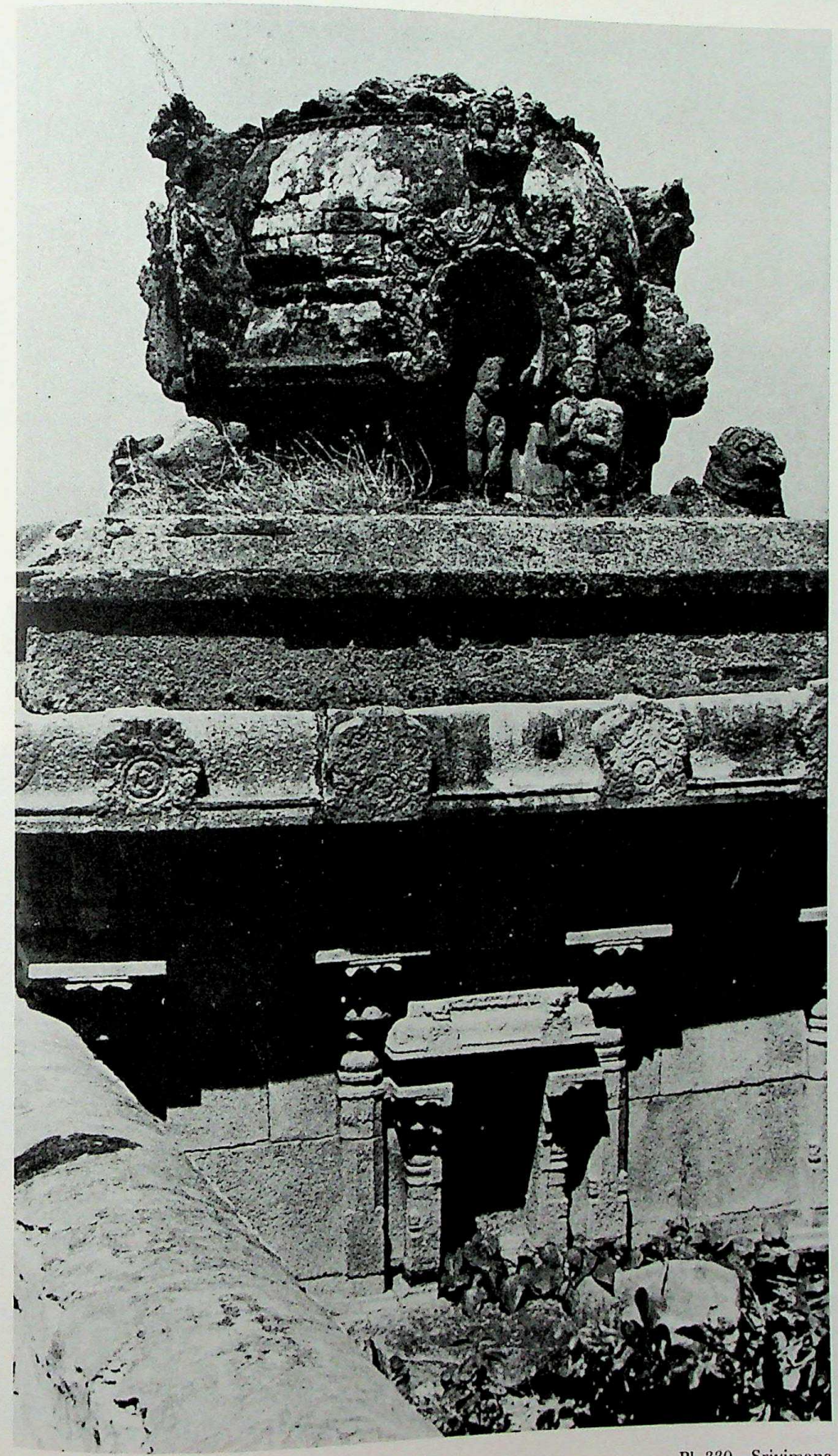
Pl 328 Rasi-Chakram, wood-carving





Pl 329 Kulasekhara Alvar shrine

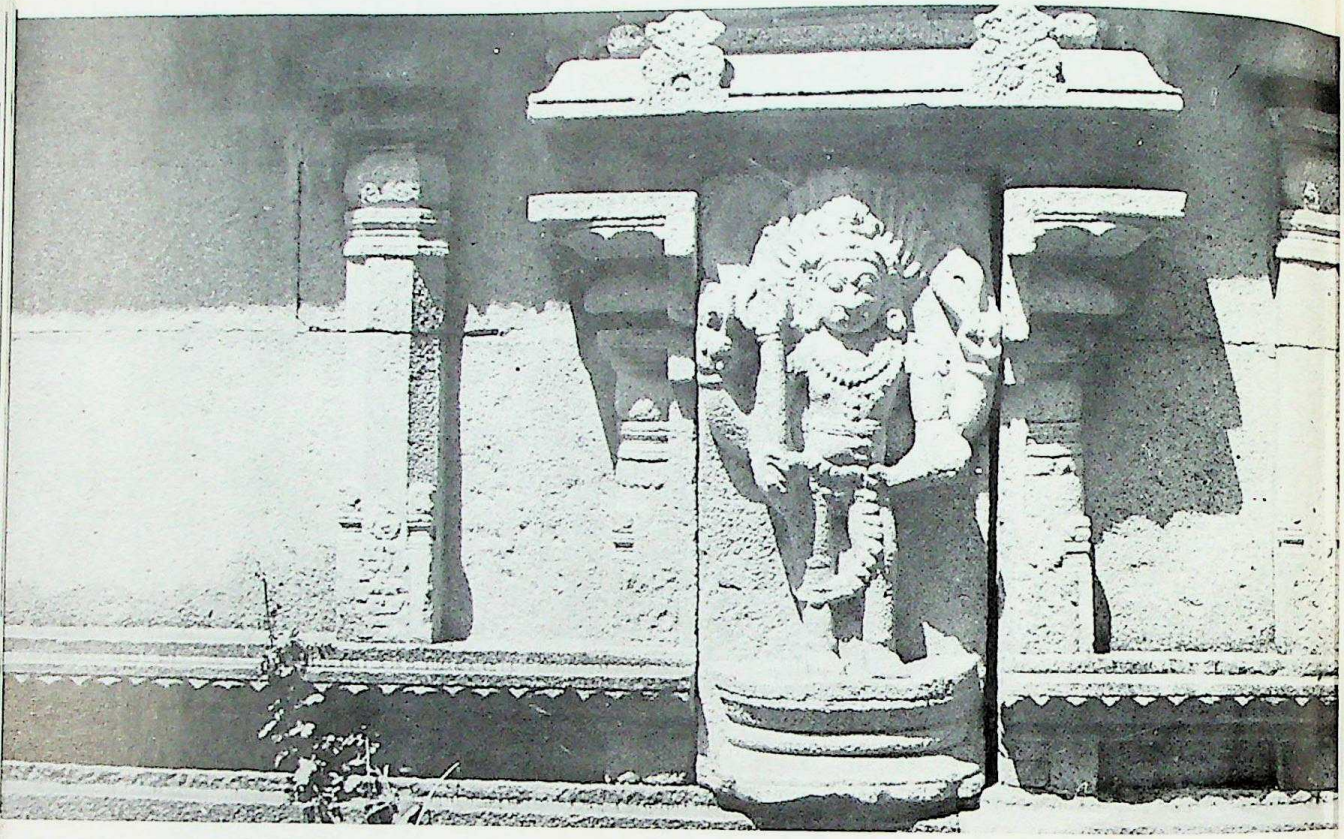
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

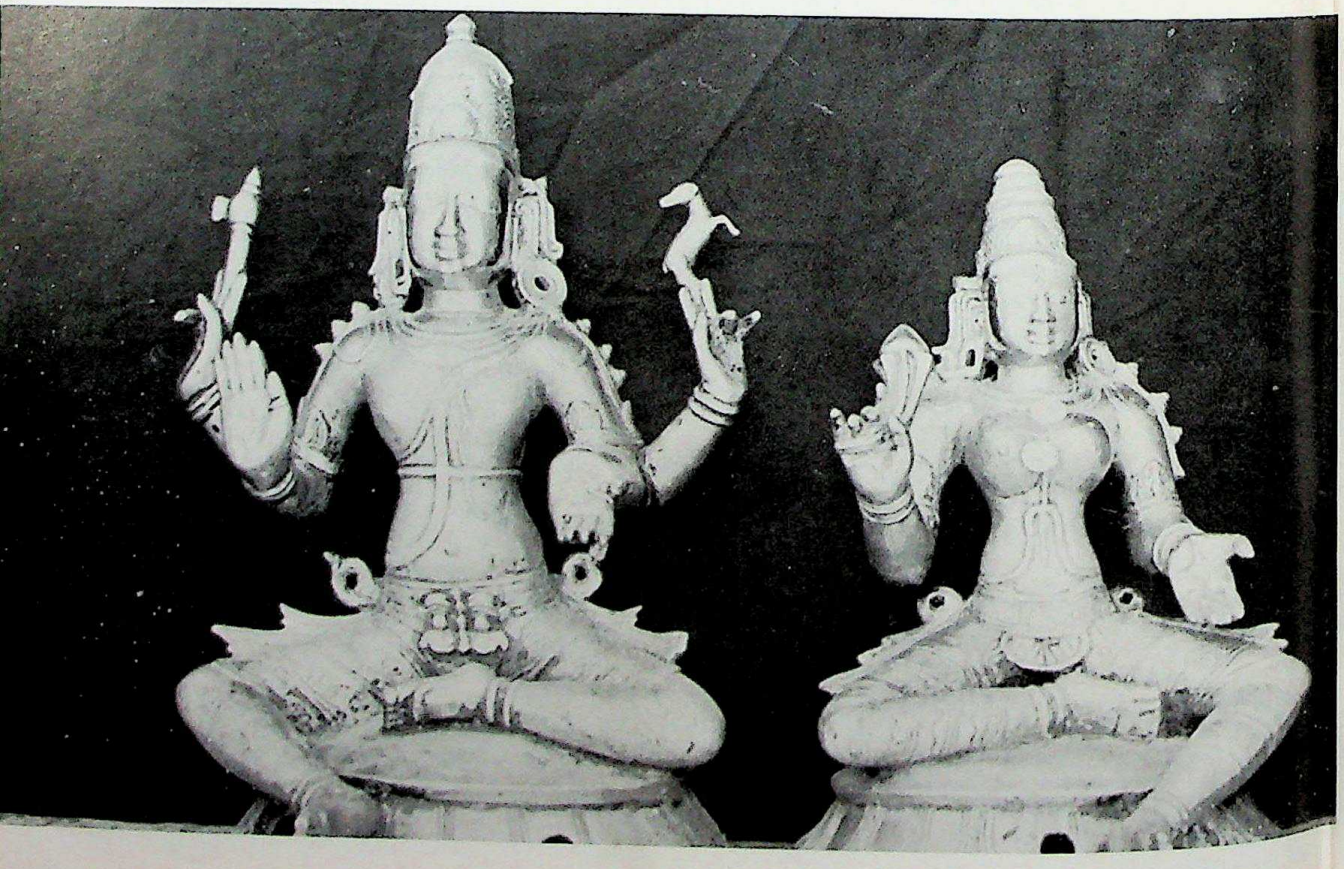


Pl 330 Srivimana

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

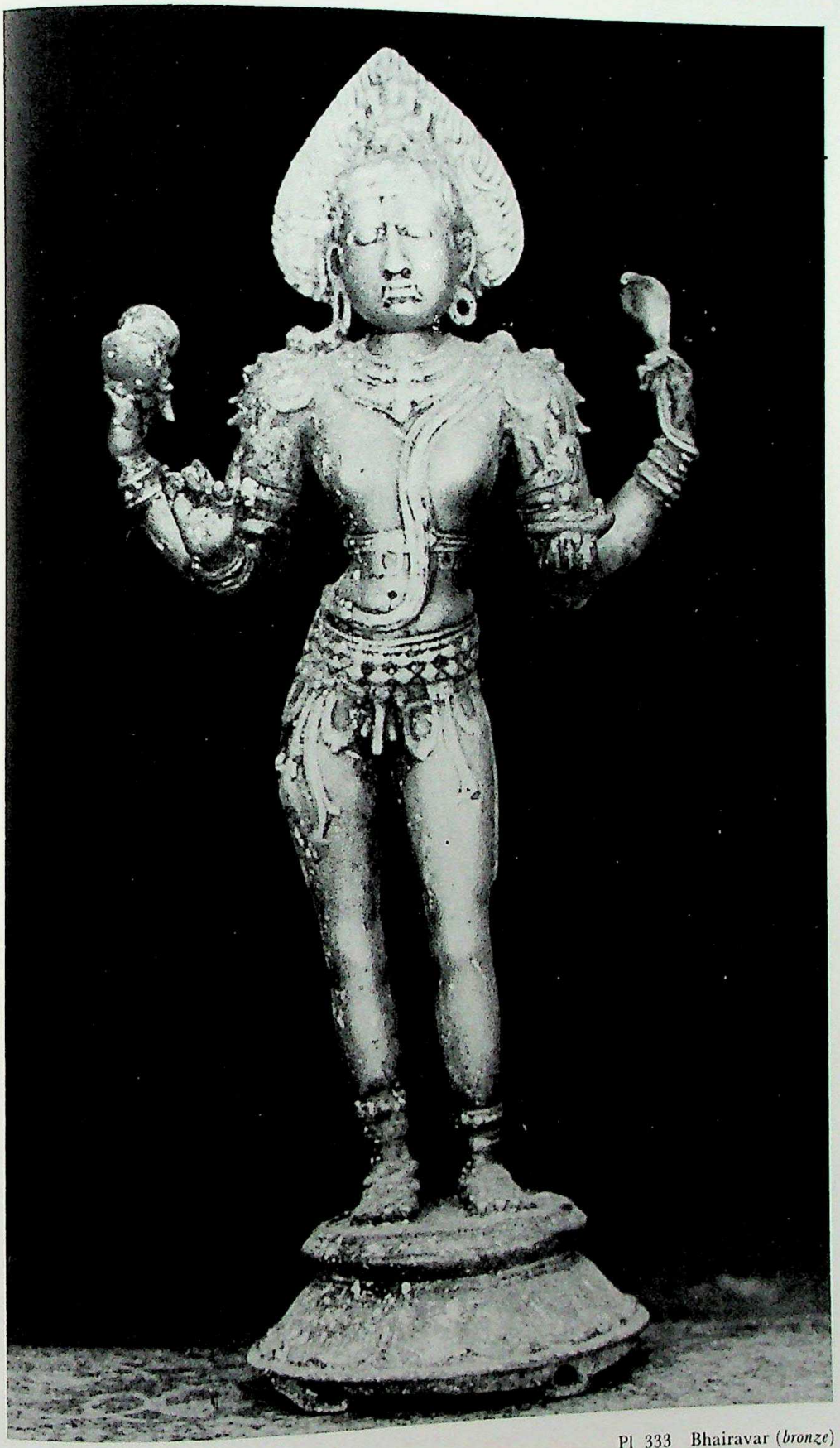
Pl 331 Garbhagriha wall, with Bhairavar





Pl 332 Somaskandar (*bronze*)

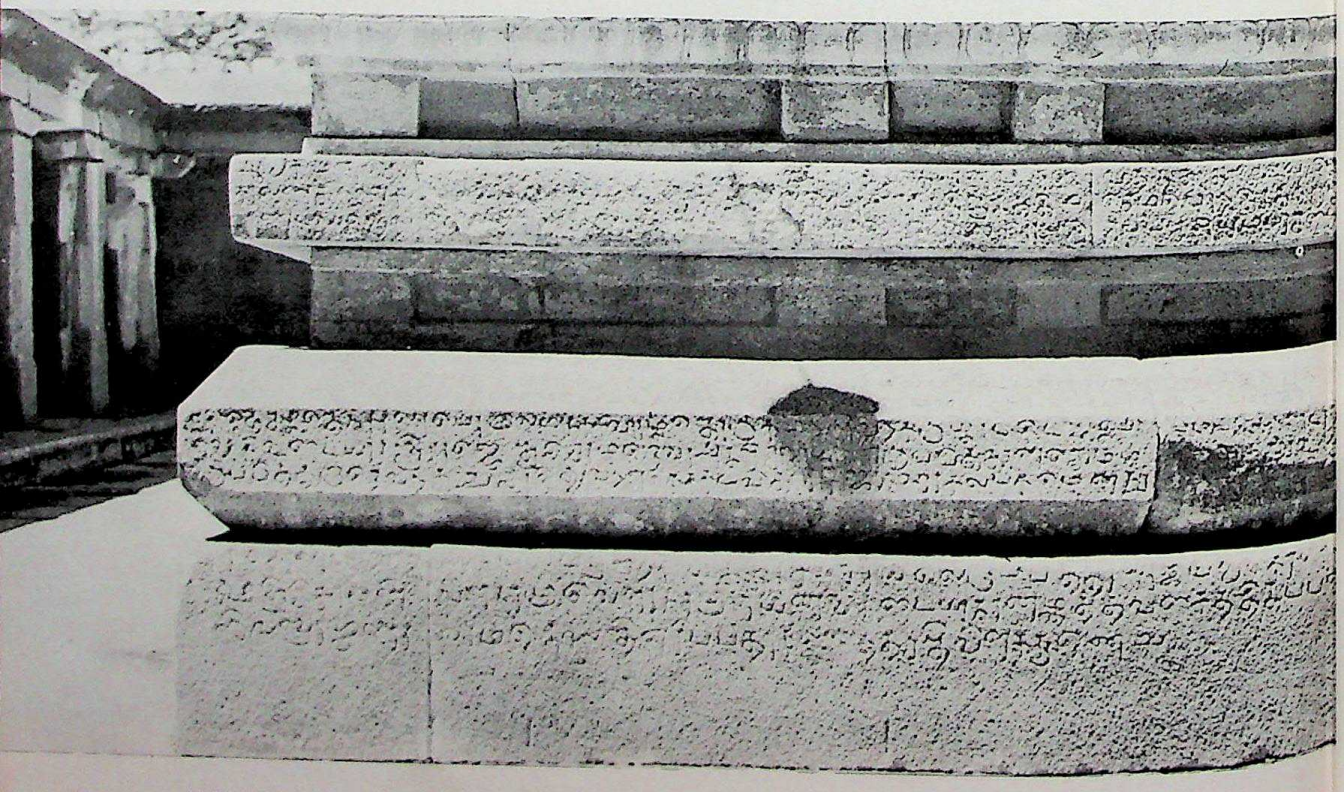
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 333 Bhairavar (*bronze*)

Pl 334 Garbhagriha (*west face*) with Rajendra's shrine (*extreme right*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

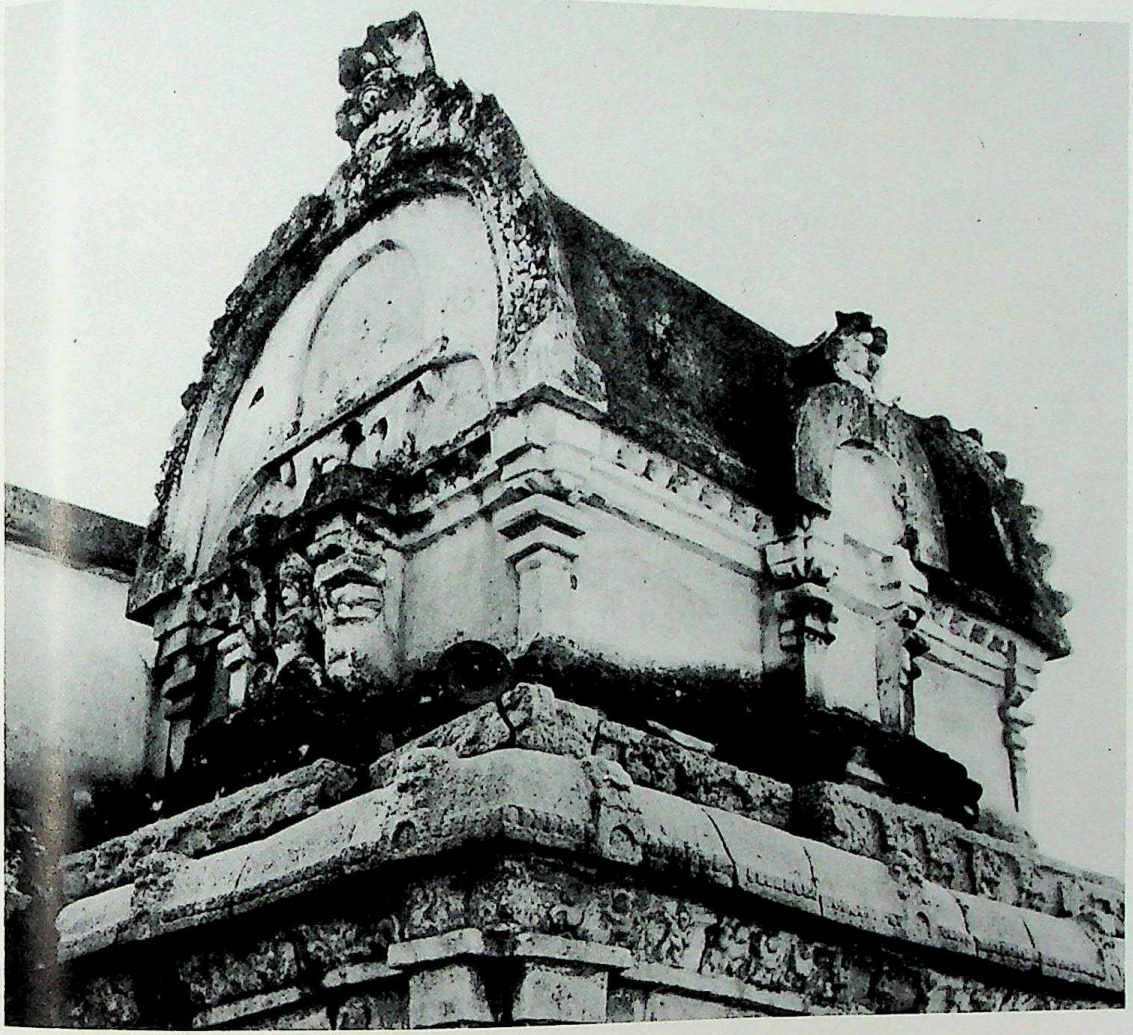


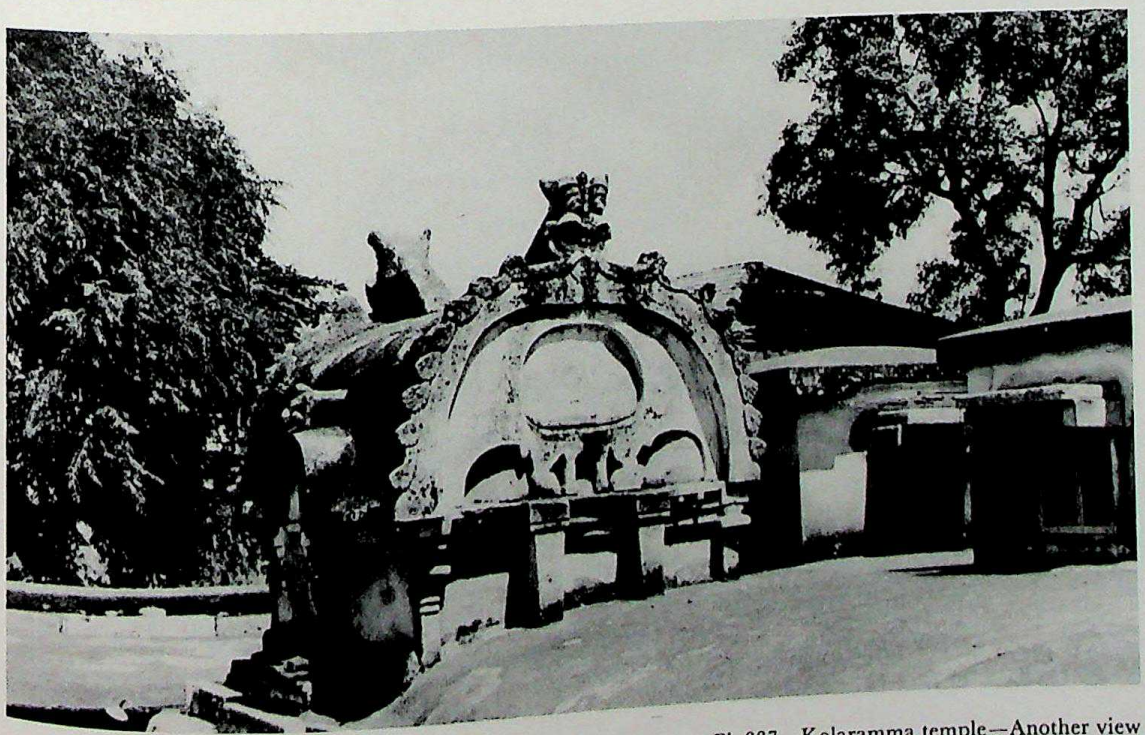
KOLAR
Kolaramma temple

Pl 335 Rajendra's shrine, adhishthanam mouldings, with Rajendra's inscription.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 336 Central shrine, srivimana superstructure.





Pl 337 Kolaramma temple—Another view

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

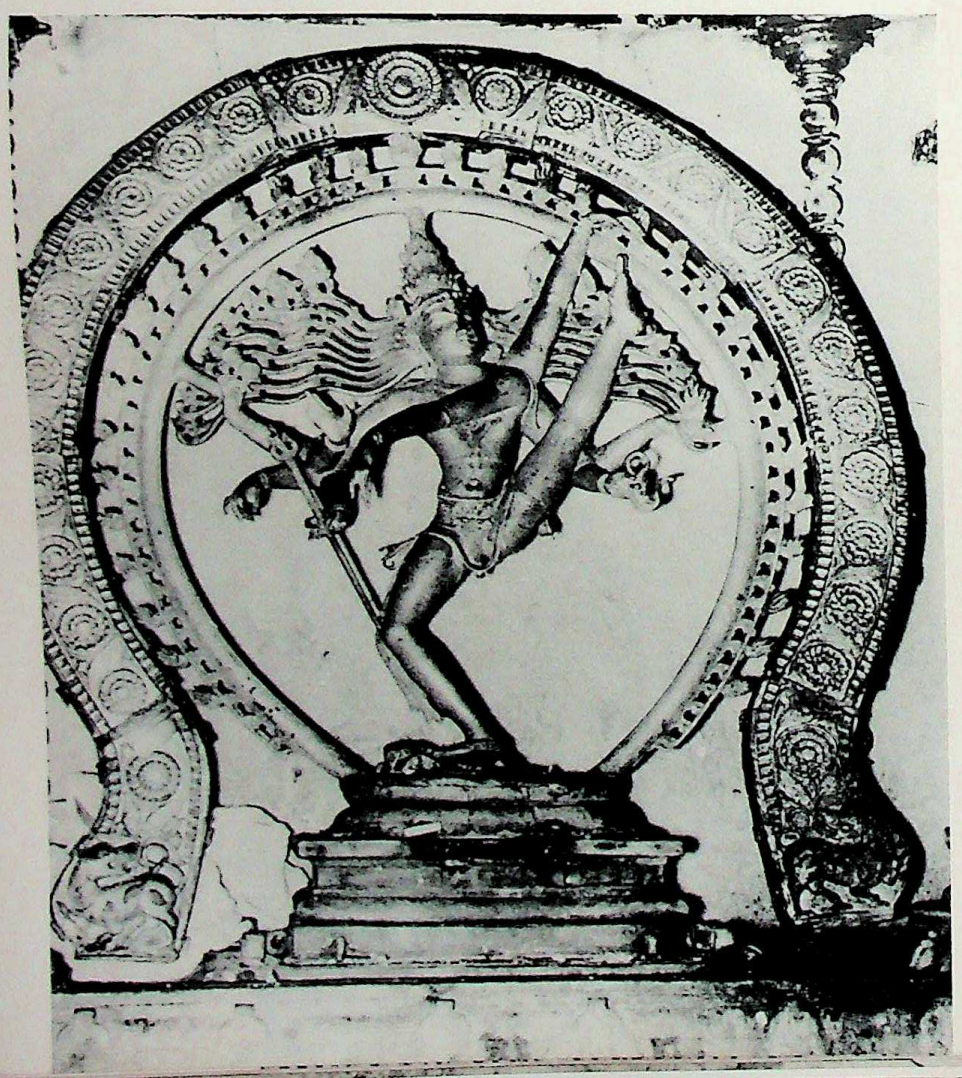
TIRUVALANGADU
Vataranya temple

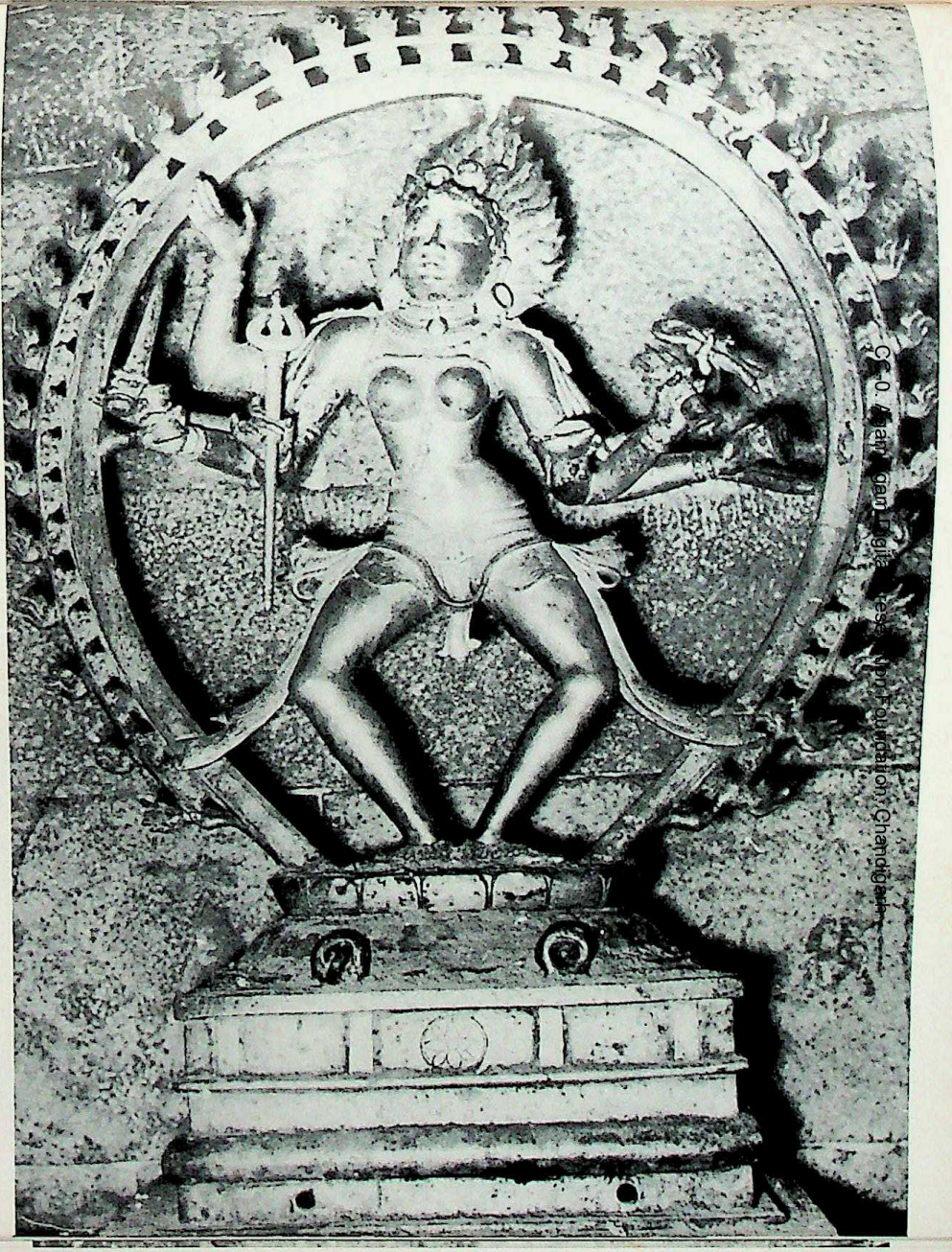
Pl 338 Nataraja (*bronze*)
(Madras Museum)

Pl 340 Kali (*bronze*)

TIRUVALANGADU
Vataranya temple

Pl 339 Urdhvatandavamurti (*bronze*)

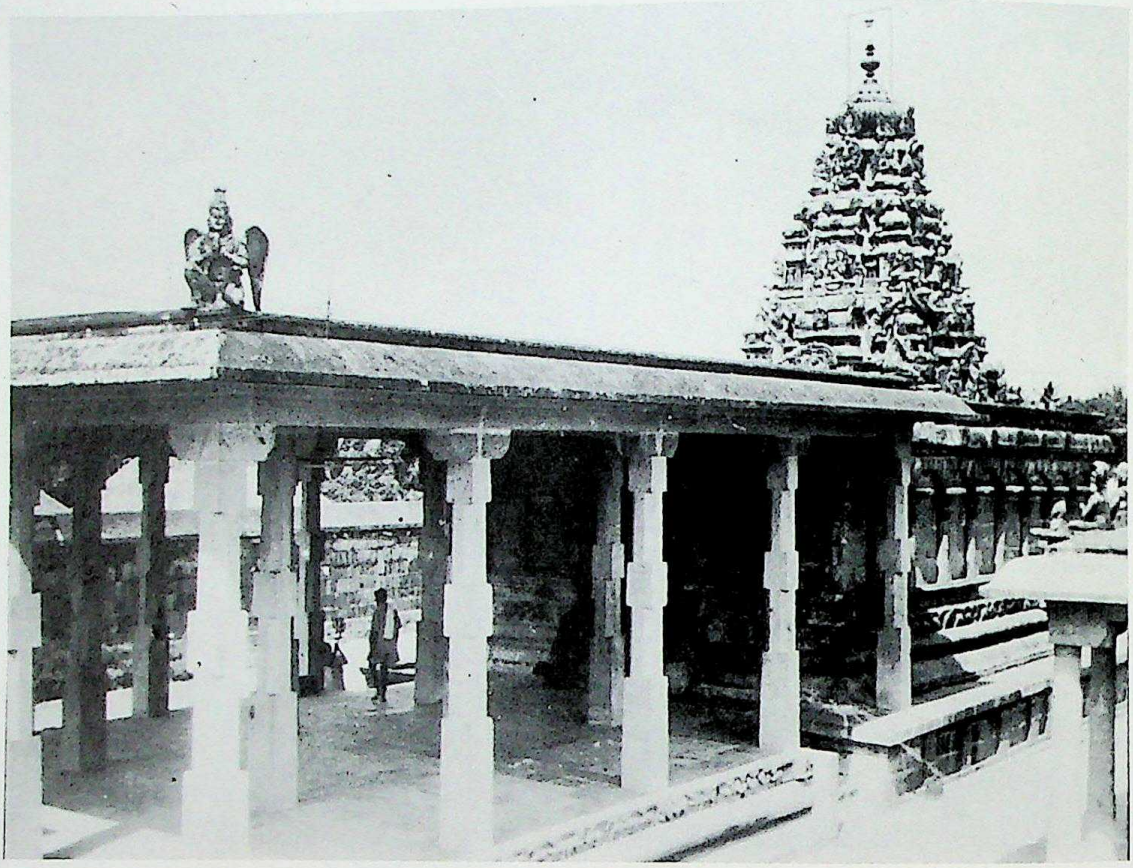


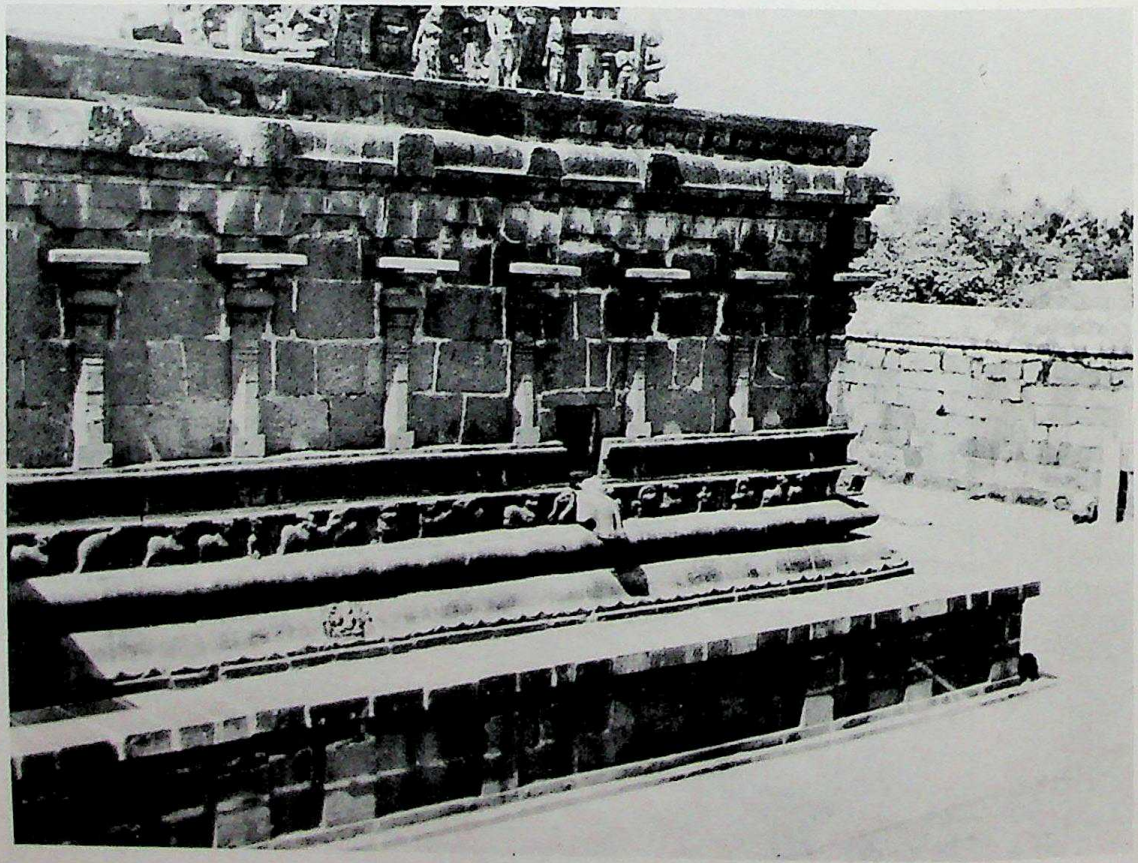


CC-0. Kamakoti Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Research Foundation, Chandigarh.

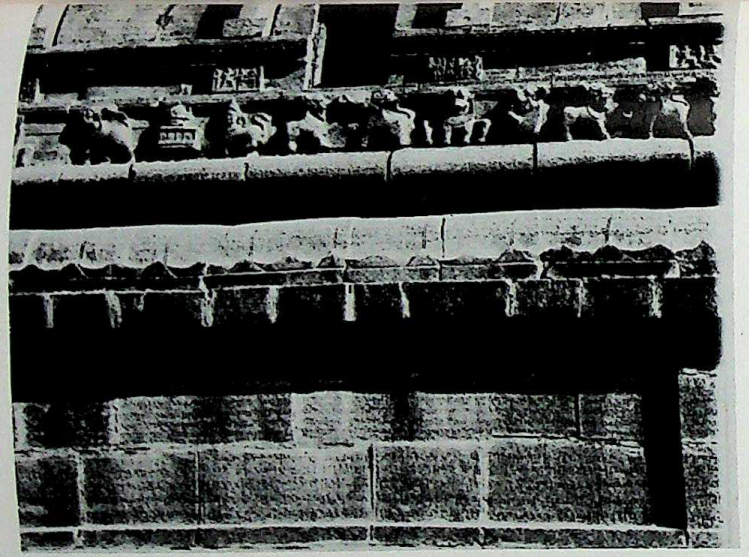
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 341 Varadaraja Perumal temple—General view

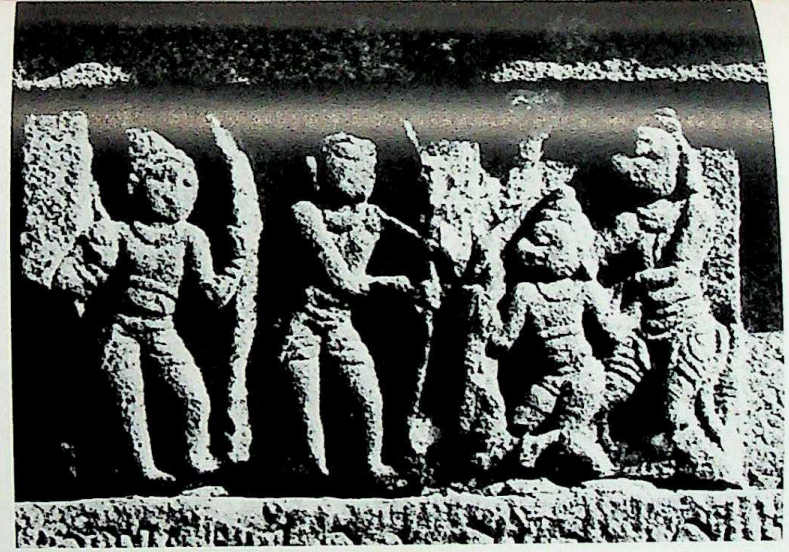




Pl 342 Garbhagriha



Pl 343 Upapitham and adhishthanam

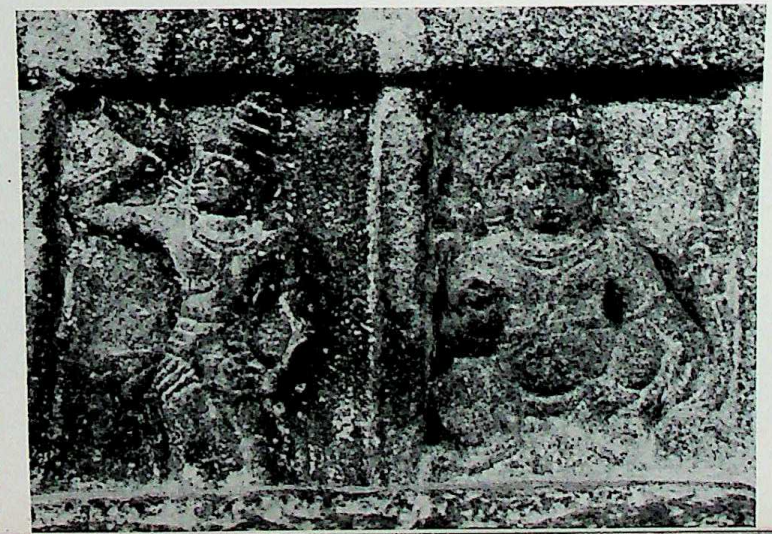


Pl 345 Miniature panel in adhishthanam

TRIBHUVANI
Varadaraja Perumal temple

Pl 344 Miniature panel in adhishthanam

Pl 346 Miniature panel in adhishthanam



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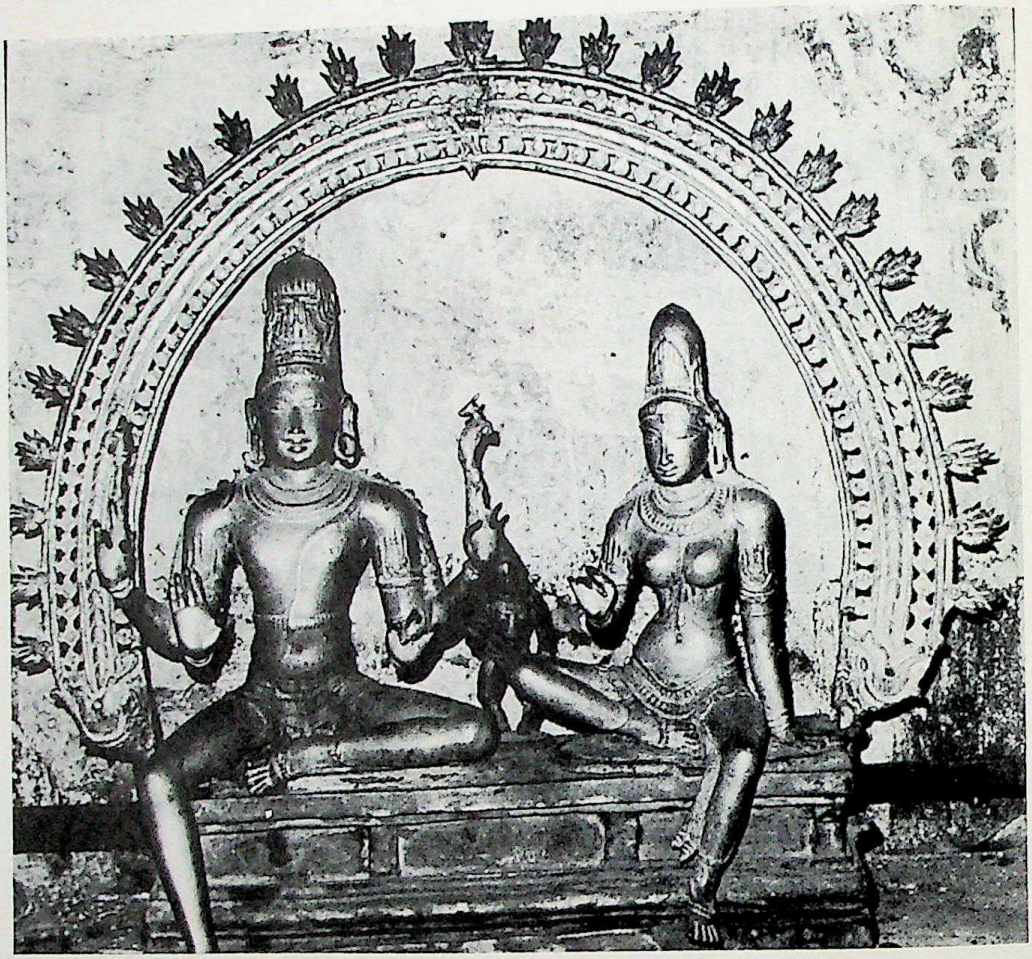
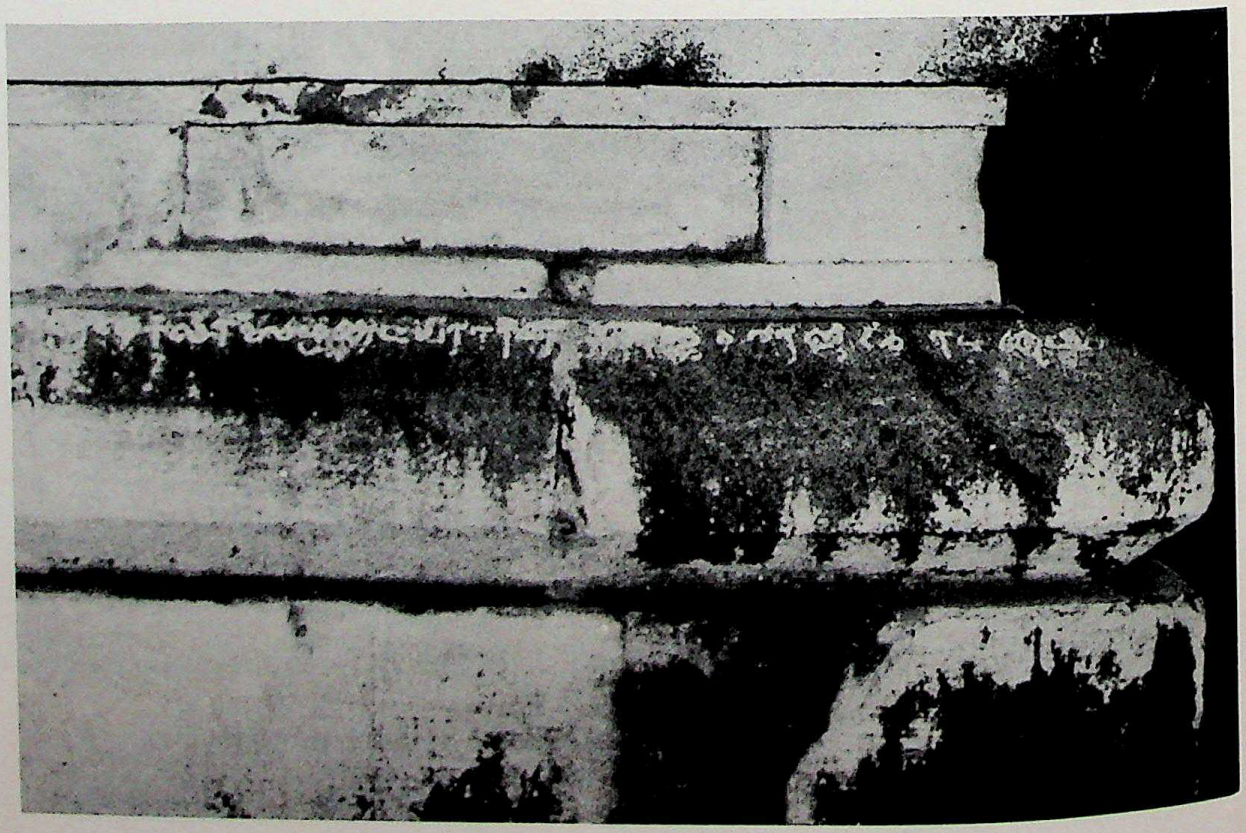
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MANNARGUDI
Kailasanathar temple

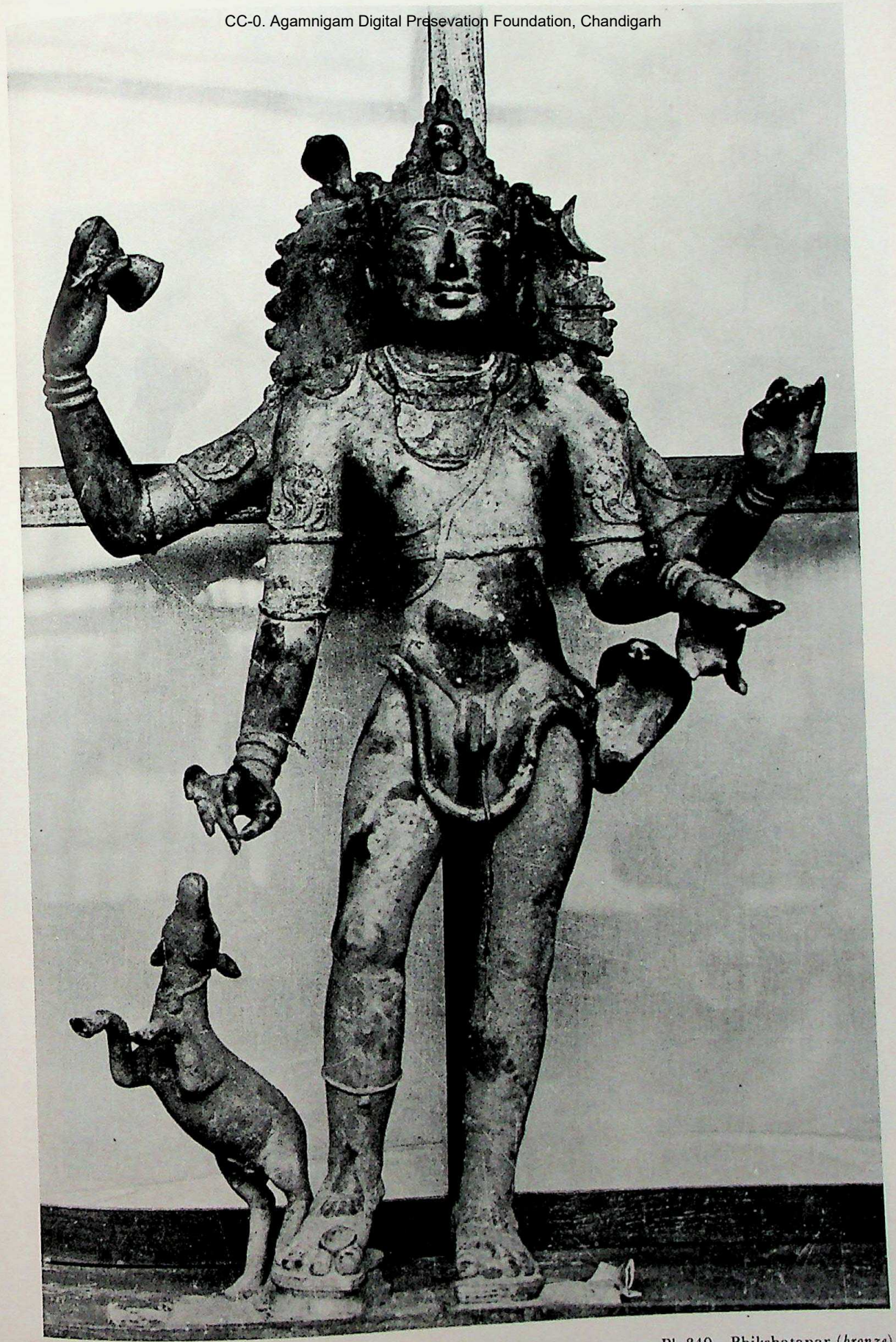
Pl 347 Somaskandar (*bronze*)





Pl 348 Adhishthanam of Gopuram
(Rajadhiraja I's inscription)

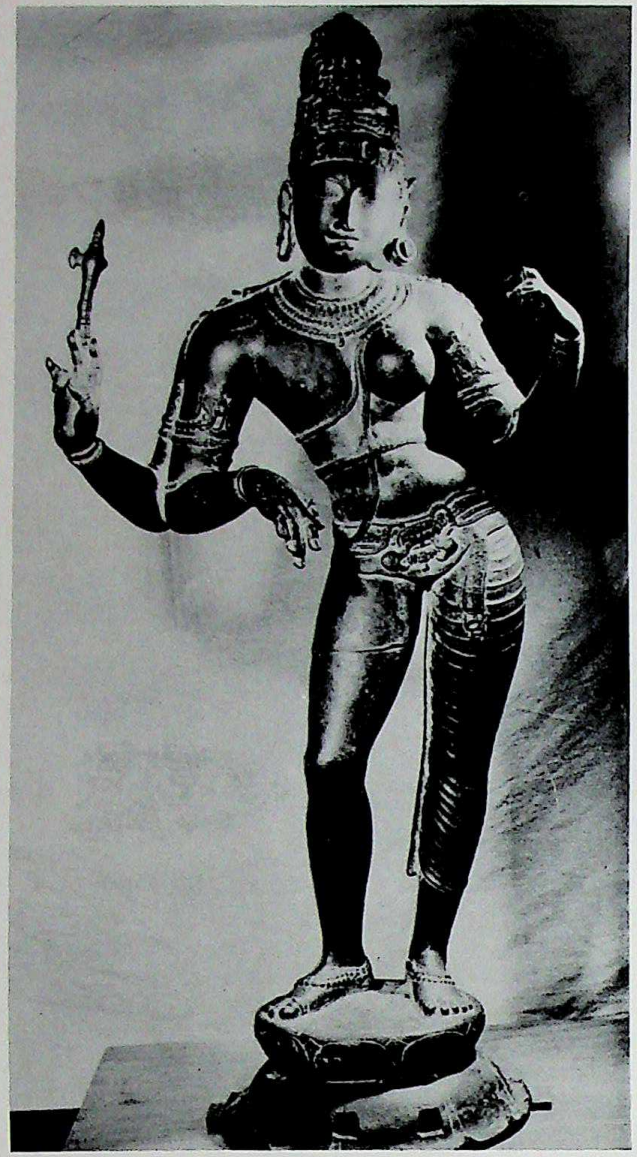
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



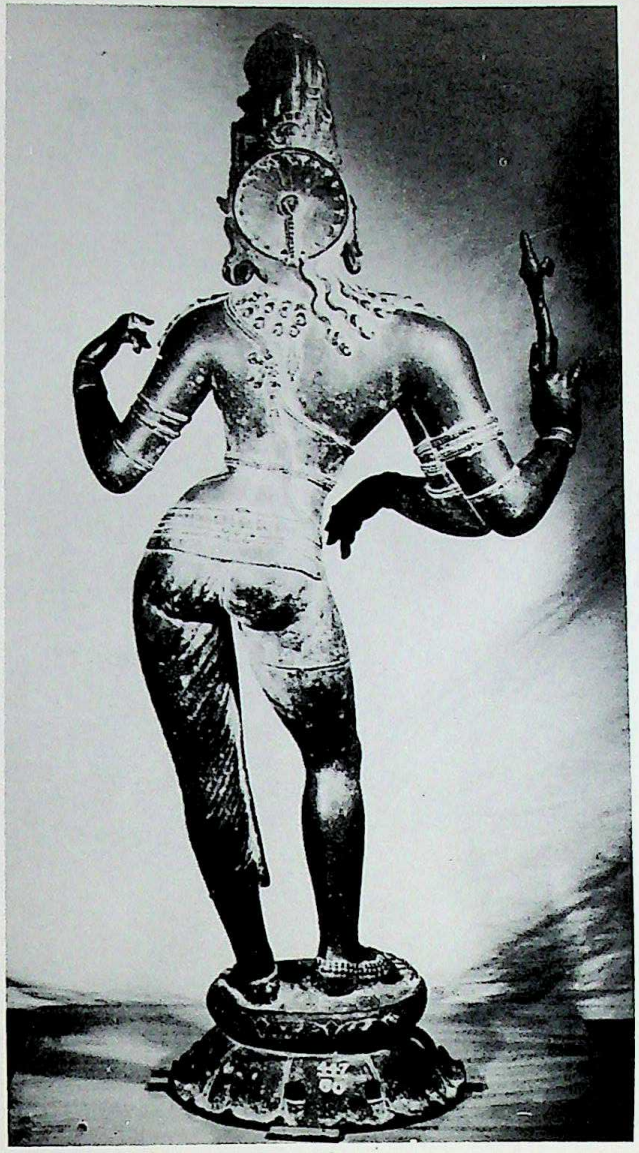
Pl 349 Bhikshatanar (*bronze*)

TIRUVENGADU
Tanjavur Art Gallery

TIRUVENGADU
(Madras Museum)



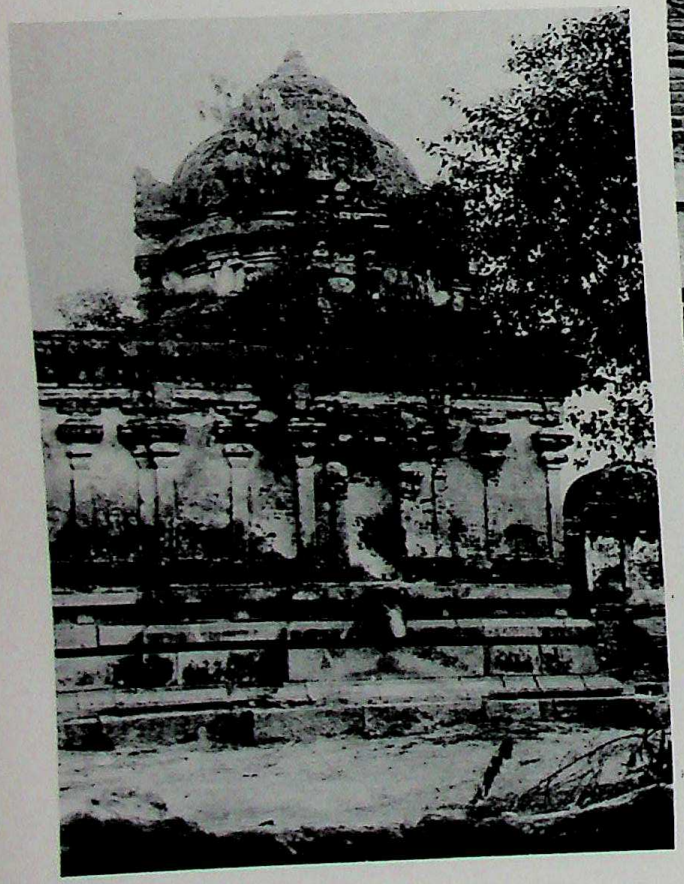
Pl 350 Ardhanarisvarar
(*bronze*) (*front view*)

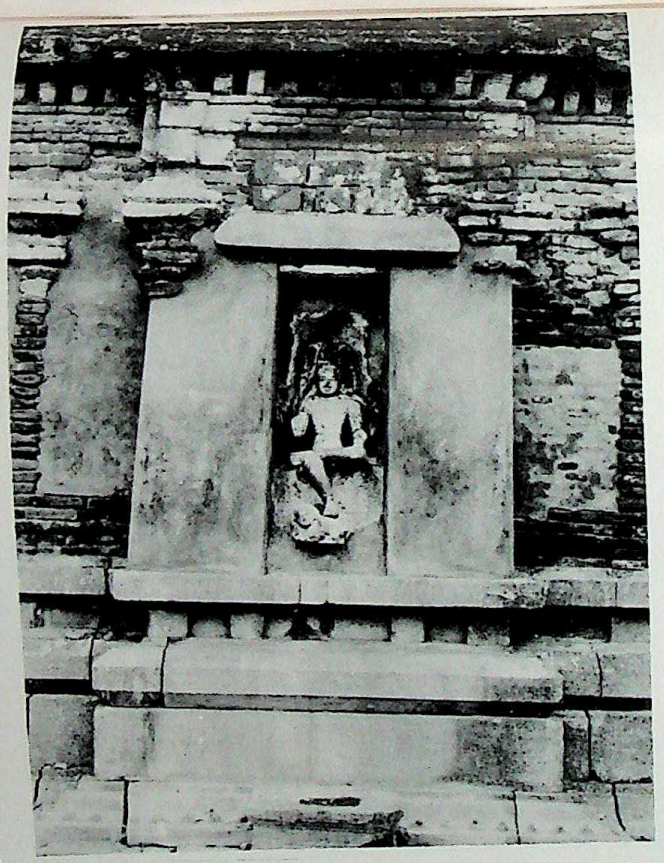


Pl 351 Ardhanarisvarar
(*bronze*) (*rear view*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 352 Srivimana

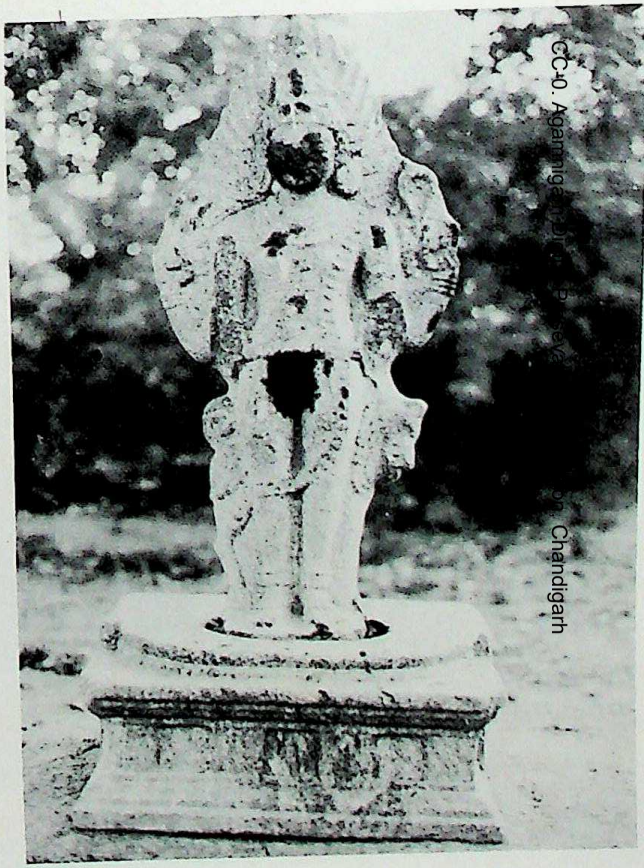




Pl 353 Dakshinamurti

OLAKKUR
Agastyesvarar temple

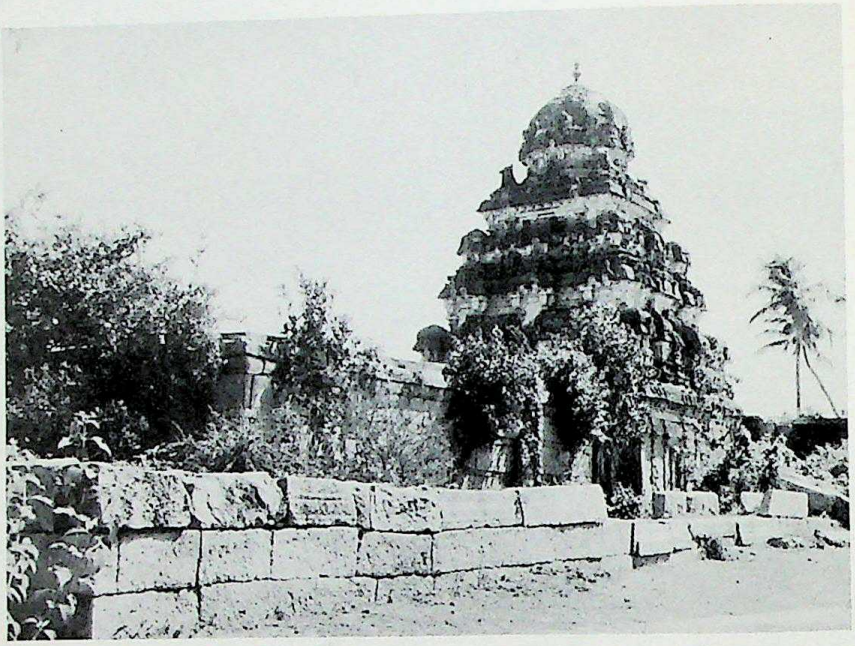
Pl 354 Bhairavar



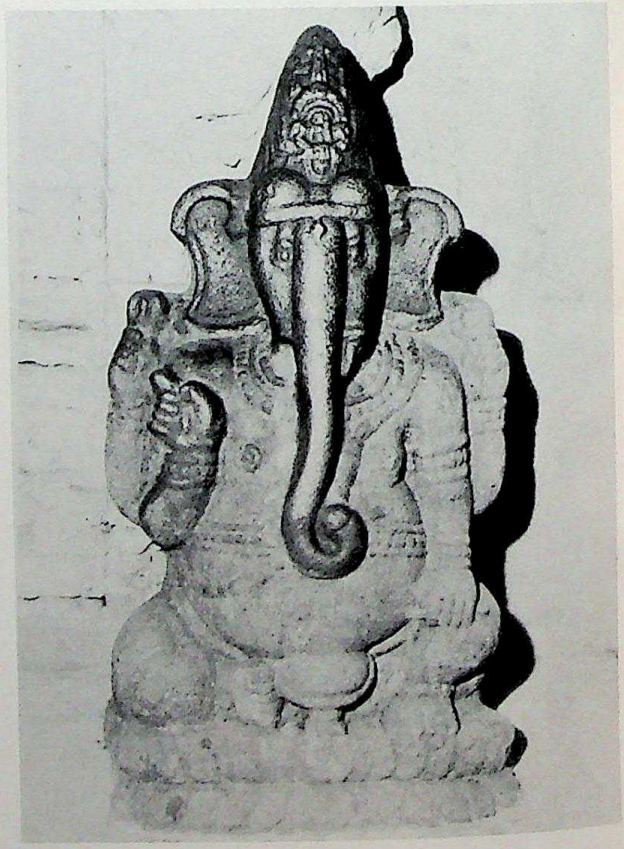
CC-0. Agamnigam Digitization Foundation. Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 355 Vijayalayasolisvaram : General view



Pl 356 Chandesvarar

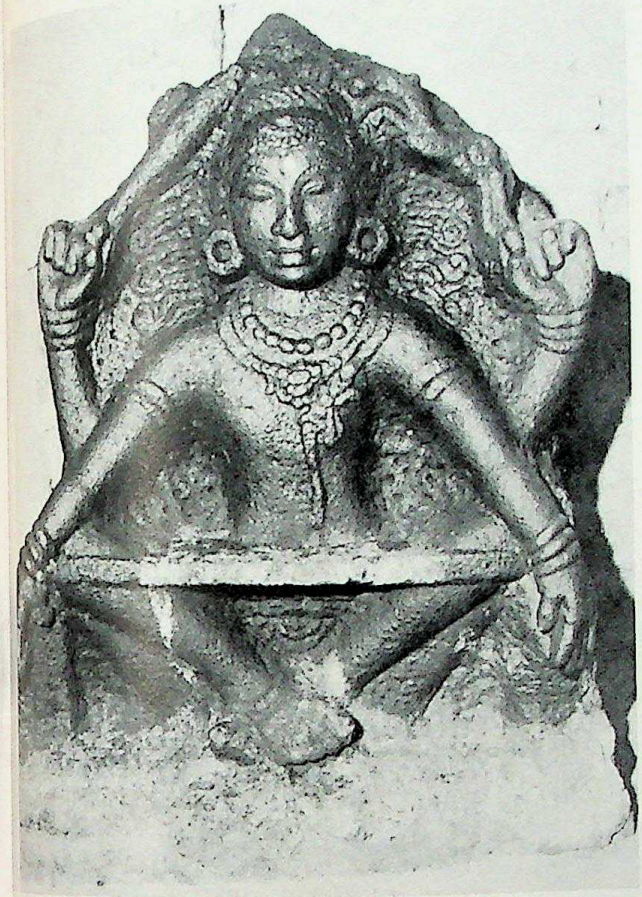


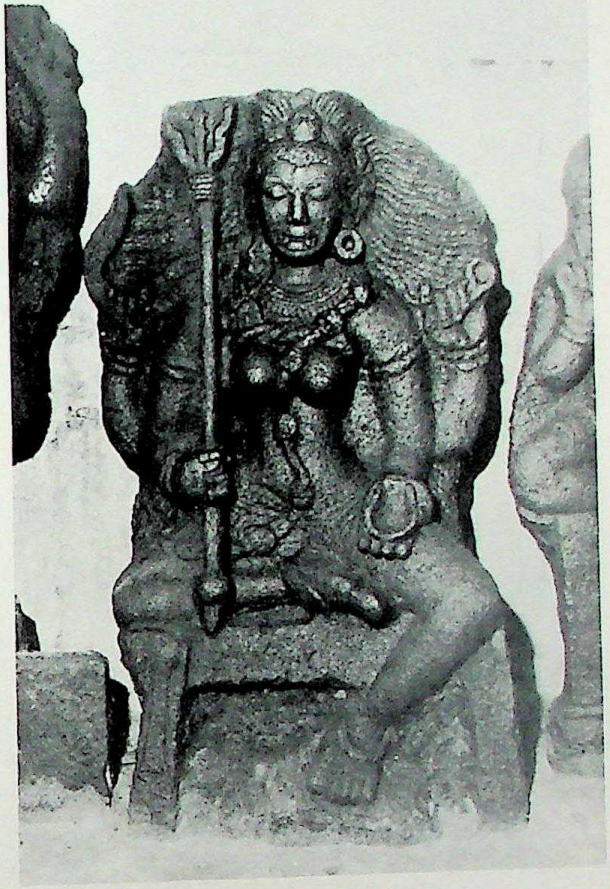
Pl 357 Ganapati

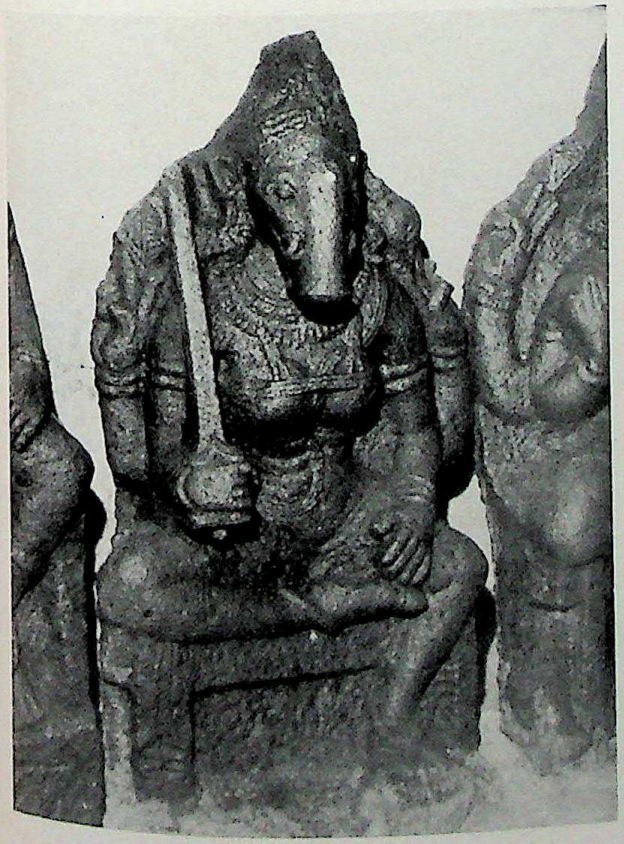
Pl 358 Virabhadrar

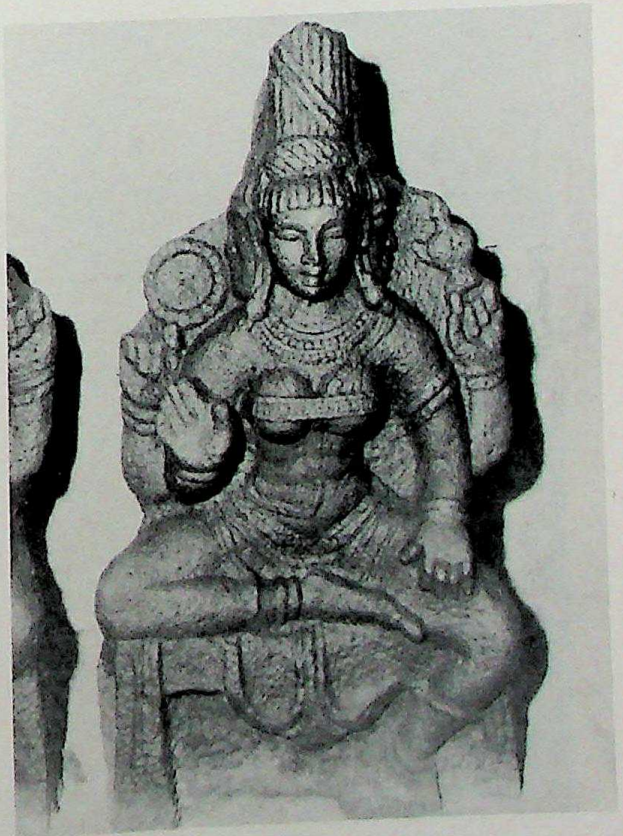
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 359 Chamunda









Pl 360 Varahi

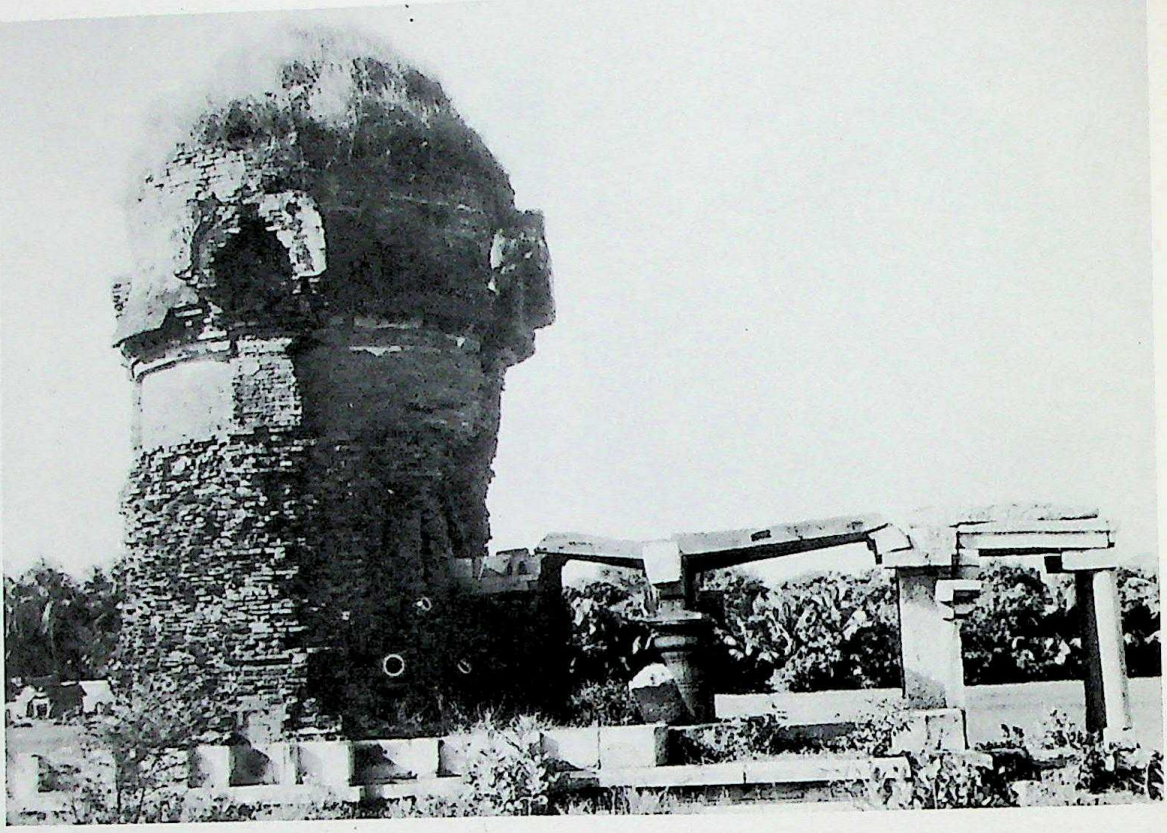
Pl 361 Brahmi

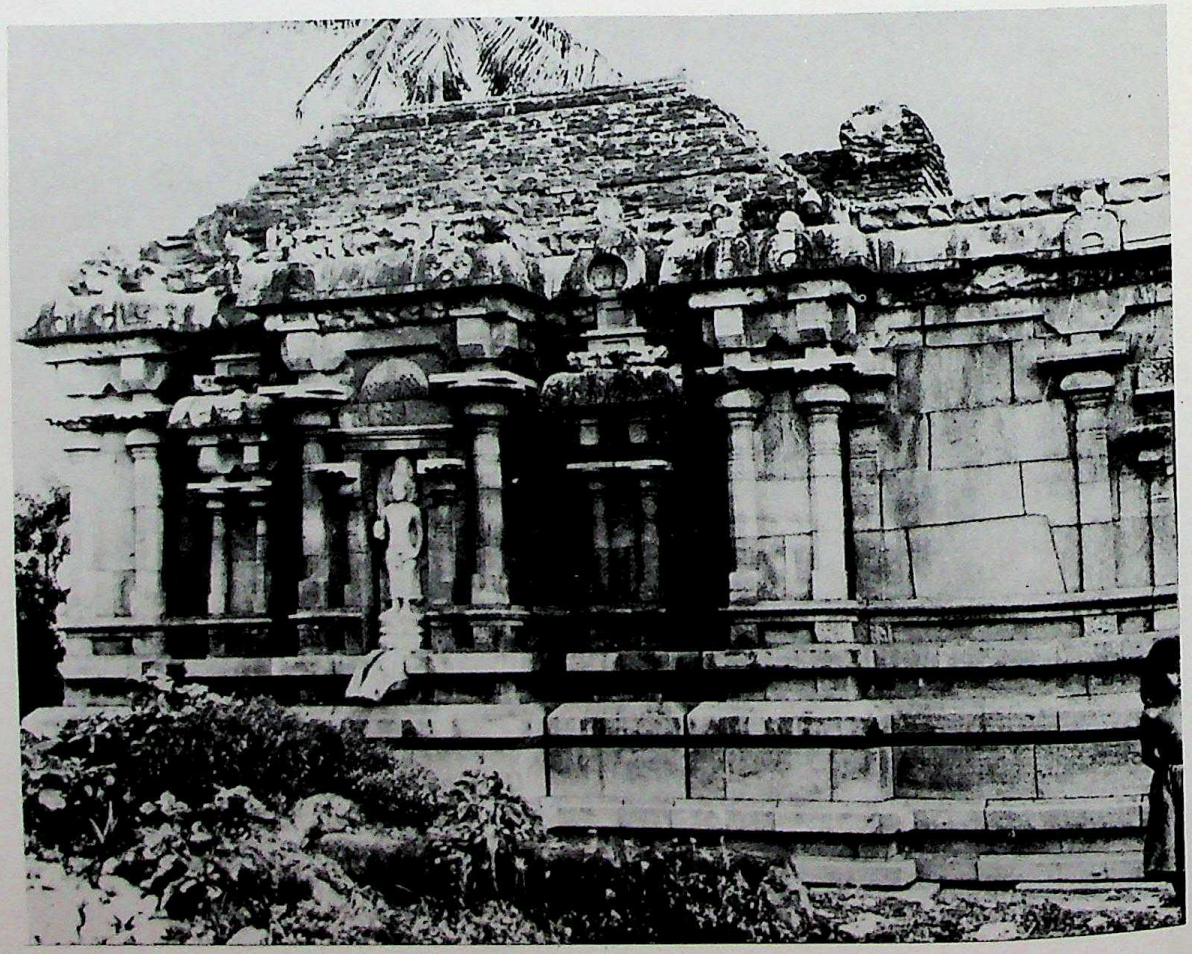
VIKKANAMPUNDI
Vijayalayasolisvaram

Pl 362 Vishnu temple : General view

KOTHAMANGALAM : Rajakesari Vinnagar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



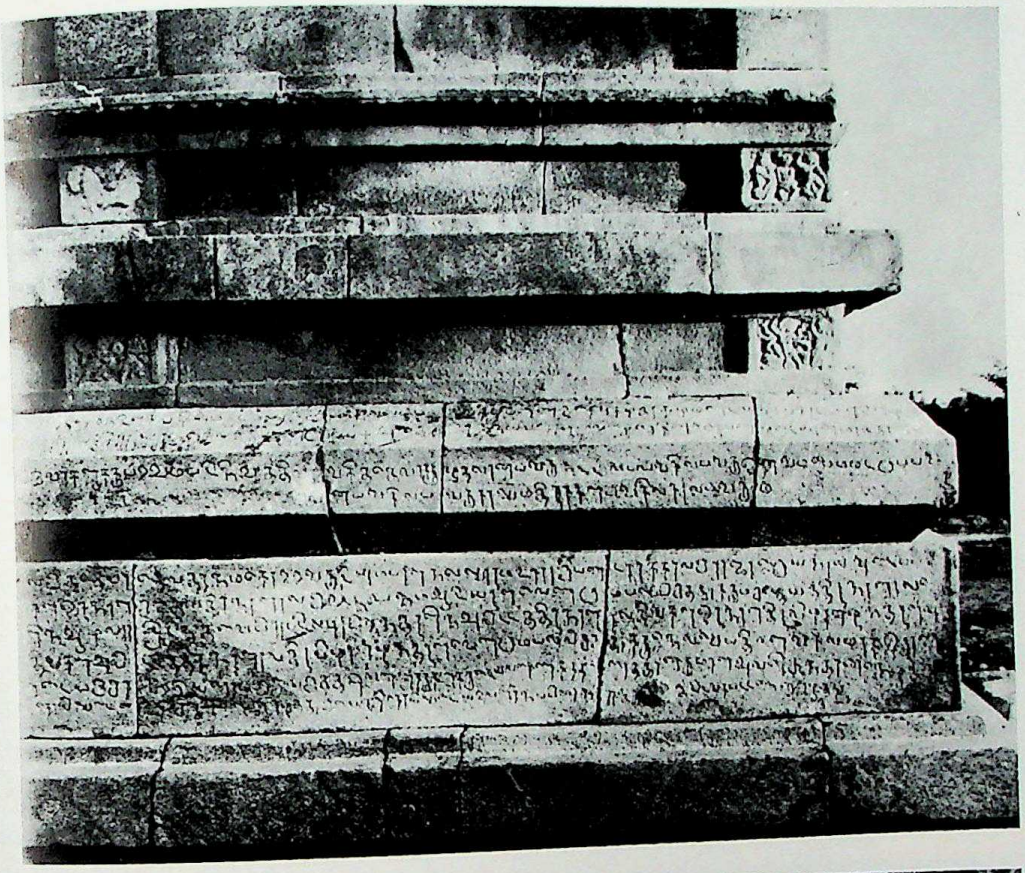


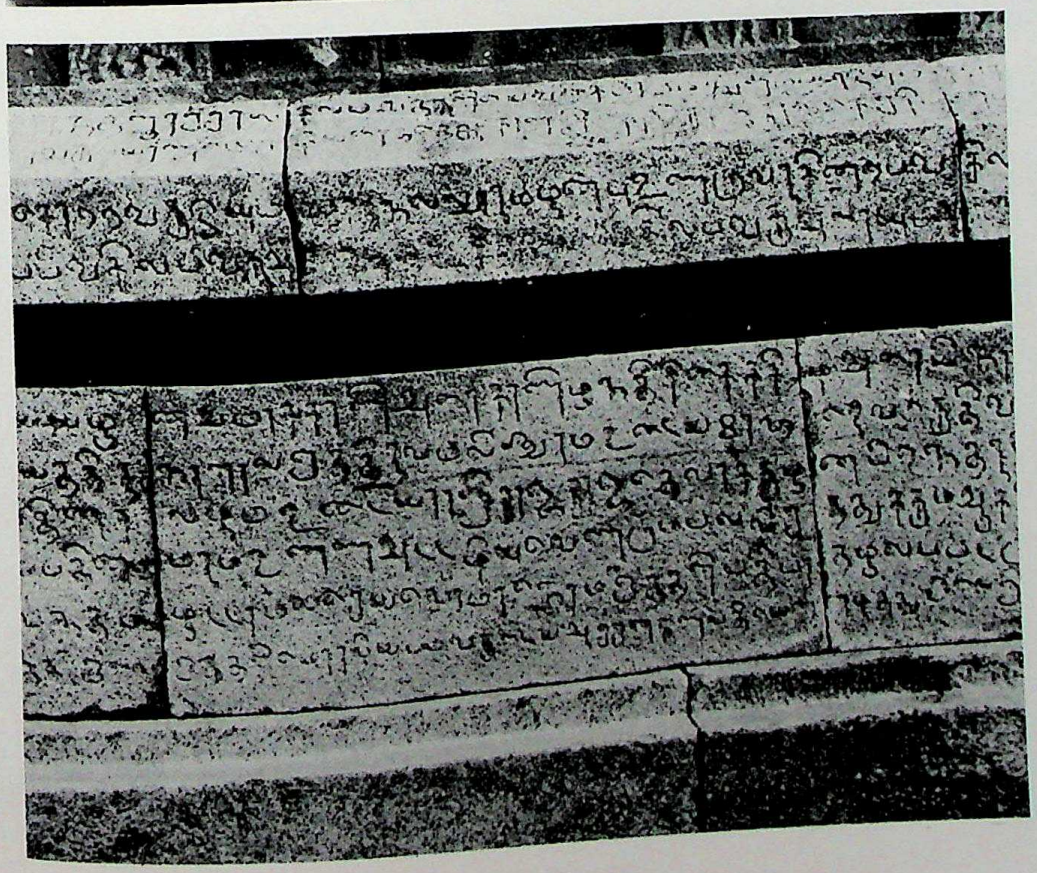
Pl 363 General view

GOPURAPPATTI
Pachchil Amalisvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 364 Adhishthanam mouldings



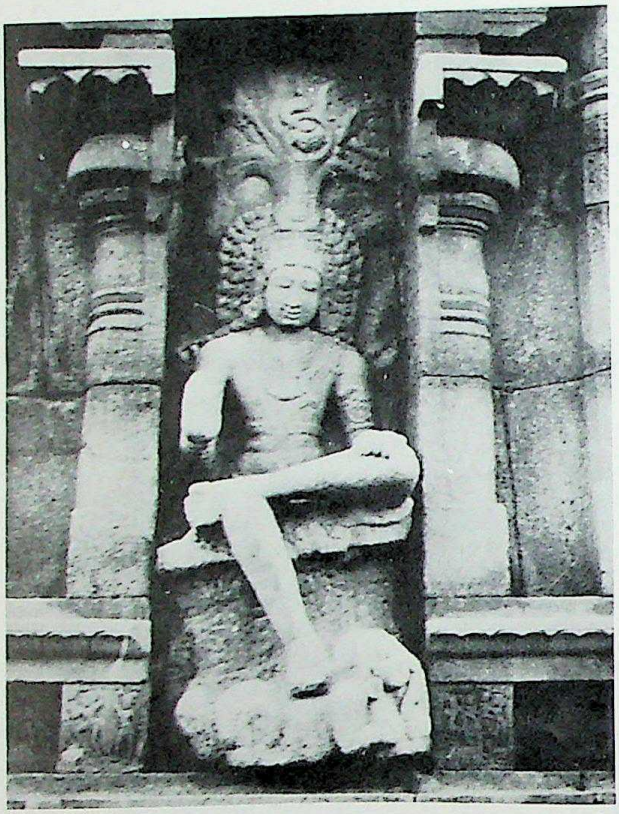


Pl 365 Inscription on the adhishthanam (*Rajaraja I*)

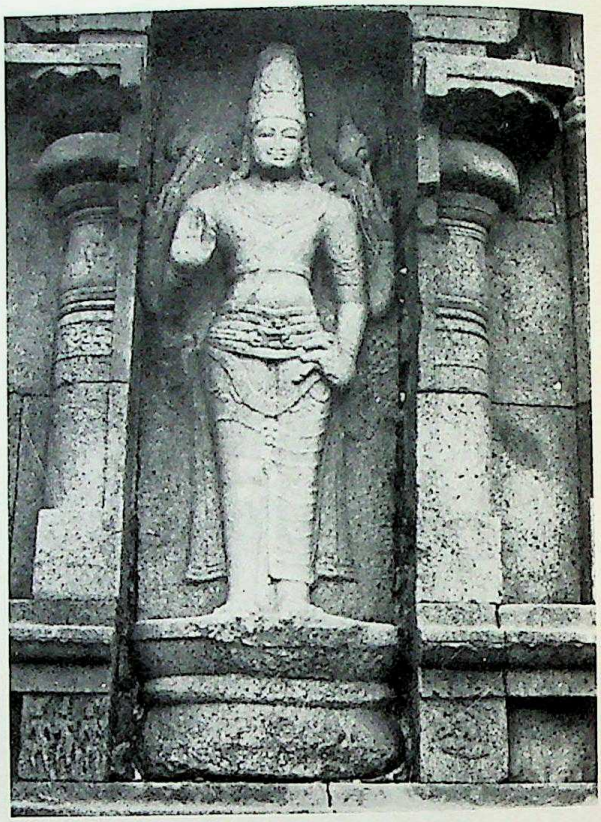
GOPURAPPATTI
Pachchil Amalisvaram

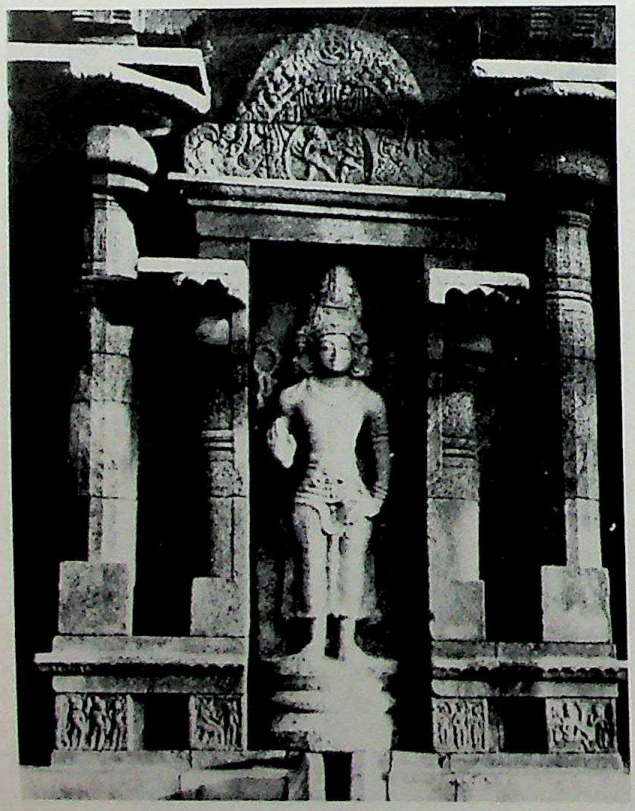
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 366 Dakshinamurti

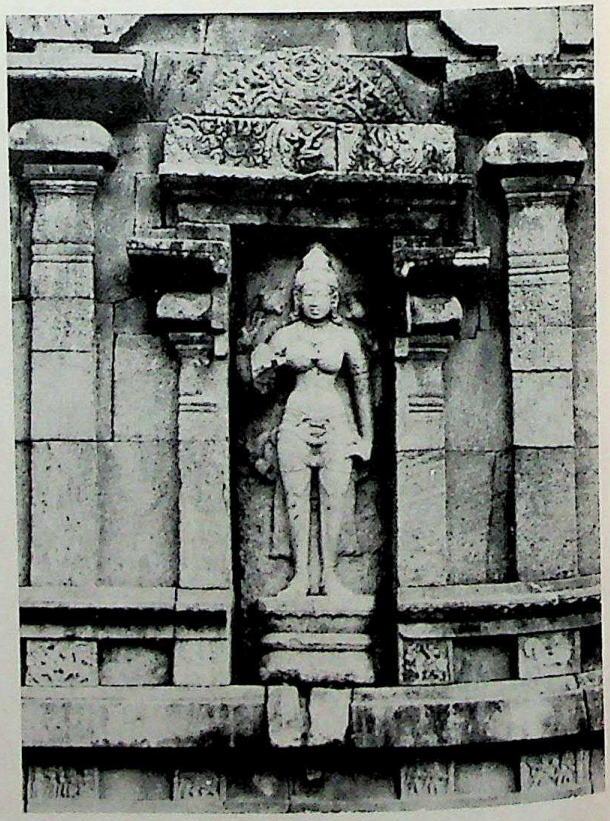


Pl 367 Hariharar



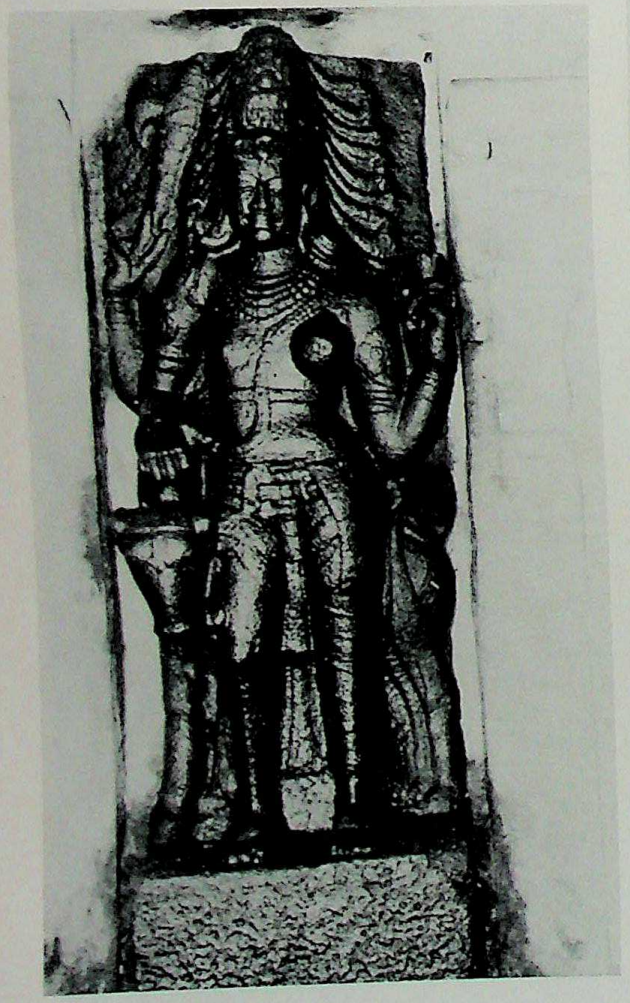


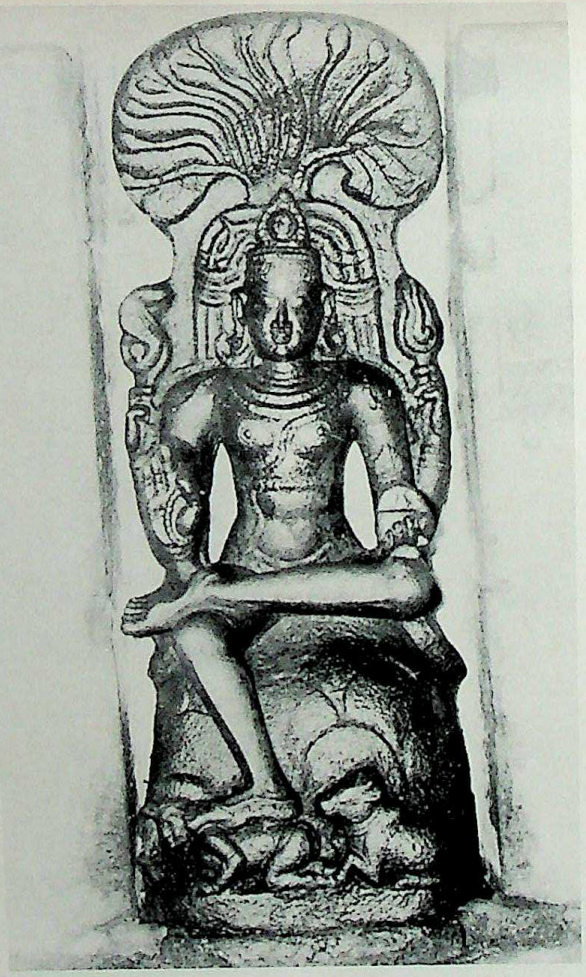
Pl 368 Brahma



Pl 369 Durga

Pl 370 Ardhanari

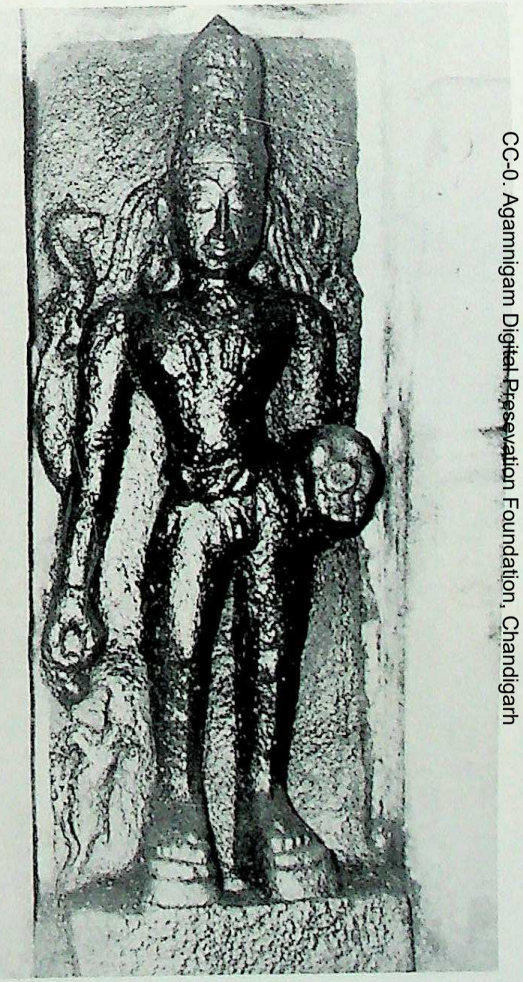




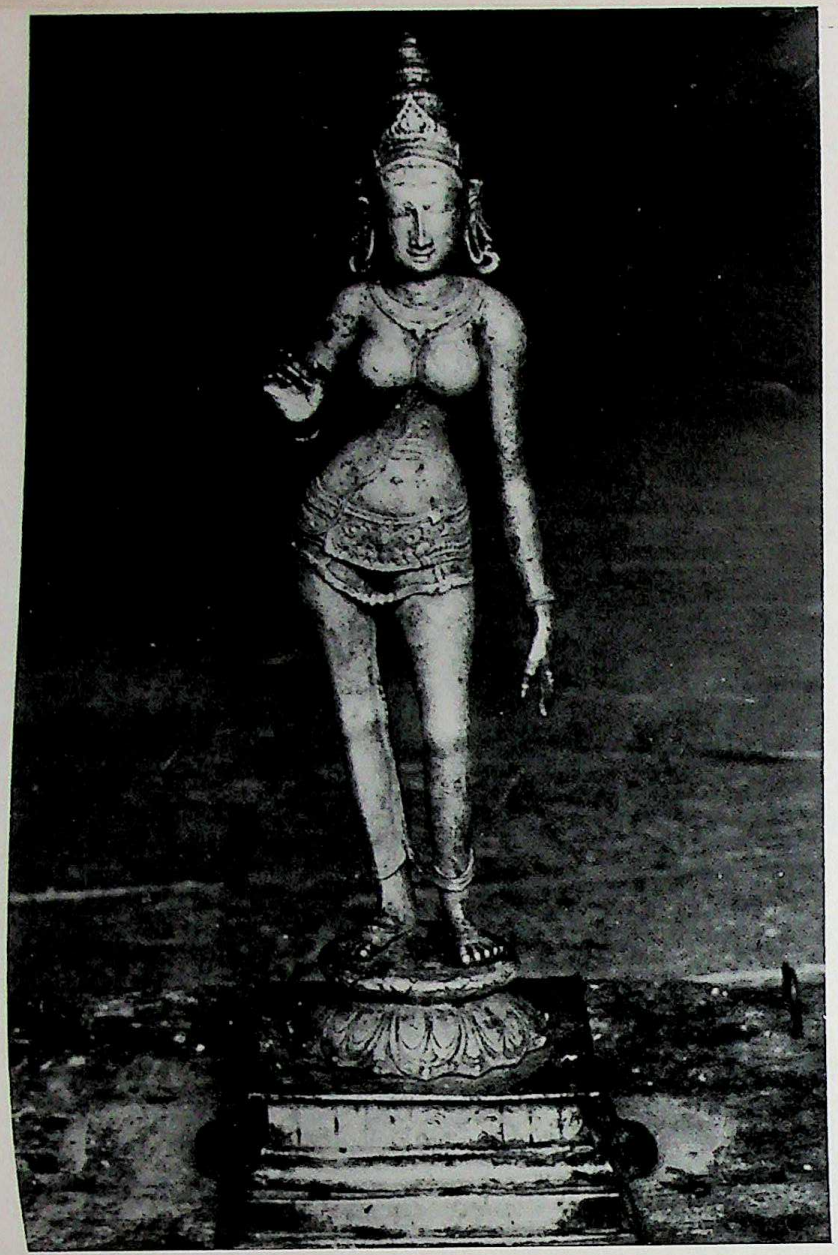
Pl 371 Dakshinamurti

TIRUPPAINJILI
Nilivanesvarar temple

Pl 372 Bhikshatanar

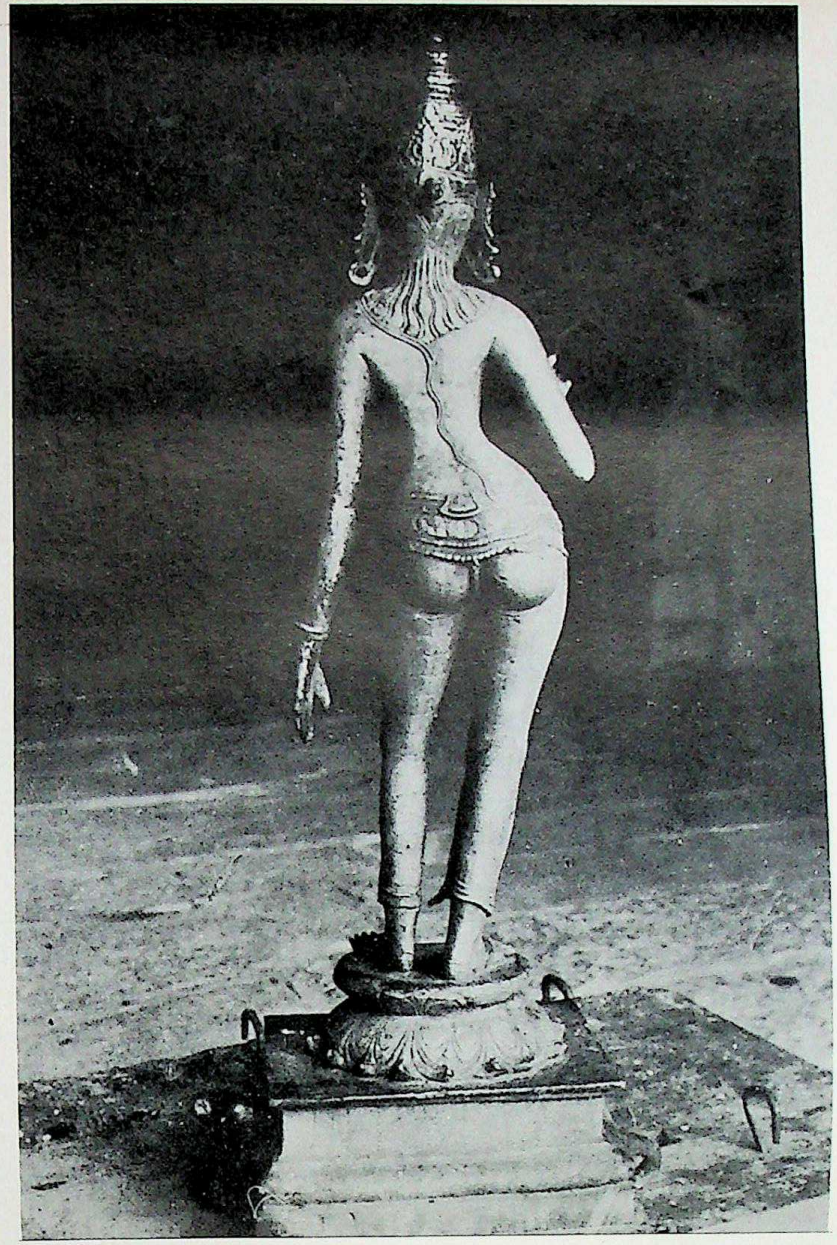


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 373 Amman (*bronze*)

TIRUPPAINJILI
Nilivanesvarar temple

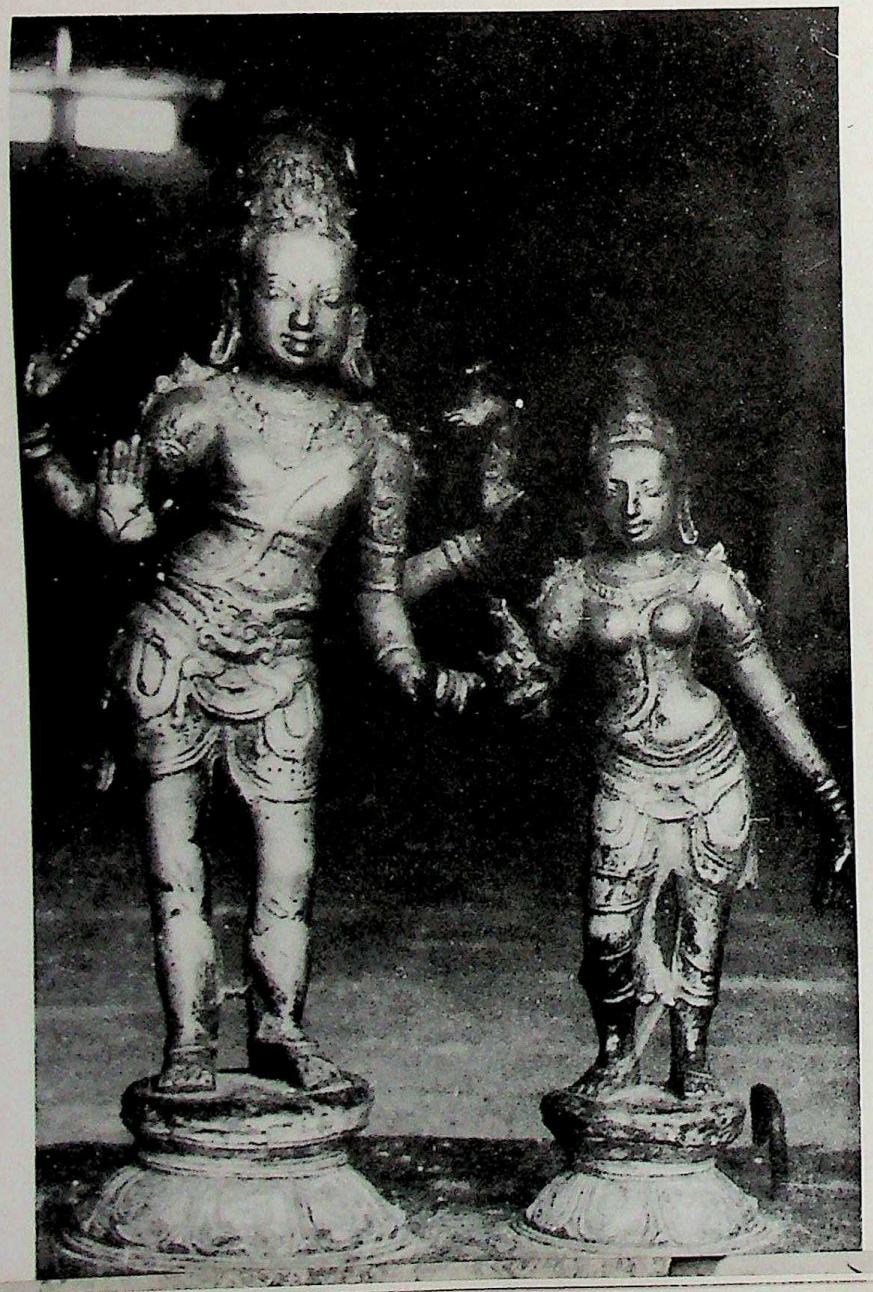


Pl 374 Amman (*bronze*) (*rear view*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

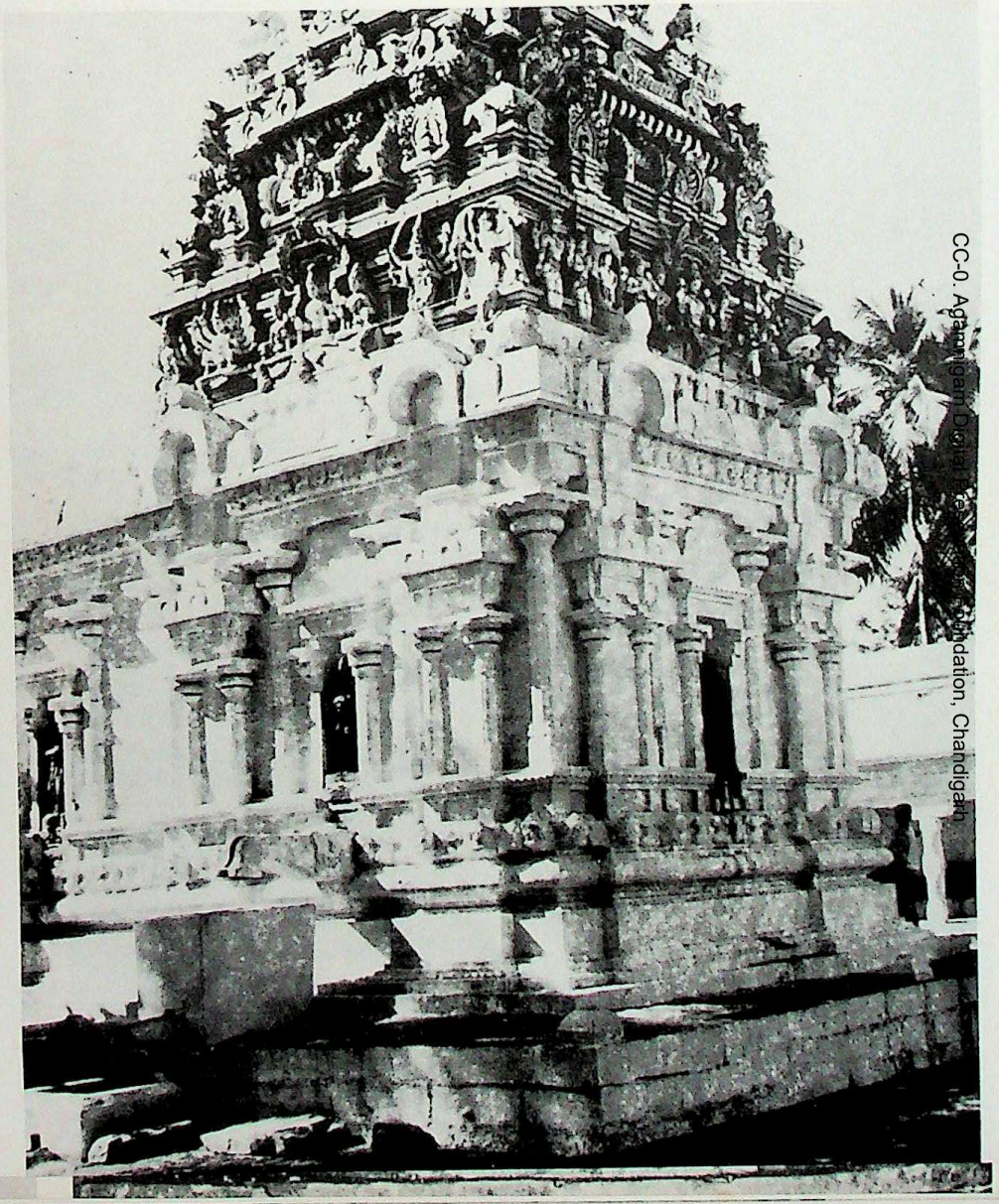
TIRUPPAINJILI
Nilivanesvarar temple

Pl 375 Siva and Uma (*bronze*)



TIRUVASI
Marrurai-varadesvarar temple

Pl 376 Srivimana

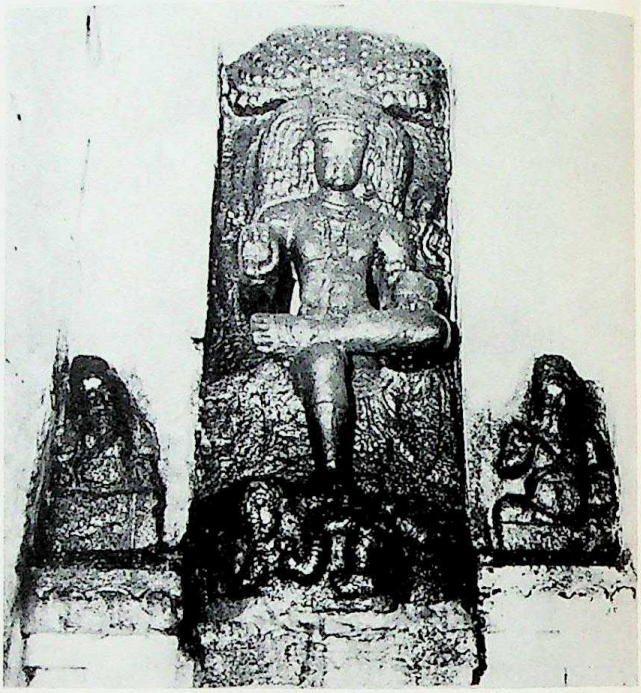


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

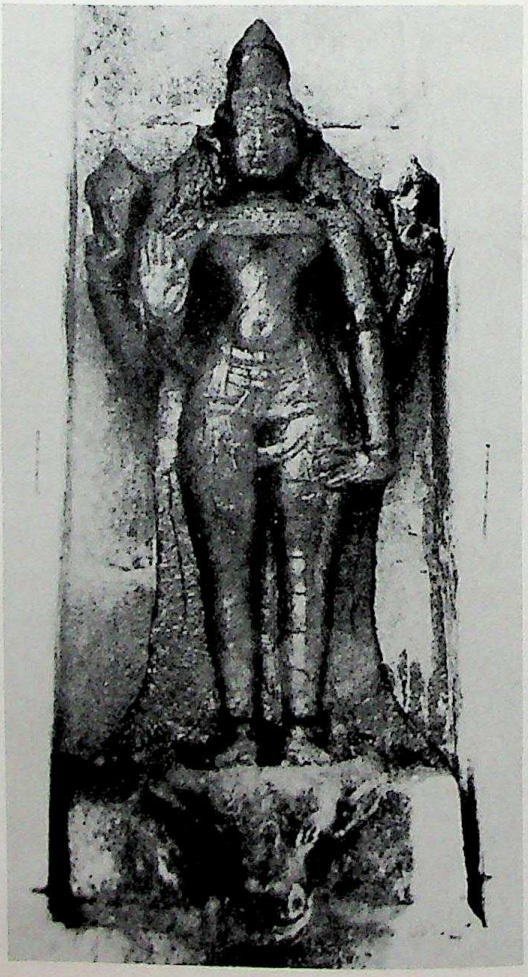
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 377 Ganapati

Pl 378 Dakshinamurti



Pl 379 Ardhanari

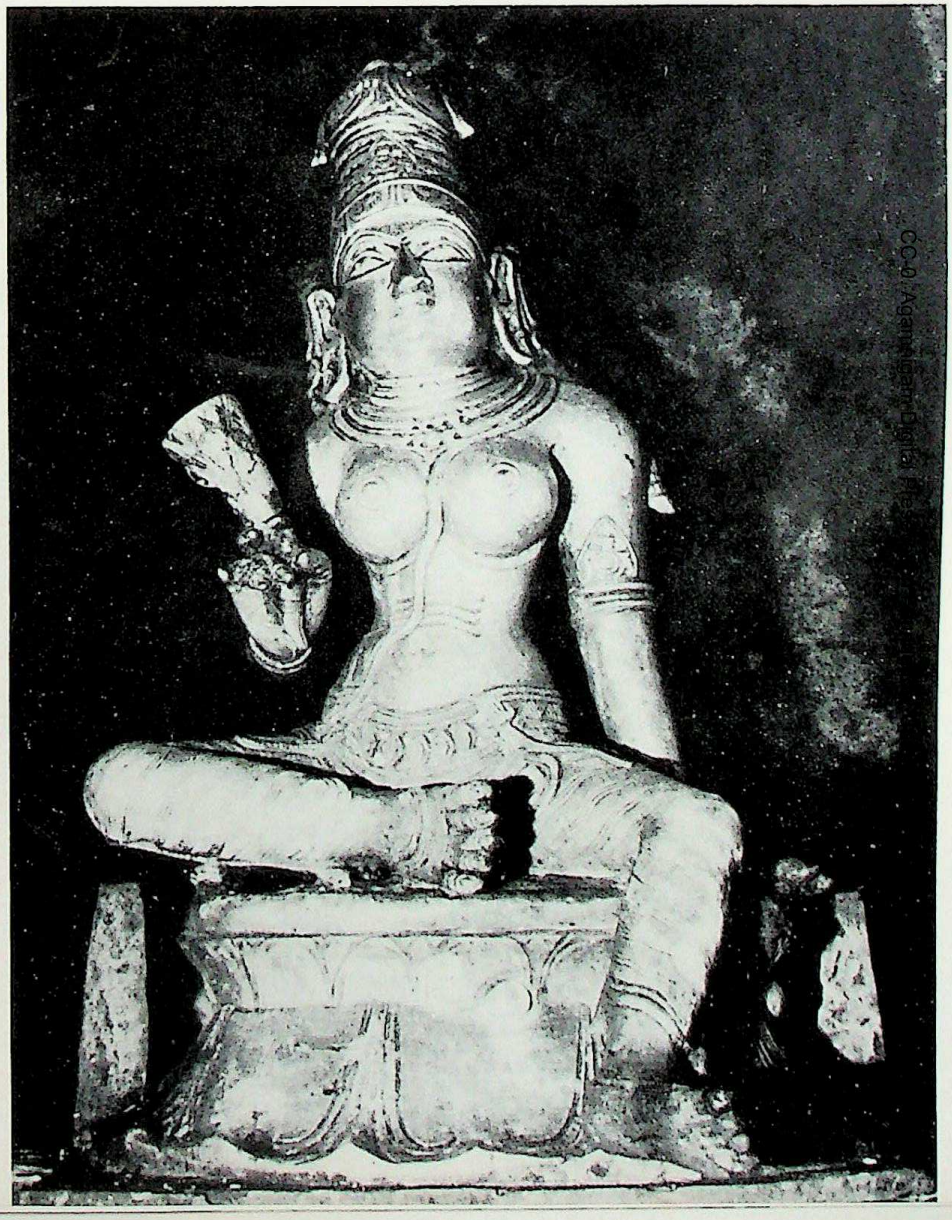


Pl 380 Durga

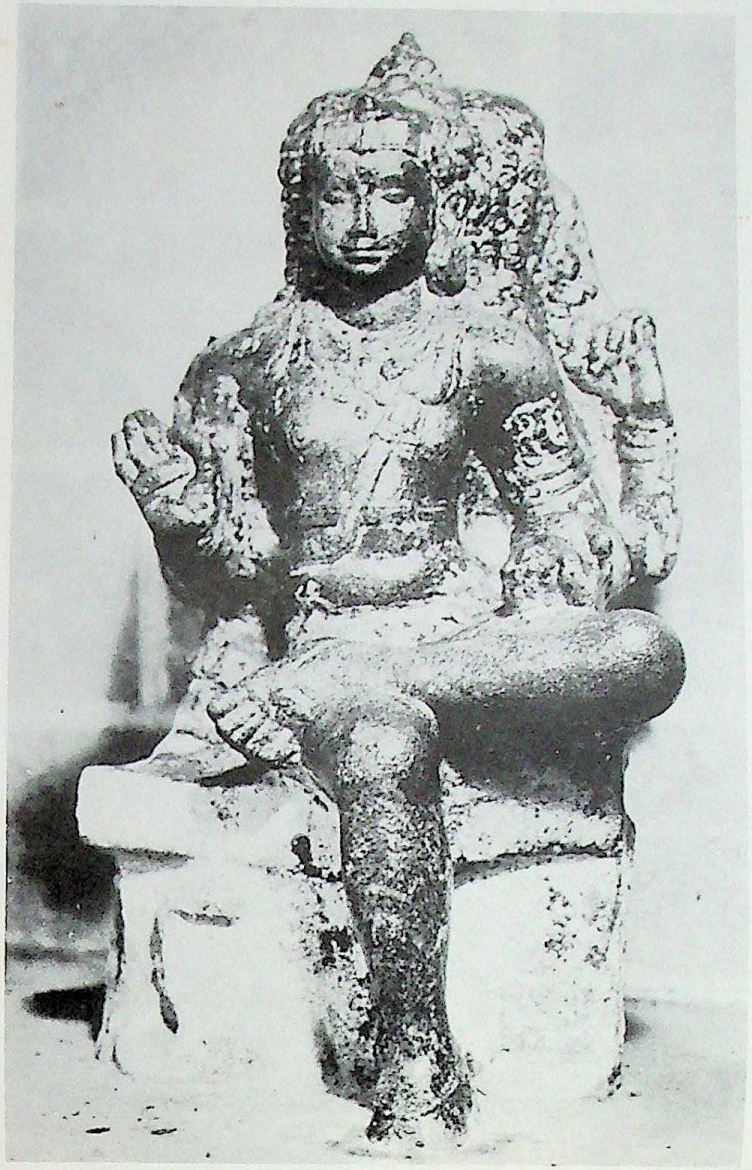
TIRUVASI
Marrurai-varadesvarar temple

Pl 381 Bhairavar

Pl 382 Bhogasakti (*bronze*)



Pl 383 Subrahmanyar

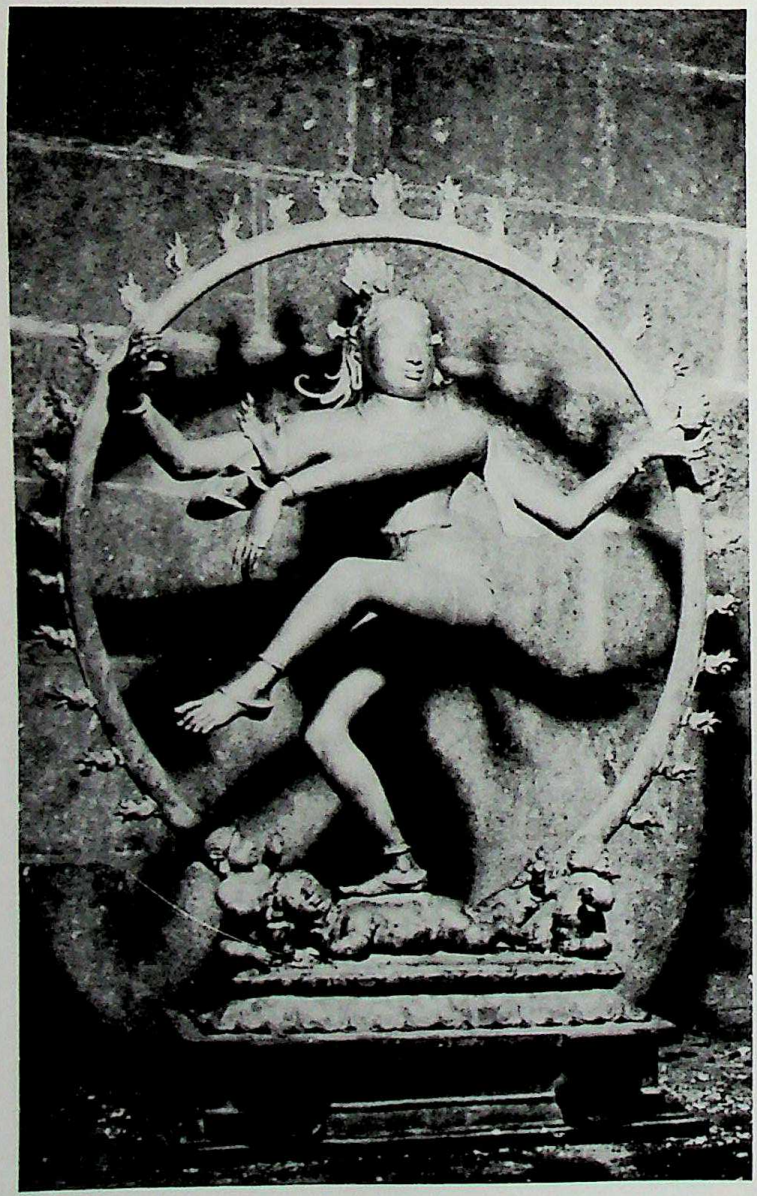


Pl 384 *Dakshinamurti*

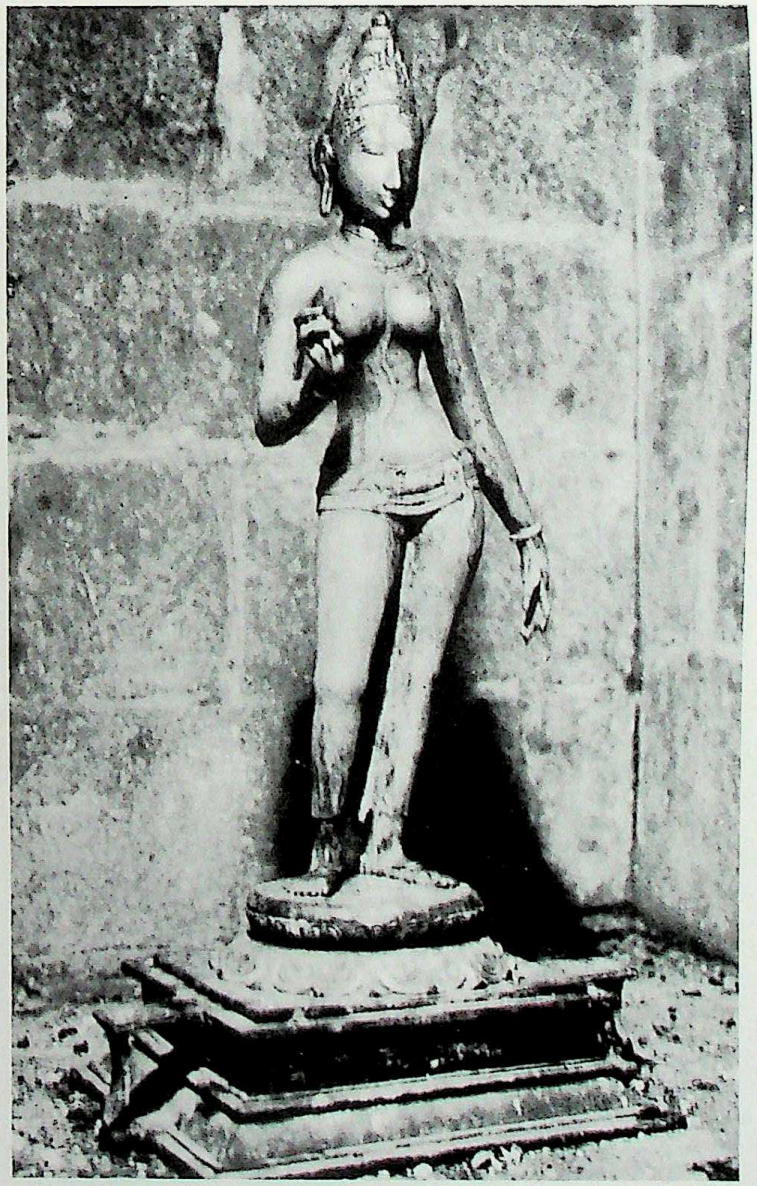
TIRUVANAIKKA
Jambukesvaram

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

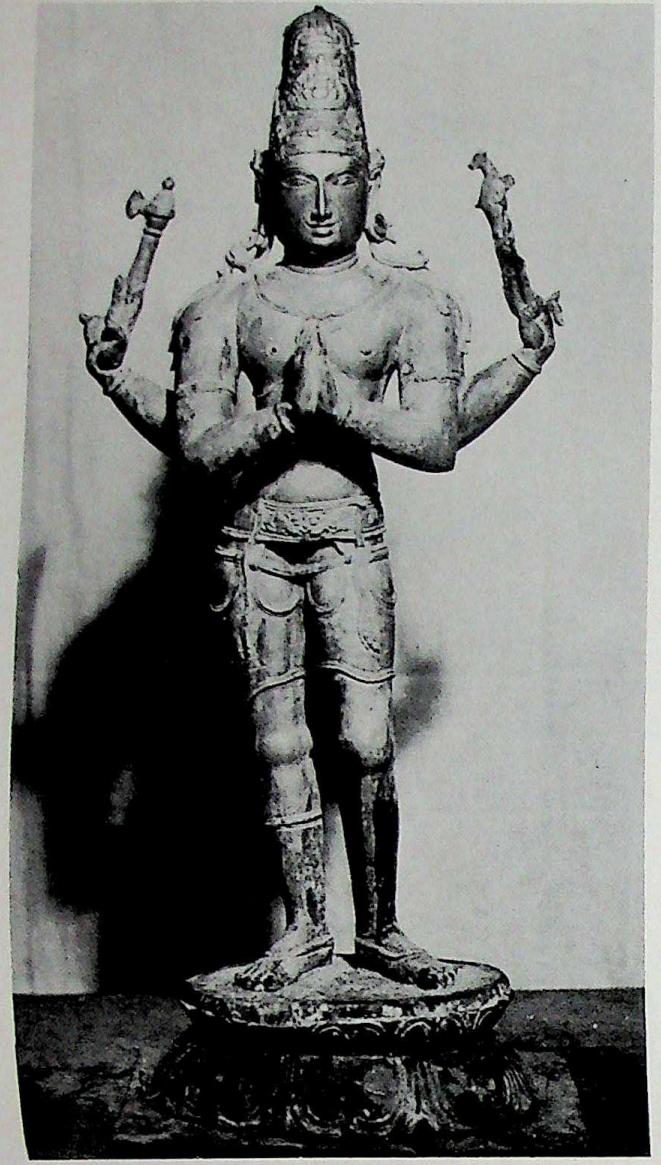
Pl 385 Nataraja (*bronze*)



Pl 386 Sivakama Sundari (*bronze*)



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 387 Adhikaranandi

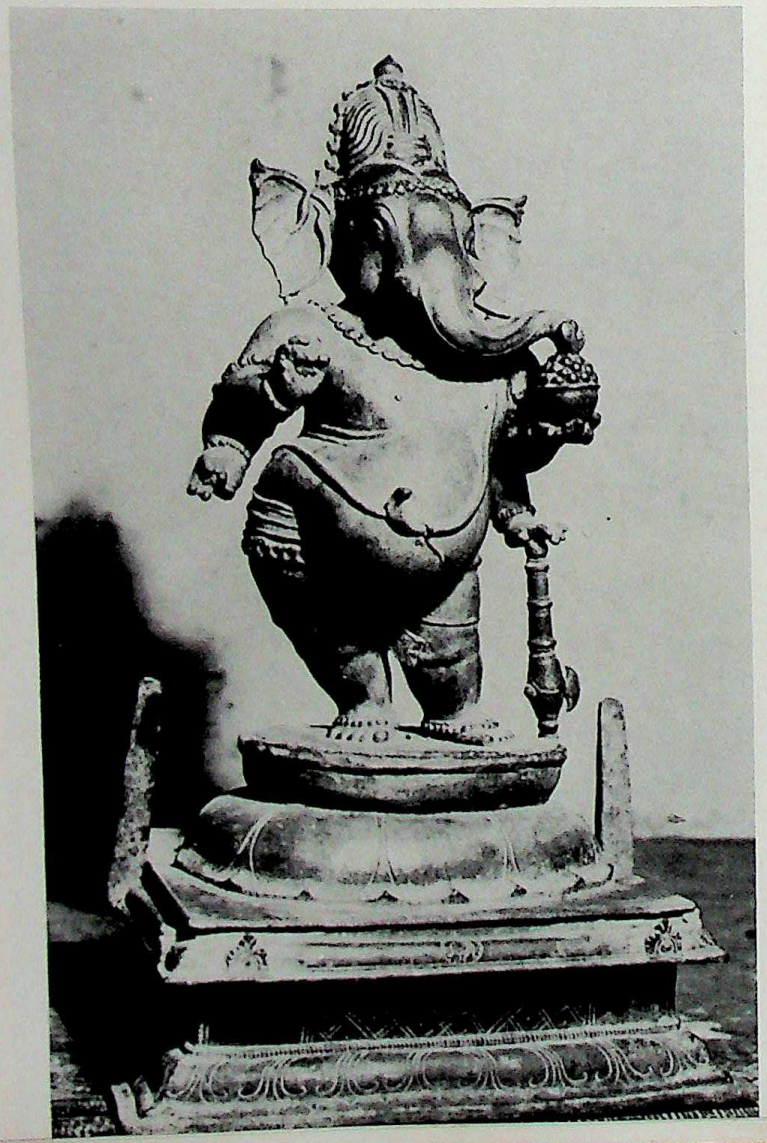
TIRUVANAIKKA
Jambukesvaram

Pl 388 Bhairavar (*bronze*)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TIṚUVANAIKKA
Jambukesvaram

Pl 389 Ganapati (*bronze*)



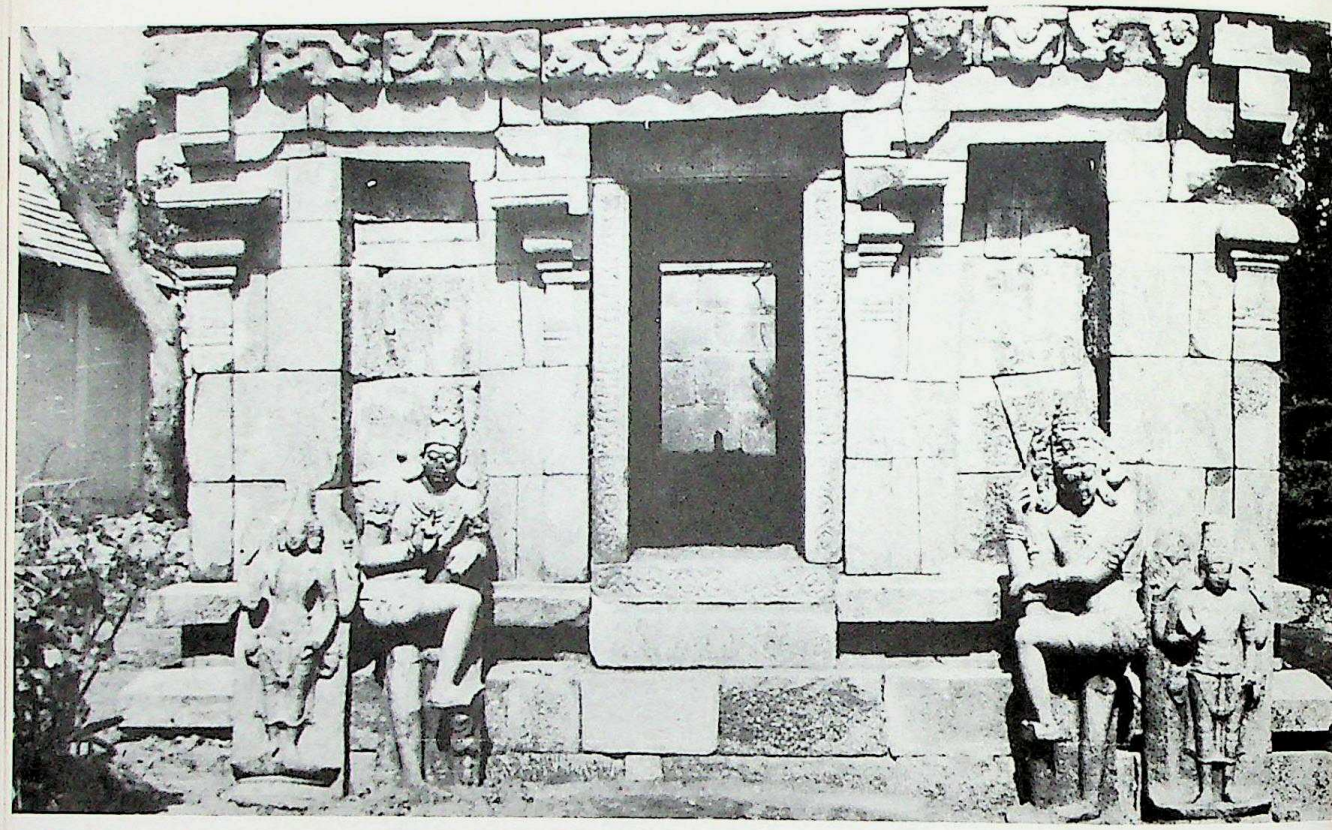
PALUVUR
Sundaresvarar temple

Pl 390 Chandesvarar

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 391 Sundaresvarar temple : General view (*front*)

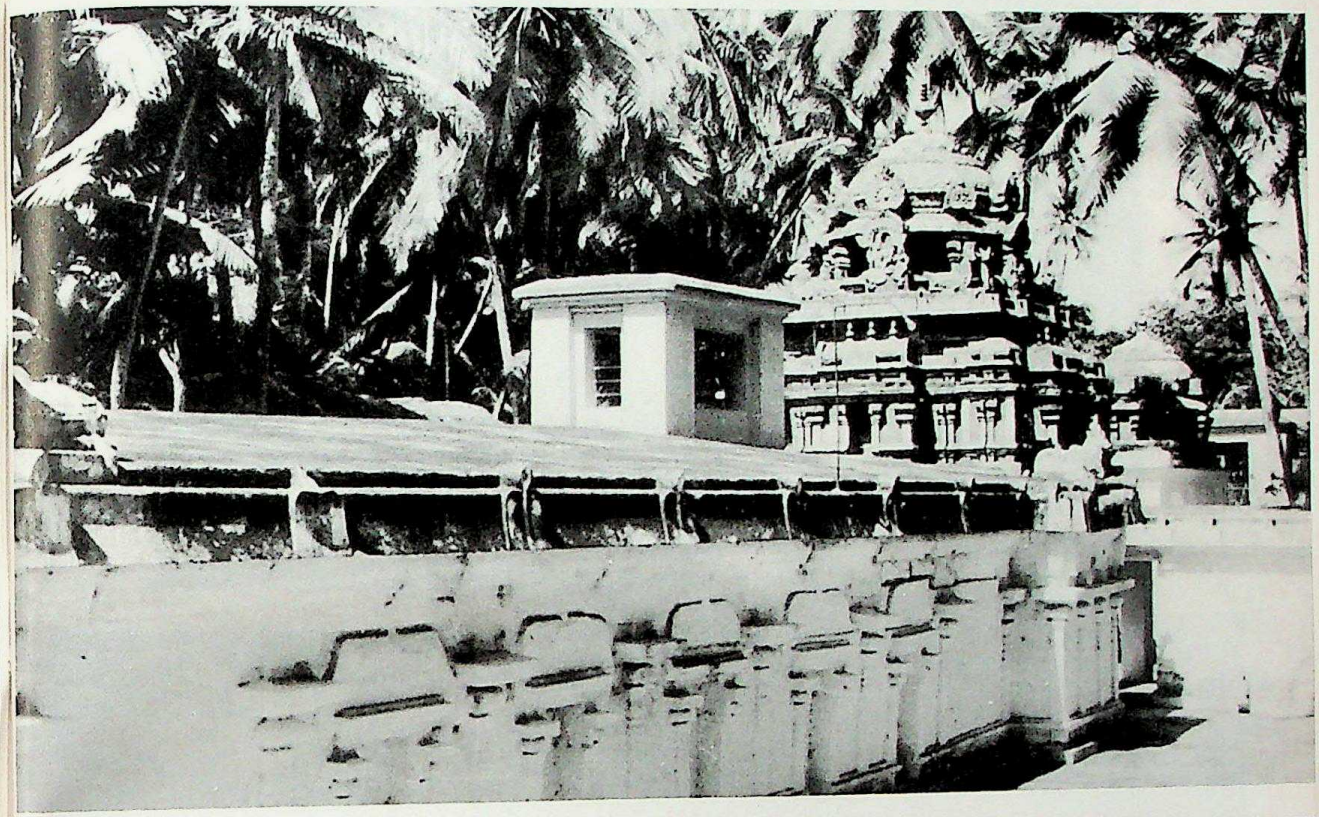


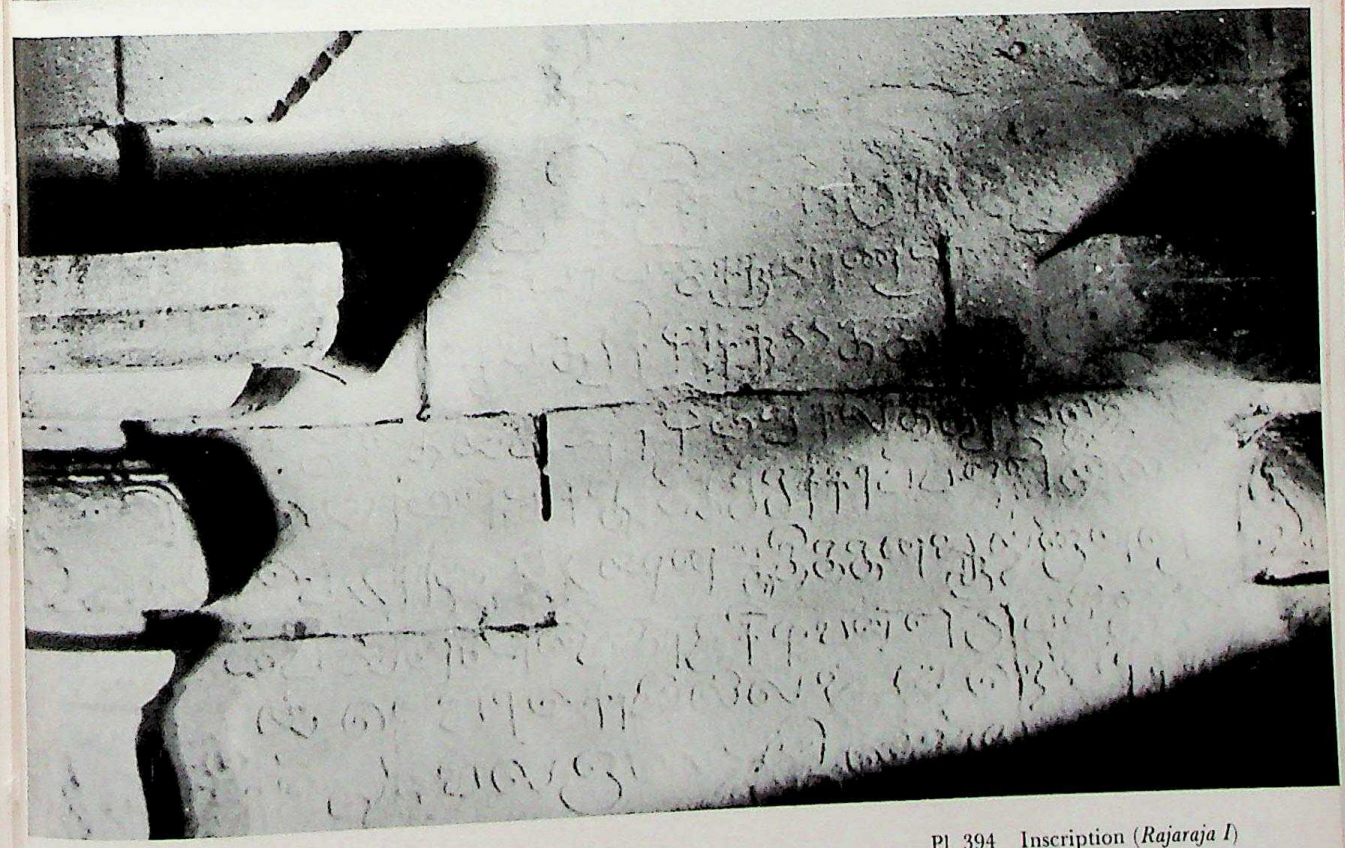
Pl 392 Inscription : Paluvur Nakkan Koyil

PALUVUR
Sundaresvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 393 Chakravagesvarar temple : General view



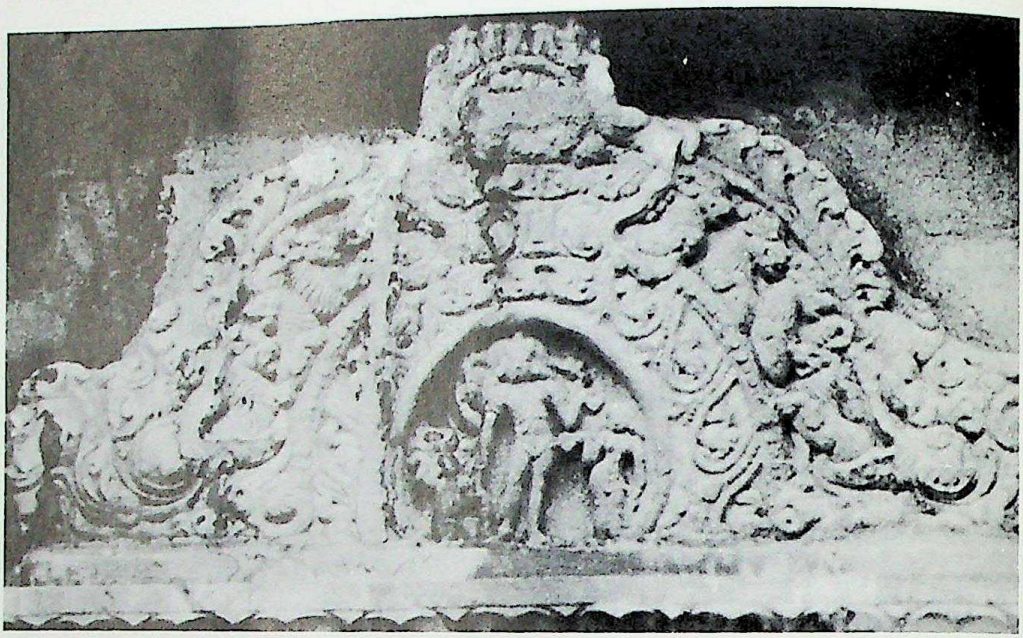


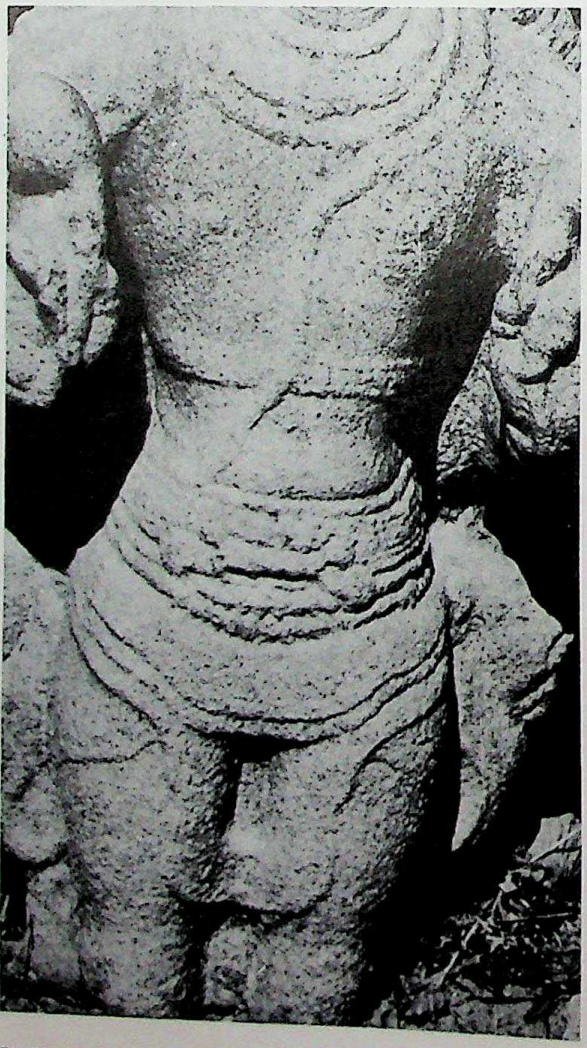
Pl 394 Inscription (*Rajaraja I*)

CHAKKARAPALLI
Chakravagesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 395 Makaratorana





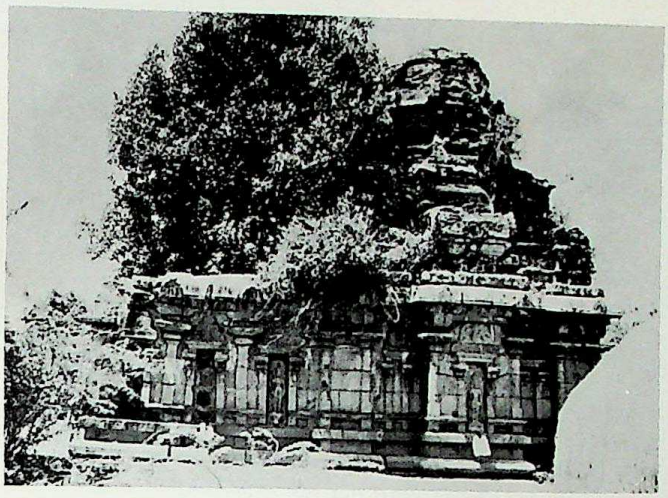
Pl 396 Surya (*headless*)

Pl 397 Lingodbhavar

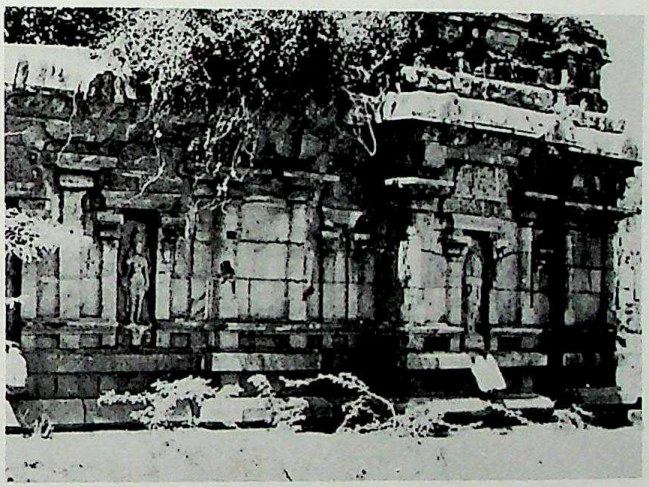
CHAKKARAPALLI
Chakravagesvarar temple

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

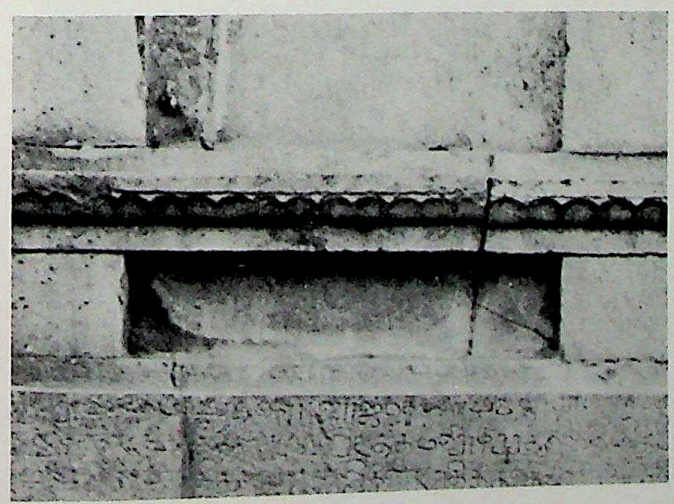
Pl 398 Kandalisvarar temple : General view



Pl 399 Kandalisvarar temple—North wall



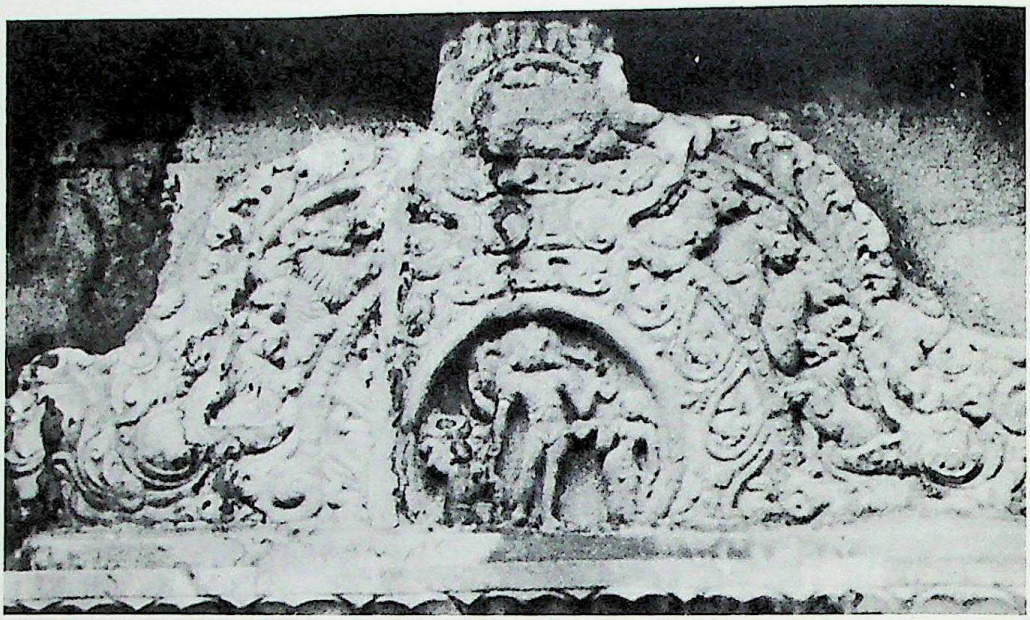
TENNERI
Kandalisvarar temple



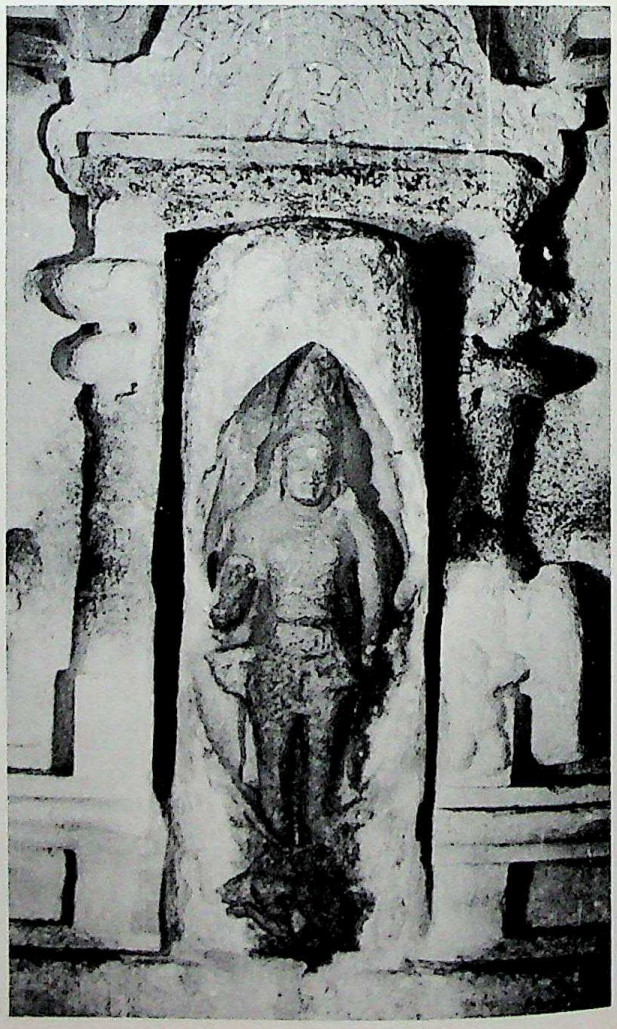
Pl 400 Rajaraja I's inscription

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 395 Makaratorana



Pl 396 Surya (*headless*)

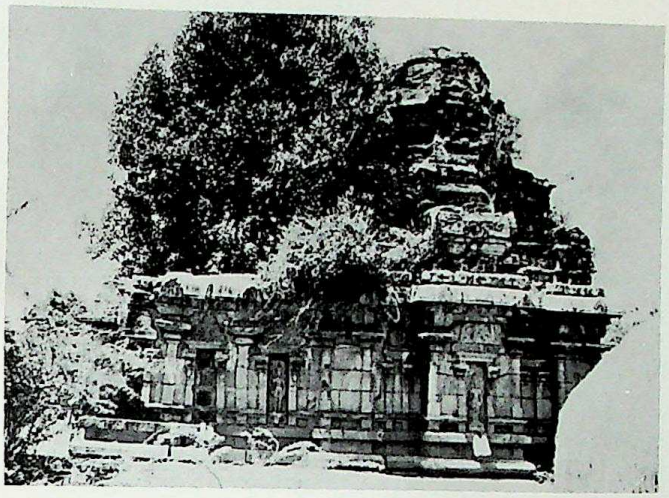


Pl 397 Lingodbhavar

CHAKKARAPALLI
Chakravagesvarar temple

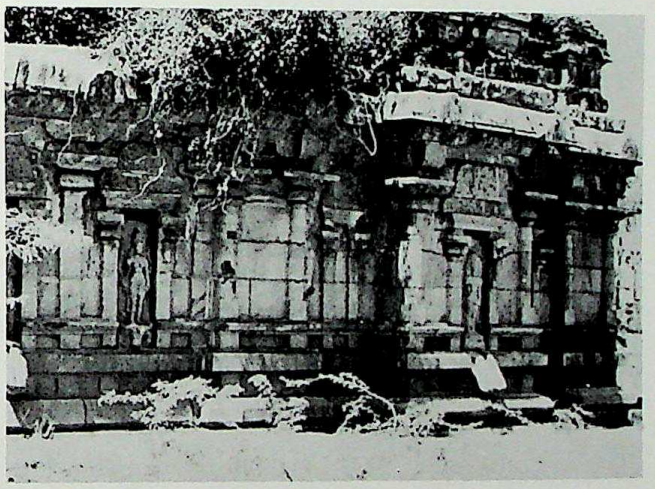
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

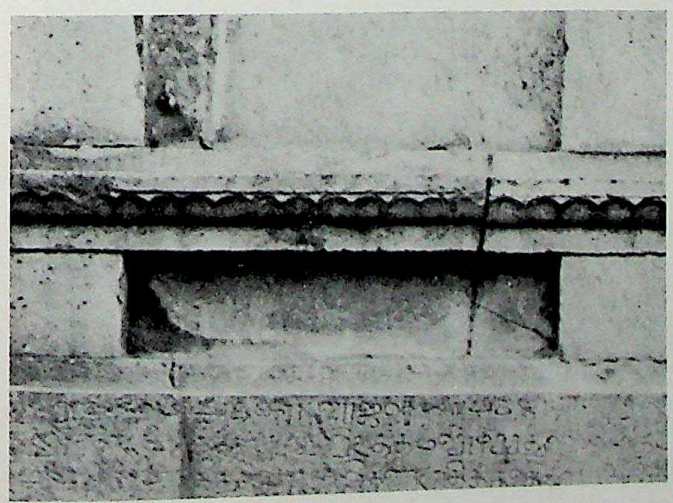
Pl 398 Kandalisvarar temple : General view



Pl 399 Kandalisvarar temple—North wall

TENNERI
Kandalisvarar temple



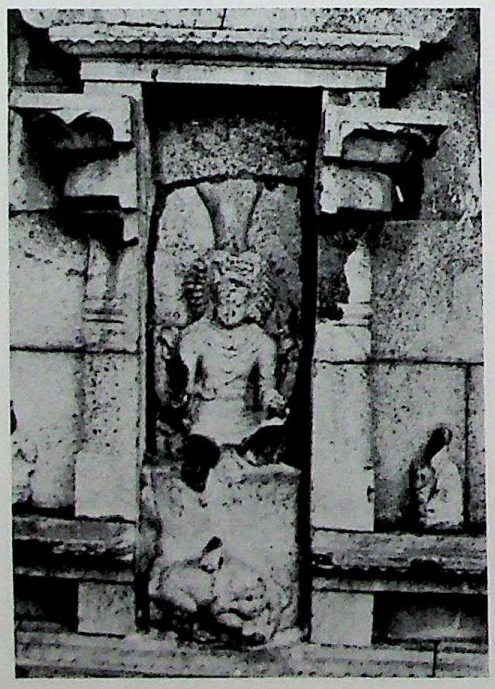


Pl 400 Rajaraja I's inscription

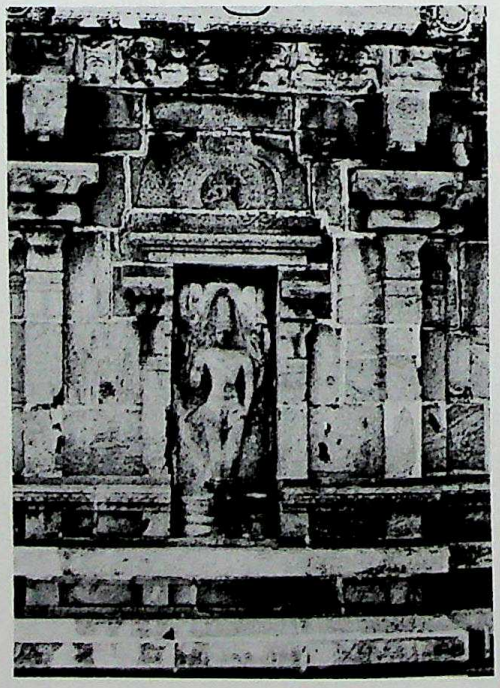
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pl 401 Dvarapala

Pl 402 Dvarapala



Pl 403 Dakshinamurti

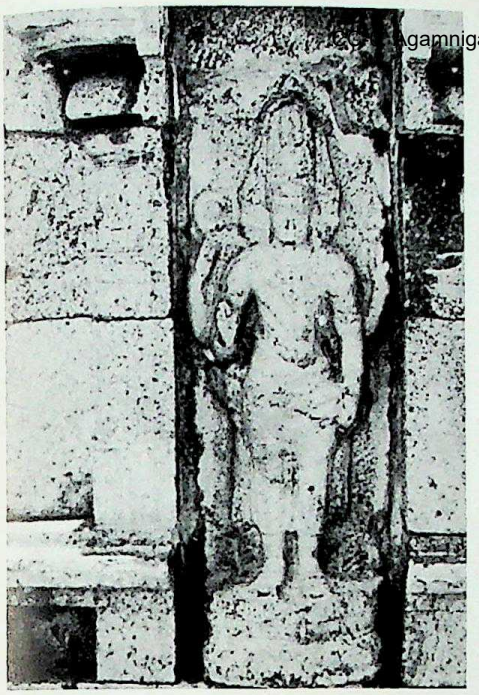


Pl 404 Vishnu

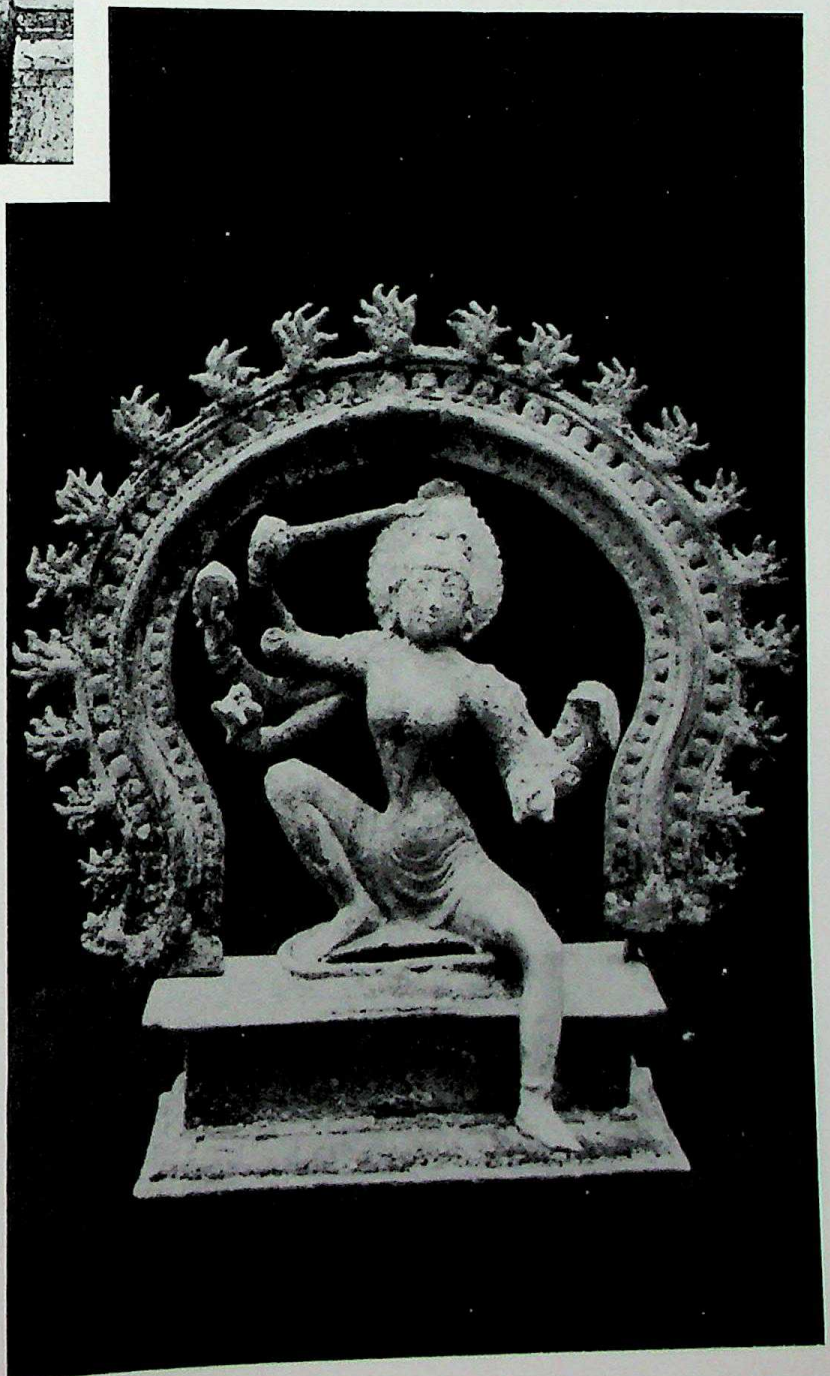
TENNERI
Kandalisvarar temple

Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TENNERI
Kandalisvarar temple

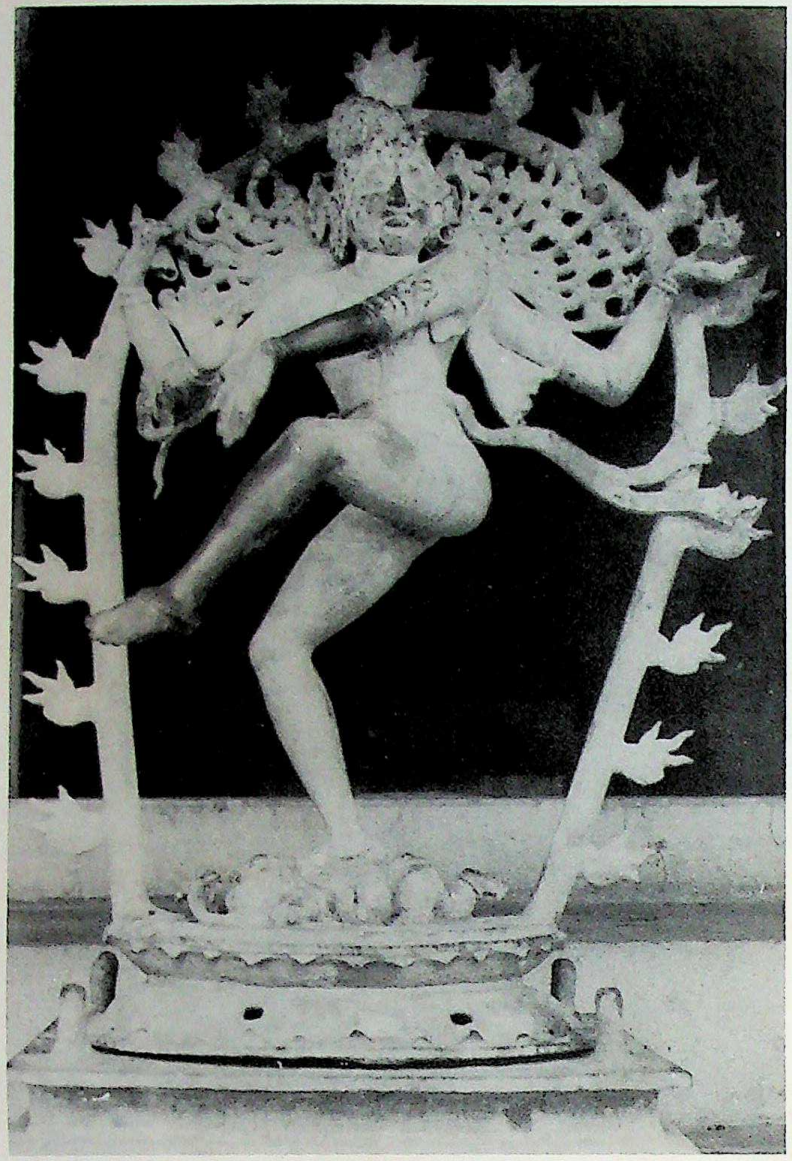


Pl 405 Brahma



TAADI-MALINGI
Treasure trove

Pl 406 Kali (*Early Chola*)



Pl 407 Nataraja, original (*bronze*)

SIVAPURAM
Treasure trove

Pl 408 Nisumbhasudani

TANJAVUR
Treasure trove

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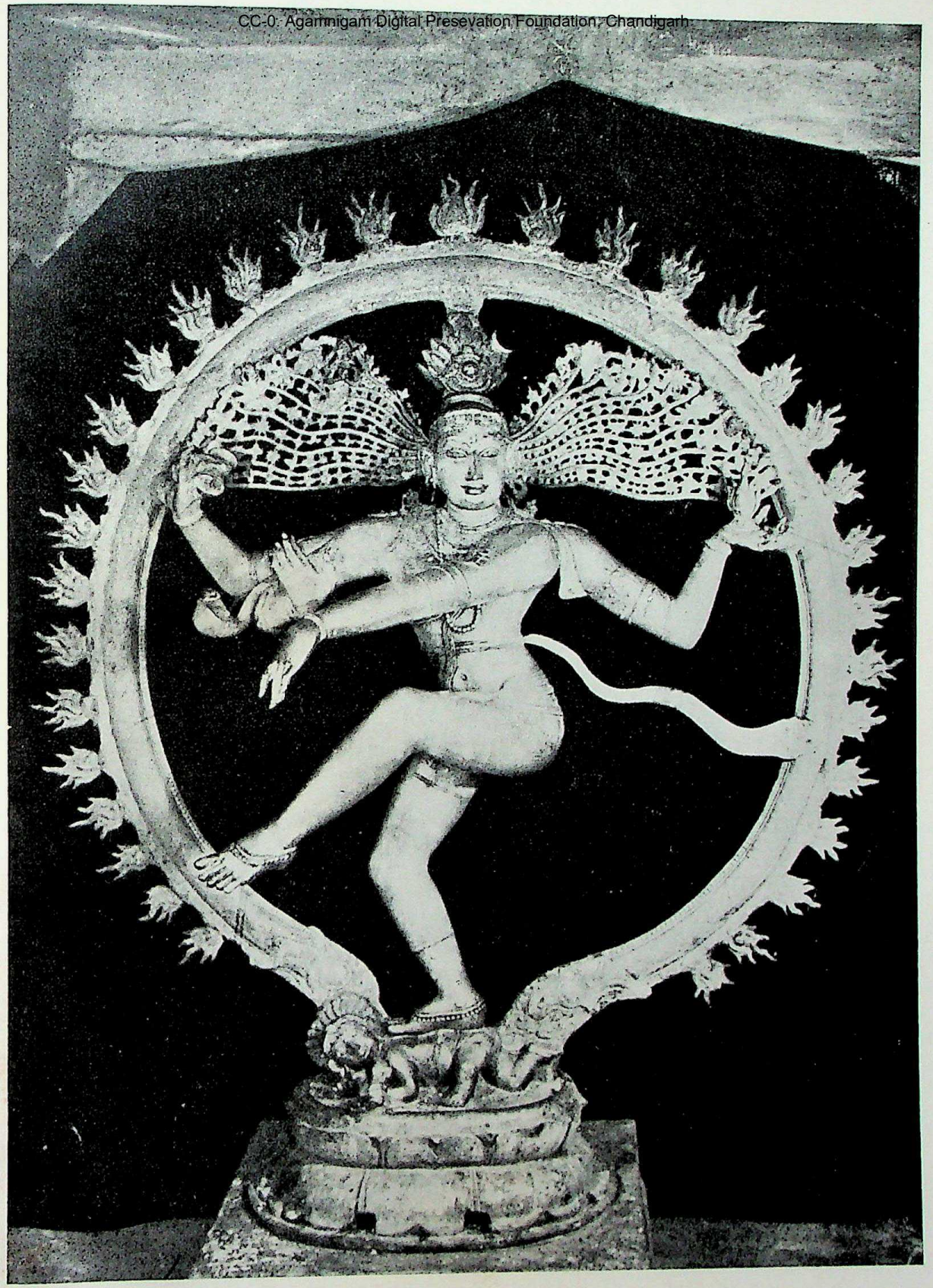
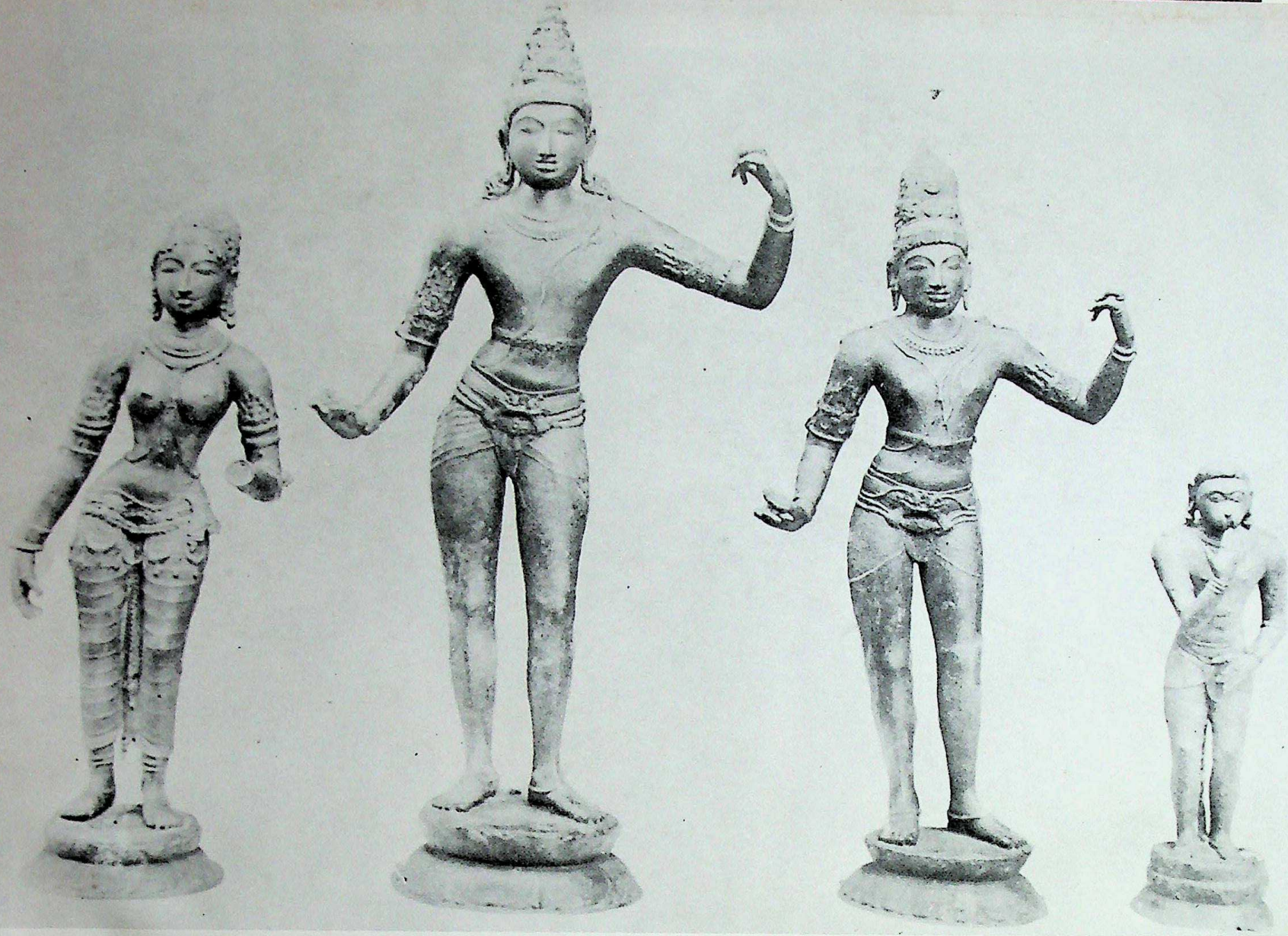
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Pl 409 Nataraja (*bronze-giant size*)

KONERIRAJAPURAM
Uma-Mahesvarar temple



VADAKKUPPANAIYUR

Pl. 419 — Parvati, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman

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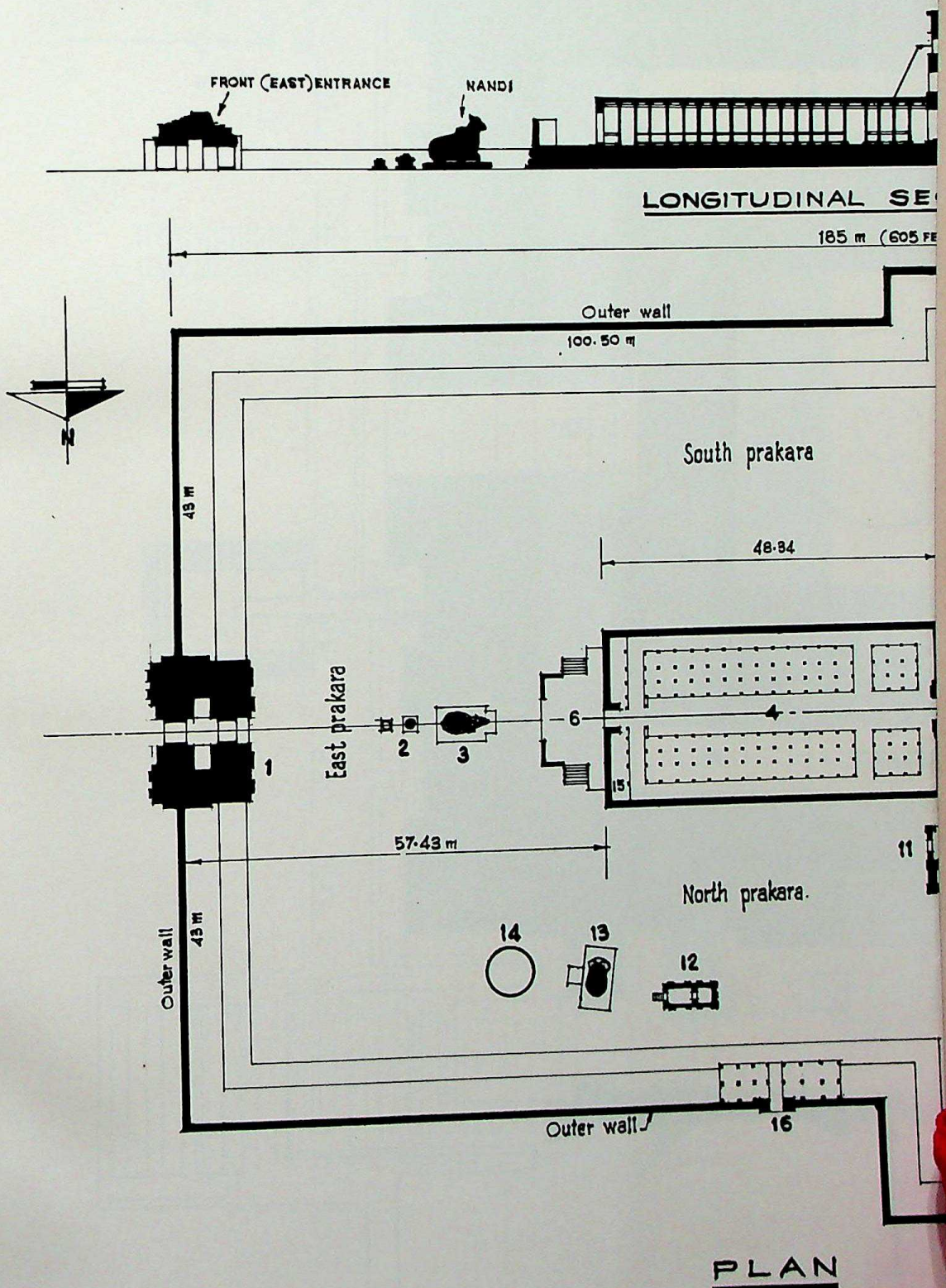
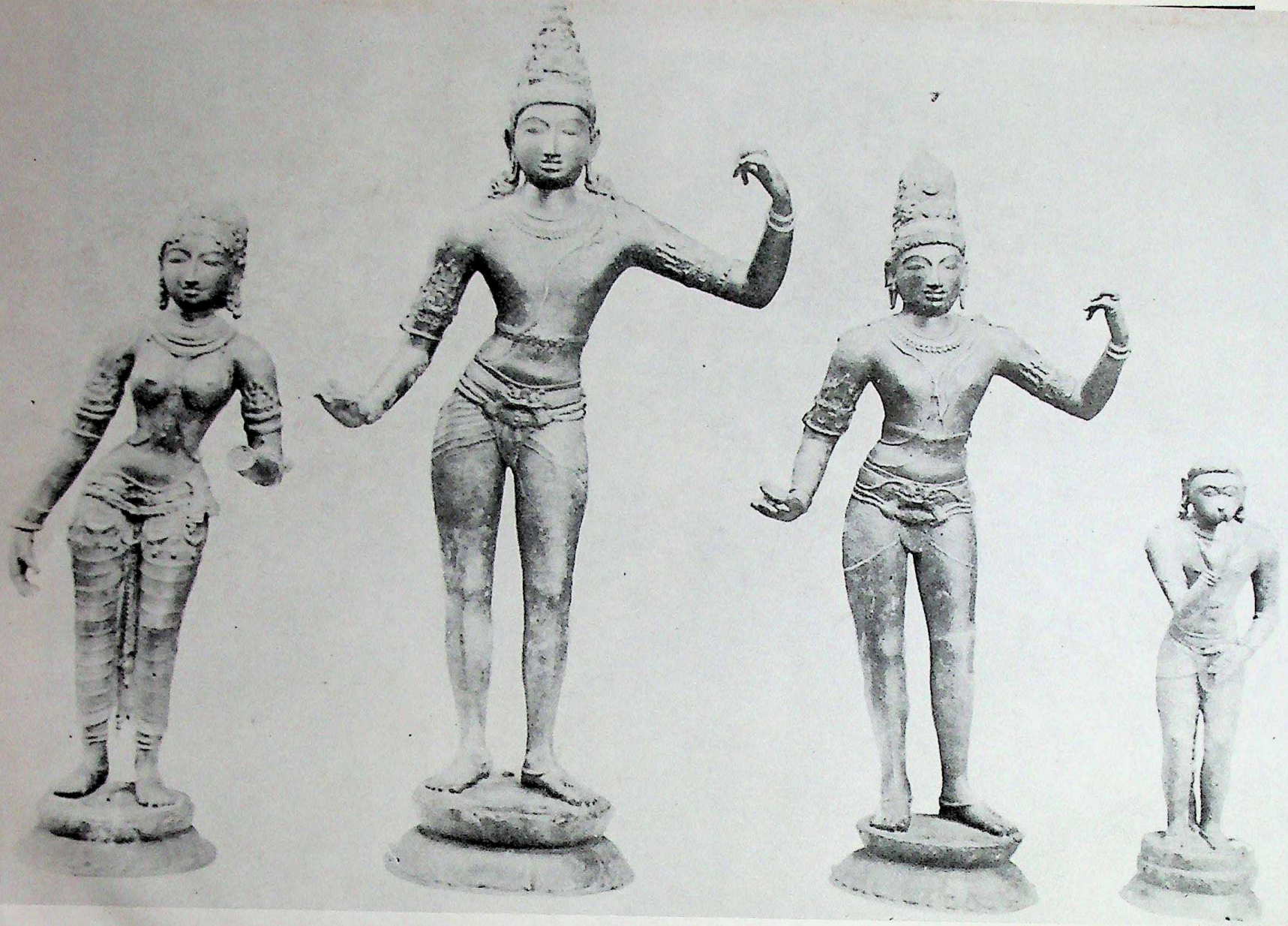
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

GANGAIKONDA CHOLAPURAM





VADAKKUPPANAIYUR
(Madras Museum)

Pl 410 Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman

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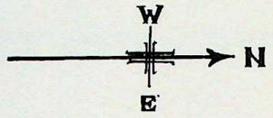
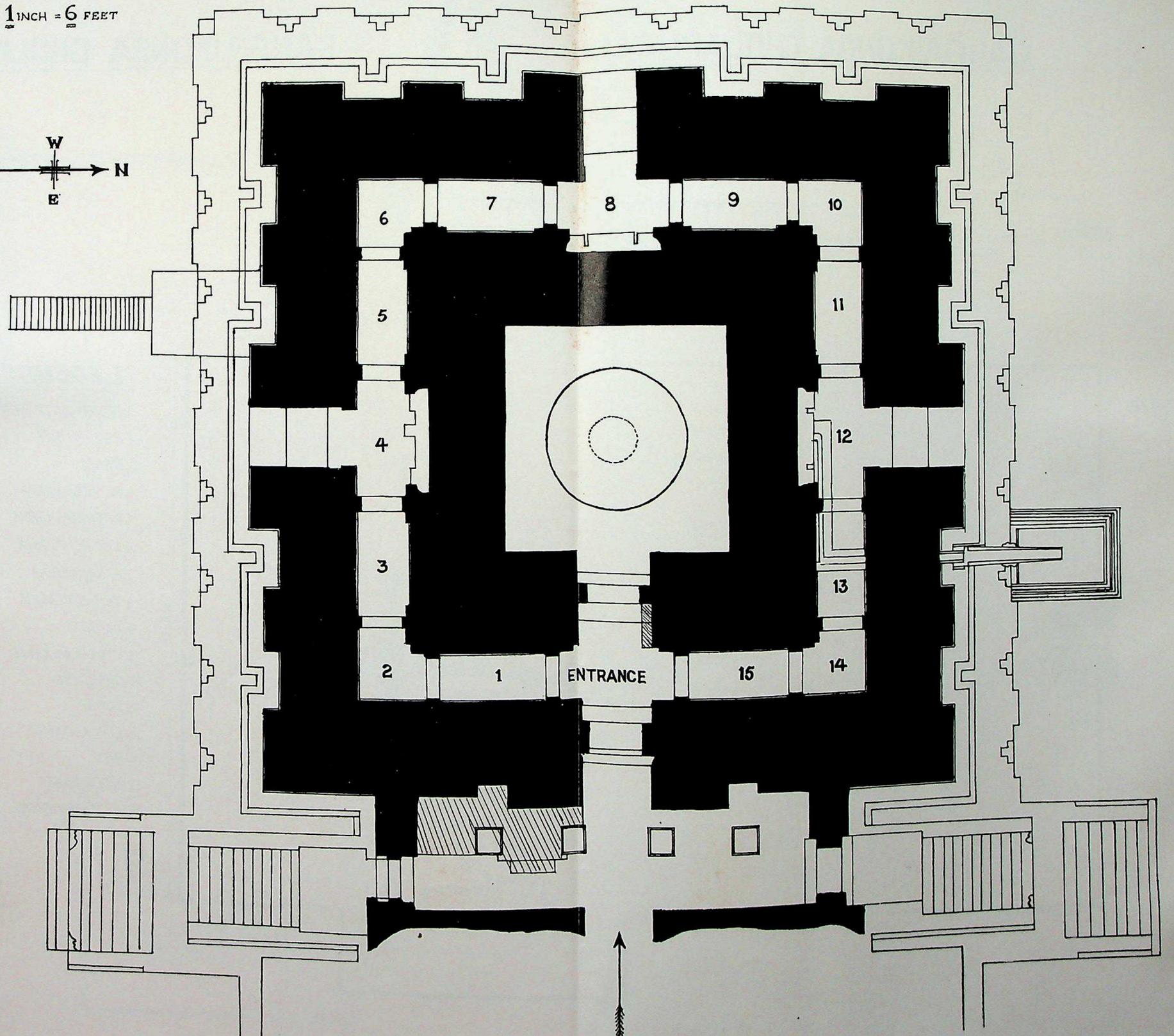
TANJAVUR, RAJARAJESVARAM: GARBHAGRIHA-GROUND PLAN

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

SCALE 1 INCH = 6 FEET



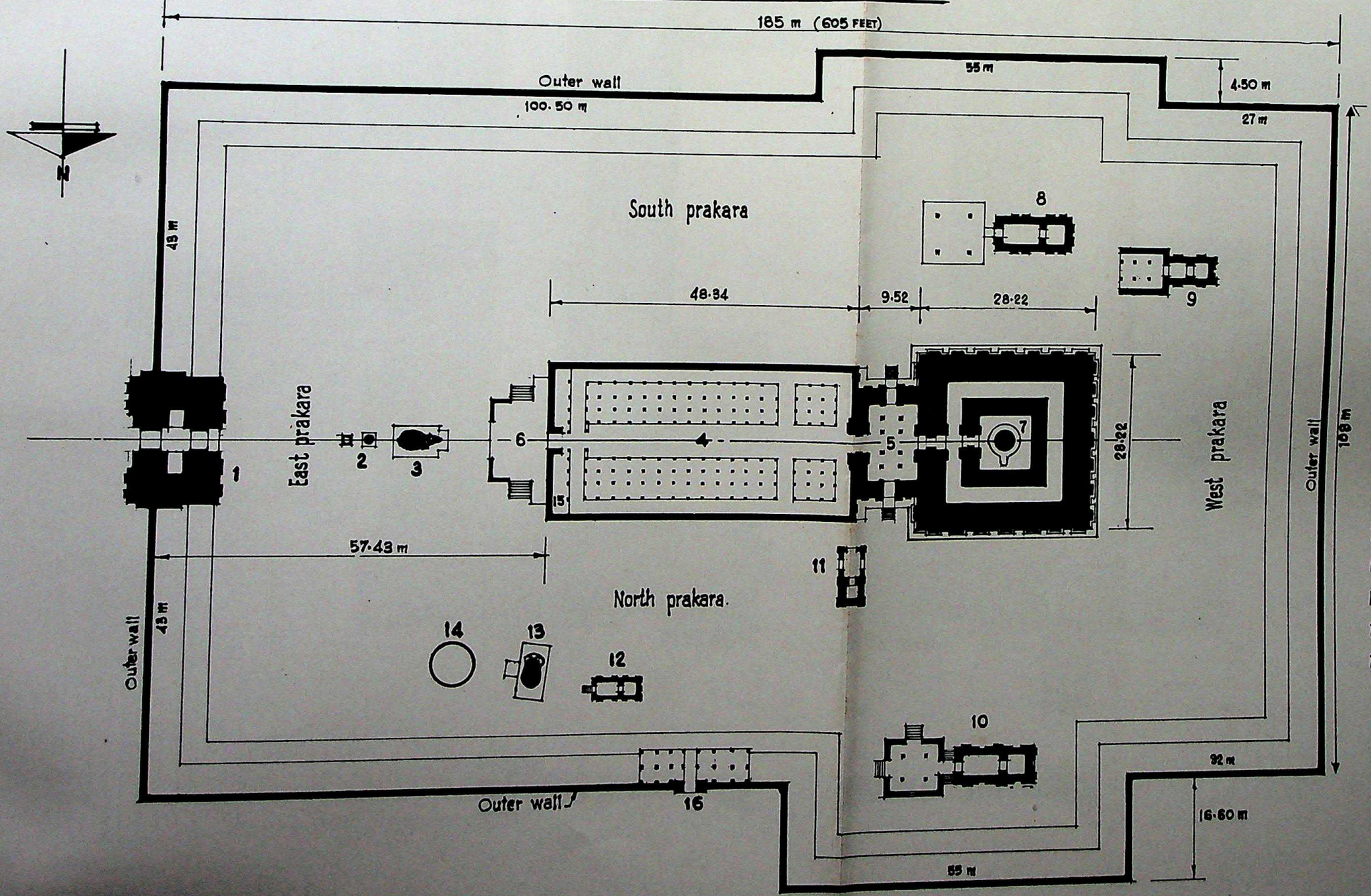


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

GANGAIKONDA CHOLAPURAM

GANGAIKONDA CHOLISVARA

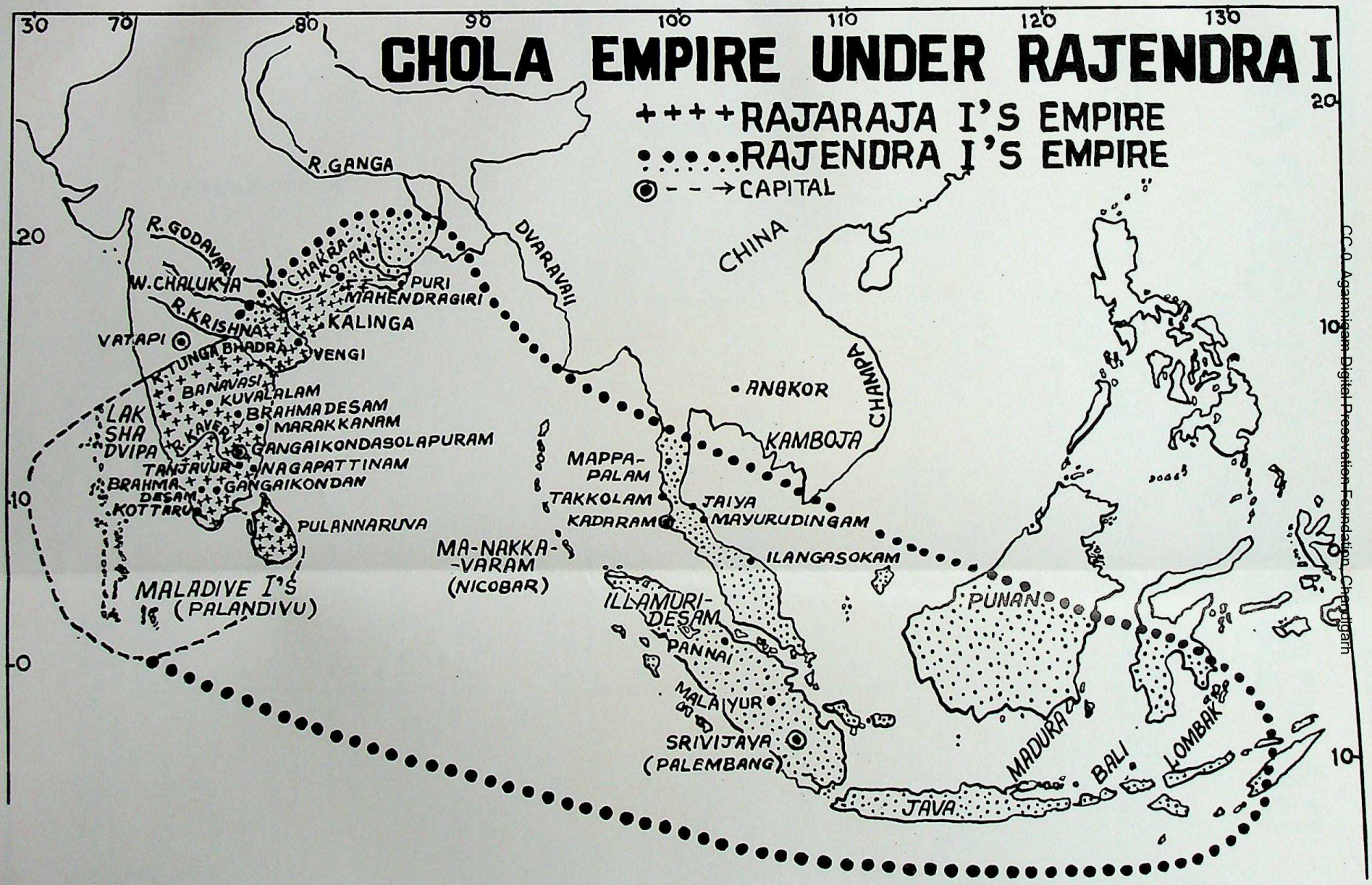
LONGITUDINAL SECTION



PLAN

LEGEND:

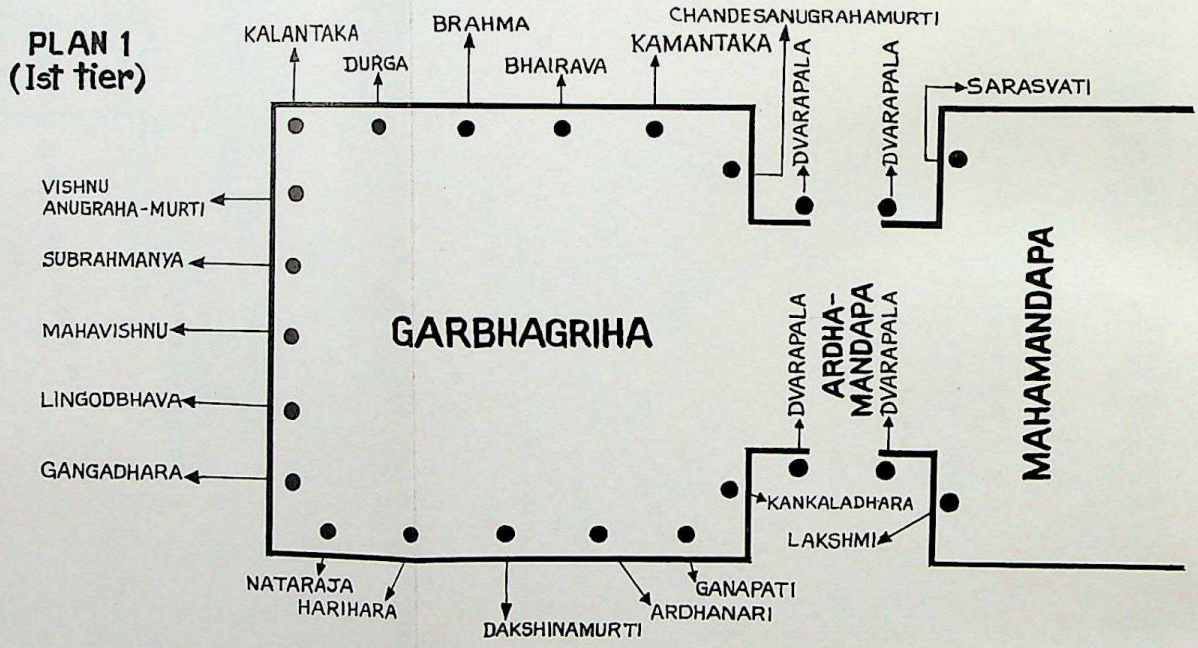
1. FRONT ENTRANCE (EAST GOPURAM)
2. BALI PITHAM
3. NANDI
4. MAHAMANDAPA
5. ARDHAMANDAPA
6. MUKHAMANDAPA
7. GARBHAGRIHA
8. TEN-KAILASAM
9. GANAPATI
10. VADA-KAILASAM
11. CHANDESA
12. DURGA
13. SIMHA-KINARU
14. WELL
15. NAVAGRAHA
16. NORTHERN GATE

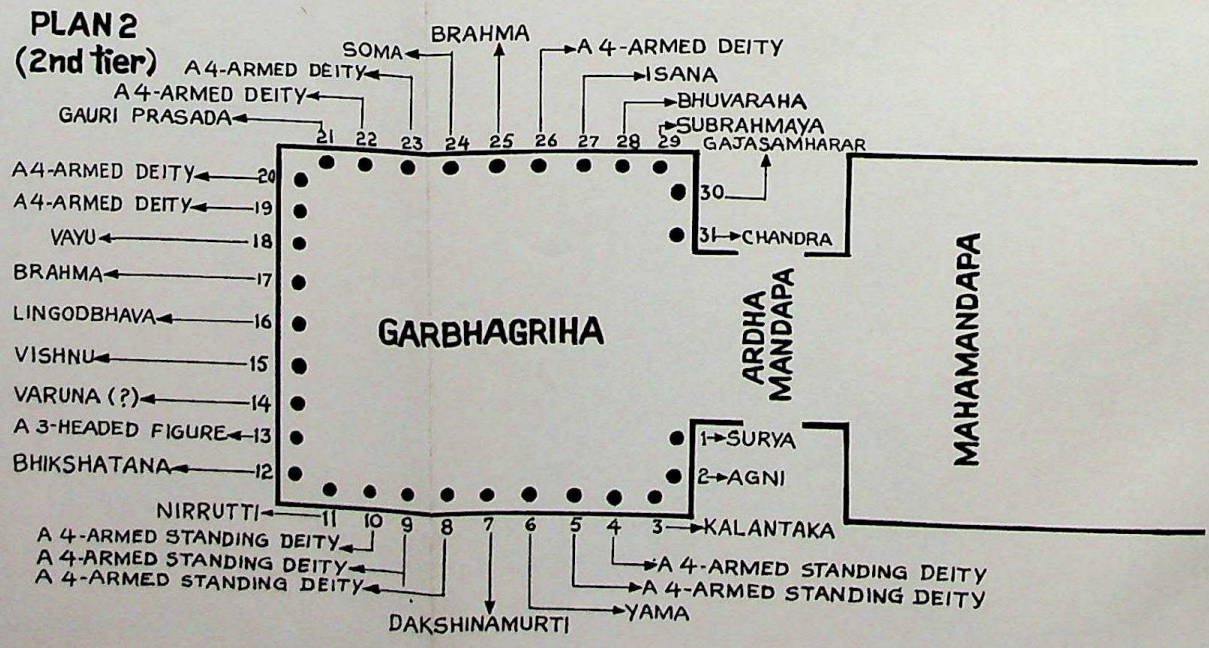


CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chennigam

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

GANGAIKONDASOLISVARAM
DISPOSITION OF GARBHAGRIHA NICHE FIGURES
PLAN 1 : FIRST TIER
PLAN 2 : SECOND TIER





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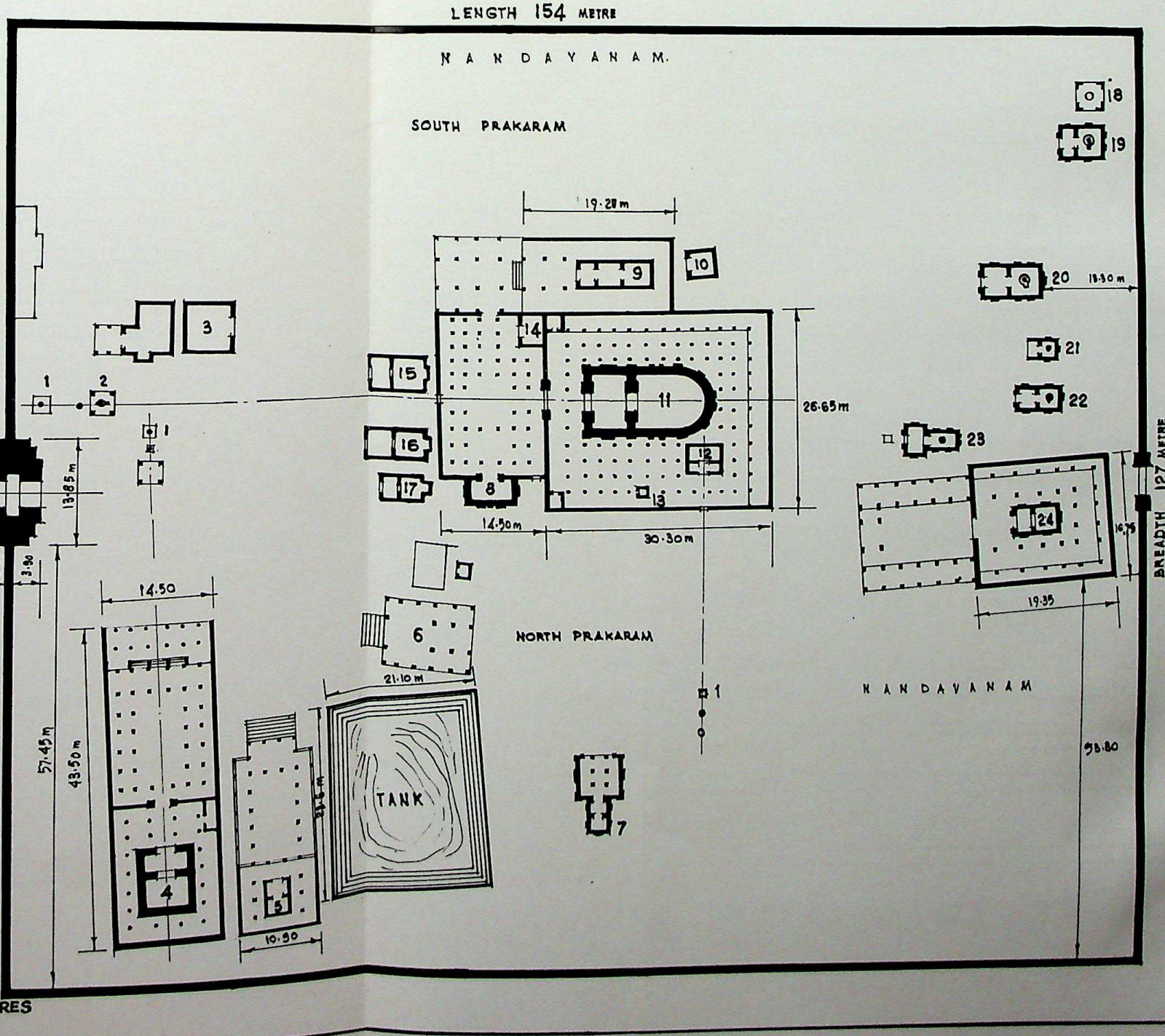
TIRUVORRIYUR
ADIPURISVARAR TEMPLE

• LEGEND

1. DVAJASTHAMBAM
2. NANDI
3. YAGASALA
4. VADIVUDAIYA AMMAN SHRINE
5. KALYANA SUNDARAR SHRINE (SANGILI NACHCHIYAR)
6. VASANTA MANDAPAM
7. BHAIRAVAR SHRINE
8. NATARAJA SHRINE
9. TYAGARAJA SHRINE
10. GAULISA SHRINE
11. ADIPURISVARAR (PURRIDAM-KONDAR) SHRINE
12. VATTAPIRAI AMMAN SHRINE
13. TRIPTISVARAR SHRINE
14. SUBRAHMANYAR SHRINE
15. GANPATI SHRINE
16. (BALA) SUBRAHMANYAR SHRINE
17. KULANDAI-ISVARAR SHRINE
18. LINGAM (OPEN PLATFORM)
19. ANNAMALAI-NATHAR SHRINE
20. JAMBUKESVARAR SHRINE
21. NAGALINGA SHRINE
22. KALATISVARAR SHRINE
23. MINAKSHI SUNDARESVARAR SHRINE
24. TIRUVORRISVARAR SHRINE



SCALE : 0 10 20 30 40 50 METRES

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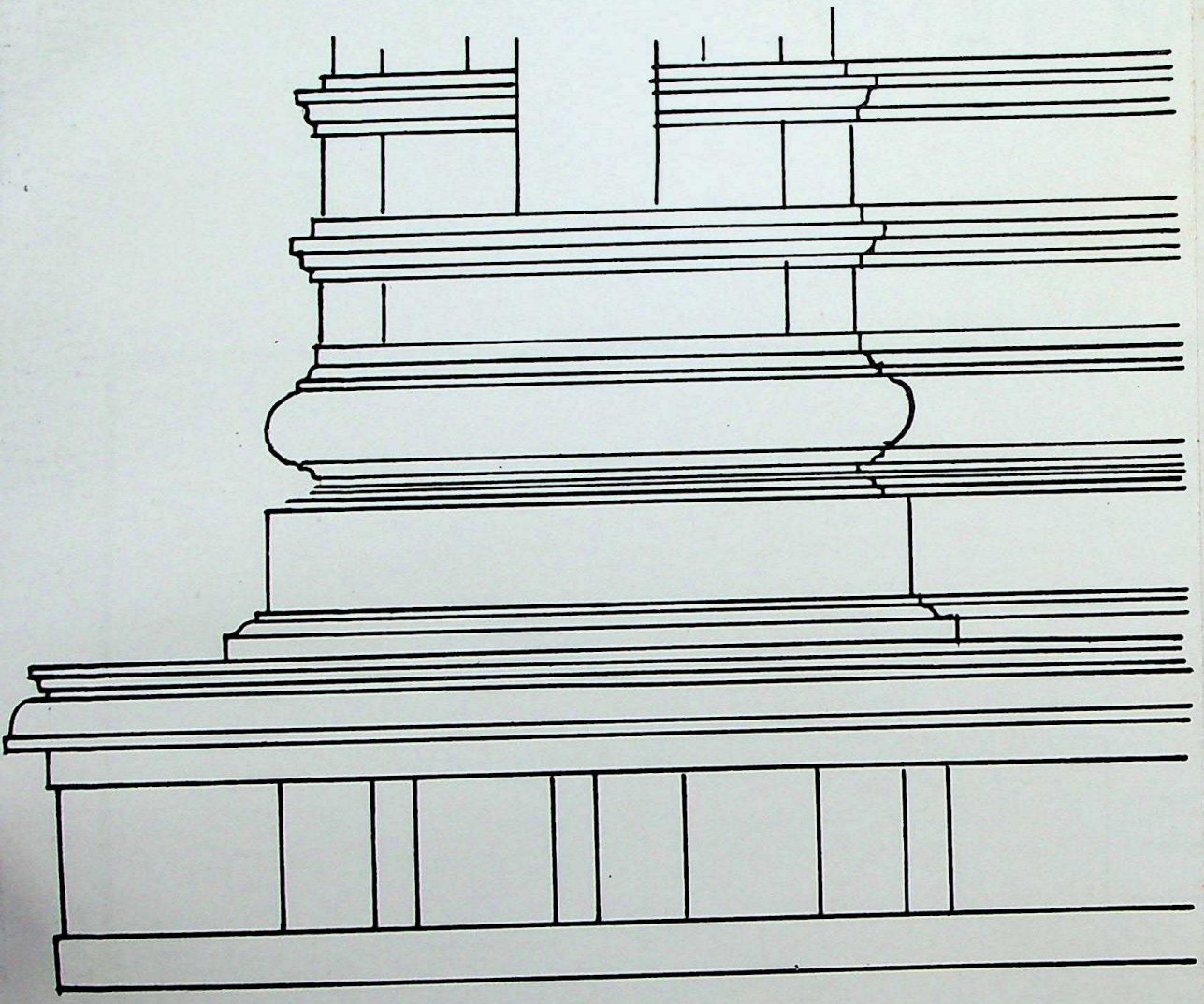
Basements of Middle Chola Temples



RAJARAJESVARAM (1"-4FT)
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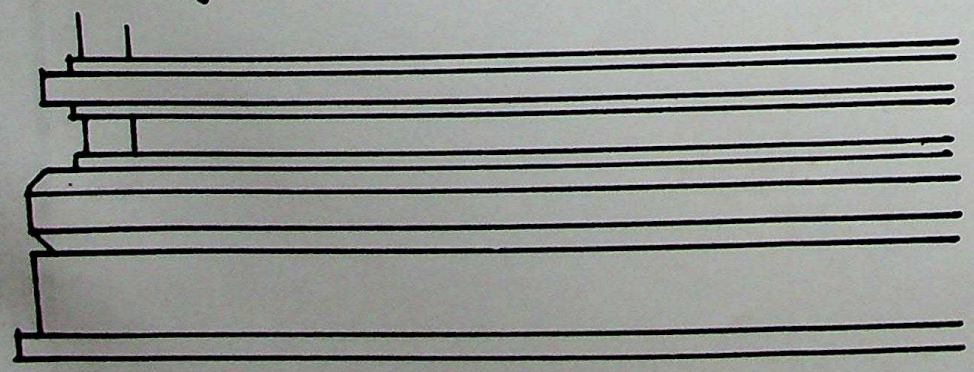

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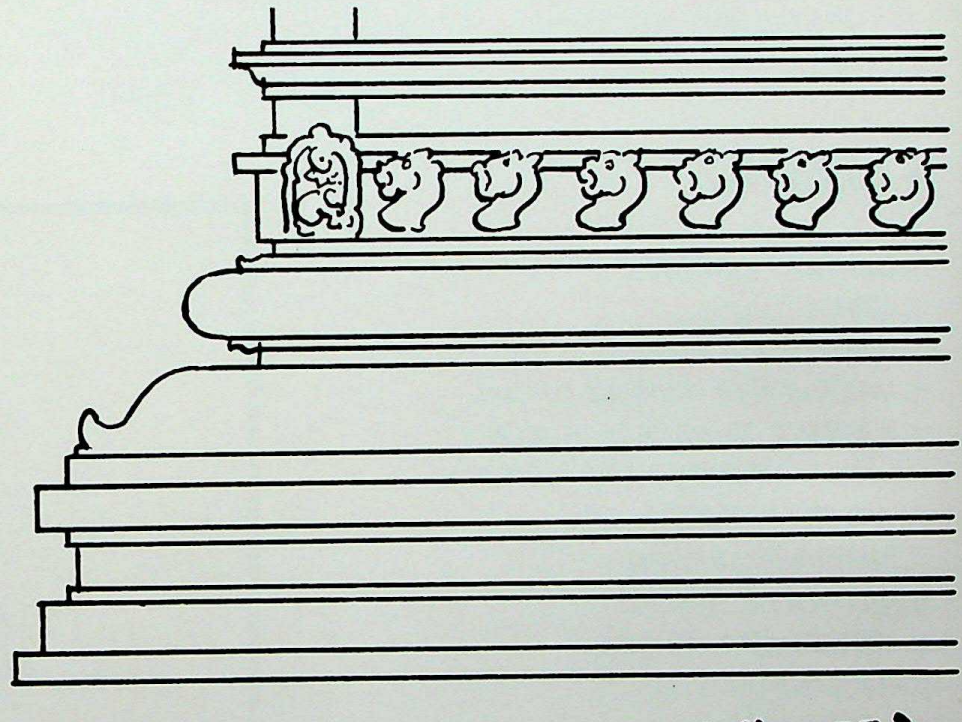

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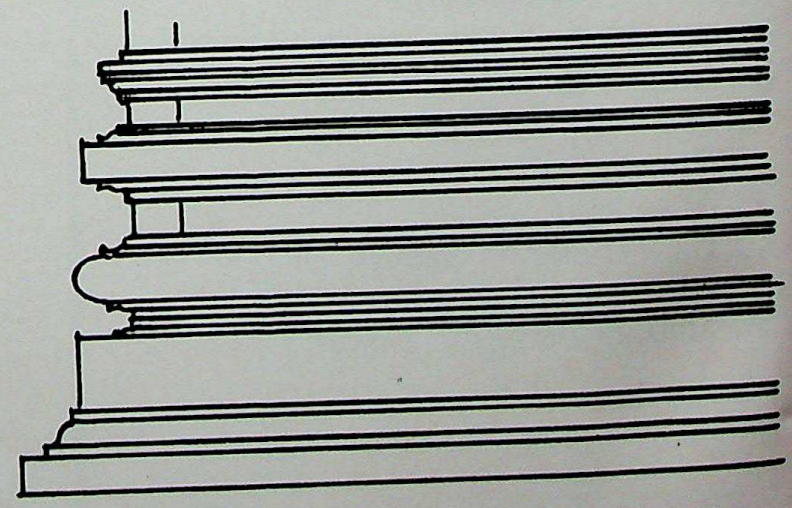

TIRUVORRIYUR (1"-3FT)
(MIDDLE CHOLA)

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Index

b.–battle; Ch.–Chingleput district; ctvm.–chaturvedimangalam; mt.–mountain; q.–queen; r.–river; S.A.–South Arcot district; N.A.–North Arcot district; Tanj–Tanjavur district; t.–temple.

A

ABHAYAKULASEKHARAN RASARASAMANNAN 79
Abhimana-bhushana-terinda-velam 82
Abhimanavalli, q. of Rajaraja I 6, 42, 46
Abhirami Ammai (of Tirukkadaiyur) 105
Abhiramesvarar t. (Agaram S.A.) 141–44
Abul Fazl 70
Achalesvarar t. (Tiruvarur) 274
Achchan Konrukkadan, *alias* Rajavidyadhara Mayalatti 84
Achyutappa Nayak(a) 87
Adavallan 112, 113, 130
Adavallan *alias* Kulottunga-sola Muvendavelan 148
Adhirajendra 214, 215 (valanadu), 226, 283, 295, 344, 372, 373
Adikesava Perumal t. 170–171
Adipurisvarar 76, 285, 290, 294, 344
Adi-Seshan 109
Aditya I (Tondaimandalam Paavina Cholan) 2, 79, 80, 98, 124, 128, 131, 147, 173, 258, 268, 269
Aditya Suryan *alias* Tennavan Muvendavelan 48, 67, 68, 83
Adityesvaram t. 27
Aganaligai(yar) 80, 81, 180, 182
Agaram(Ch.) 291, 292
Agaram(S.A.) 141–144
Agastya(r) 188,238
Agnideva(r) *(dikpala)* 23, 24, 72
Agnikumara Kramavittan *alias* Porkkoyil Chandesvara Yogi (gift of Tirunavukkarasu icon) 107
Agnisvarar t. 172–175
Akhilandesvari shrine, Uttattur 258
Alagadriputtur (Alagar-Tirupputtur) 94–96
Alagesari Ammai 116
Alagiya Narasimha Perumal t. (Rajaraja vinnagaram) Ennayiram 150–156,160
Alandurai Udaiya Paramasvamin (Vedapurisvarar) 144–147
Alattur 133, 137
Alattur-udaiyan Kalan Kannappan *alias* Rajakesari Muvendavelan 83
Alexander 1
Alur (Mysore dist.) 359
Amarabhujangan (puyangan) 4
Ambalavan Gandaradittasola Villuparaiyan (builder of Siva temple at Olagapuram) 138
Ambalavan Tiruppondaiyar *alias* Virasikhamani Muvendavelan 321
Ambasamudram 158, 195–200, 312
Amaravati 109
Ammangadevi (consort of Rajaraja Narendra) 325
Ammanathasvamin t. (Cholendrasimhesvaram) 191, 195, 196
Ammaiyappan Pandi Nadu Kondan Gandar(a) Suriyan, *alias* Raja Raja Sambuvarayan 149, 154
Amritaghatesvarar t. (Tirukkadaiyur) 104–106
Amritavalli ctvm. 103, 104
Amudan Tevan *alias* Rajavidyadhara Villuparaiyan Ulagalandan 83
Anaaya Nayanar 129

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Anaikka-Udaiya Nayanar, Tiru, 121
Anaikkaduvar, Teru, 82
Anangur *alias* Rajaraja-nallur, 155, 156
Anapaya (Kulottunga II) 80, 149
Anukka tiruvasal, 17, 21, 26, 64, 72 (tirumeykkappu);
Anukkiyar Paravai Nangai 21, 64, 277
Appar (Tirunavukkarasu), 6, 96, 106, 107, 109, 110, 122, 256, 265, 272, 293, 294
Appramcyasvamin t. 223–227
Araneri Isvaram 274
Arangan Virrirundan *alias* Nripendrasola Muvendavelan 153
Arasan Vallaladevan (built Rangamandapa) 124
Ardhanarisvarar t. 397–401
Arikulakesari Isvaram (Olagapuram Siva temple) 1, 137–140
Arinjaya Vinnagar(am), Olagapuram 137, 140, 141
Arinjigai ctvm. 66
Arinjigai Isvaram 158
Arpakkam 170–172, 309
Aripatta Nayanar 111
Ariyavammai 301, 302, 304
Arumolidevan (-varman), future Rajaraja I 2, 5, 11
Arumoli-deva-ctvm 64
–do– -valanadu 64, 66, 67, 70–72, 83, 103
–do– -parivarattar 179
–do– -Isvaram (at Malur-Patna) 217–220
–do– -terinda-tirupparigalattar-velam 82,117
Arumoli-nangai *alias* Madevadigal 234
Ashta-Parivara-devatas, 24, 25, 125, 152, 162, 196, 226
Attur (Pandya) 80–81, 178–185
Avur kurram, 64, 103, 104
Ayyadigal Kadavarkon 98, 122
A yyanar (Maha Sasta) t. Ayyur Agaram 141–143
–do– Tiruppidavur (Tiruppattur) 259–263

B

BADAMI 96
Banas 153
Banesvara t 322–323
Bhagiratha 239
Bhairavar shrine (Sitibeta) 317–319
–do– (Tiruvalanjuli) 92–94
Bharadvajan Lokaditya Kuttan (Atttur) 181
–do– Madeva Udaiya Divakaran 179
Bharata's Natya Sastra *(karanas)* 20
Bhaskara Ravivarman Tiruvadi (Chera) 3
Bhattaraki, Sri-(Ennayiram) 151
Bhogesvari or Bhogasakti, Gangaikondasolisvaram 252
–do– Rajarajesvaram, Tanjavur 20, 27
Bhumisvarar t. 133–137
Bhuvananandisvarar 210
Bilhana 240
Brahmadesam (S.A. dist.) 147, 150, 154, 158, 235, 279–281
–do– (N.A. dist.) 148, 157, 159
Brahmadesam, death of Rajendra I and *Sati* of Viramahadevi at 235
Brahma-kuttam 82
Brahmapurisvarar t (Brahmadesam), (Pandya) 147-150, 154, 158, 235
Brihat-Isvaram (Brihadisvaram) 25
Brunel, Francis *(Jewellery of India)* 58

C

CAMARA 133
Chakkarapalli (Chakravagesvarar t.) 401–405
Chakrapani Vengadan 173
Chamunda 321
Chanda-parakrama-terinda valangai-velaikkarar 65
Chandramoulisvarar (am) t. 164
Chaturanana Pandita 301
Cheraman Perumal 31, 32, 261
Cheras 15, 54, 56, 230
Cheyyar 165, 170, 285
Chikka Hansoge (Rajendrasola Jinalaya) 324
Chikkali (Chandrasekharar t.) 360
Chidambaram 20, 32, 78–80, 276, 299
Chinak-kanakam (gold), 112
Chola-Keralan tirumaligai, 242
Chola Mahadevi (q. of Rajaraja I) 6, 42, 44, 73
Chola Narayana (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Chola Pallavaraiyan *alias* Madhurantakan (consecrator of Adavallan icon) 112–113
Chola-Pandya 230, 238
–do– –do– style of architecture 317
Cholendrasimha (Rajaraja I's title), 6
–do– Isvaram (Ammanathasvamin t.) 191–194
–do– Isvaram, Melpadi, 177

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Cholisvaram (Nagerkoyil), 211
-do- (Uttattur), 258
-do- (Mahadanapuram), 263
Chulamanivarman 112, (Rajarajap-perumpalli) 115, 116
Chulikambal shrine (Tiruchchengattangudi) 96, 101

D

DADAPURAM 141, 147, 148, 150, 153, 159-164
Dakshina (Ten) Kailasam (Tiruvaiyaru) 272, 273
-do -do- -do- (Gangaikonda-solisvaram) 252
Danti-Sakti Vitanki (see Loga Mahadevi)
Darasuram 269, 335
Desesvara Udaiyar (Alur) 359
Devalaya Chakravarti 16, 37
Devanpattagal Pandaram (set up Surya icon) 108
Devapratishtai, 149, 150
Devaram 6, (its recovery) 73–81, 109, 240
Devaradevar 80
Devaradiyar 76, 302
Devaraya II 87
Devasrayan *mandapa* 275, 278
Devisvaram t. (Seramadevi) 191, 196–197
Divakaran Vasudevan 192
Domesday Survey (England) 5, 69, 70
Draupadi ratha 27

E

EMAPPERUR 144–147
Ennayiram 28, 147, 150–157, 160, 283, 350
Eran Sadaiyan *alias* Devarakanda Acharyan (designer of temple-lamps) 112
Erichcha Udaiyar t. (Tiruppottudaiyar at Ilangoykkudi), Ambasamudram 198–200
Esalam, see Eydar
Eydar (*alias* Esalam) 147, 154, 157–159, 280
Eyil(r)-Pattinam (and-*kottam*) 133–137, 171

G

GAHADAVALA PRASASTI 255
Ganapati Isvaram (Tiruchchengattangudi), 97–102
Ganapati Ponnalvi *alias* Solai 107
Ganapatiyar (of Tanjavur Rajarajesvaram, Alayattu) 24
-do- (Parivara Alayattu) 24, 28, 68
Gandaraditya(m) 2, 16, 164
-do- -ya-nallur (alias Marakkanam) 135
-do- -do- -sola Villuparaiyan (of Kolar) 138, 139
Gandharva teru 82
Ganesa shrine (Tirunedungalam) 125
Gangan Ambalavan *alias* Gandaraditta-sola Villuparaiyan (see above) 138–139
Gangas 109, 153, 228
Gangapadi 4, 69
Gangaikondasolan (title of Rajendra I) 230–239
Gangaikondasolapuram (or Gangapuri) 235, 240, 276
-do- sola valanadu 155
-do- solan maligai, 295
-do- -ch(s) olisvaram 19, 25, 52, 235, 240–256
*creation of Rajendra I 240; the city of Gangaikondasolapuram 241, 242; the description of the main shrine and the *srivimana* 243–246; niche sculptures, 247–249; dvarapalas and *mahamandapa*, 249–250; *Saura pitha*, 250–251; bronzes, 251–252; Vada- and Ten- Kailasams, 252–253; Chola-gangam, 254; inscriptions, 254–256, 281
Gangaikonda-ch(s)olisvaram, (at Kulambandal) 309–311
Gangaikondan (Pandya) 185, 187–190
Gangaikondasolan *alias* Uttamasola Marayan 301
Gaulisa shrine 306
Geyamanikka valanadu 113
Gingee 148, 150, 164
Godavari r, 1, 4
Gopalasvamin t (Mannarkoyil) 235
Gopurapatti 131, 380, 381
Govindaputtur 174
Govindaswami S.K. 29
Guhanathasvamin t, 212
Guna-vira-ma-munivar 176
Guptas 1

H

HANNIBAL 1
Harihara II 100

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Hemavati 319
Hiranyagarbha 93
Historical survey (of Middle Chola temples) 329–333
Hottur, battle of 5, 256, 326

I

IDANGAI 258
Idangali Nayanar 79
Ilam (Sri Lanka) 69
Ilada Mahadevi (a q. of Rajaraja I) 42, 47, 84
Ilangoykkudi (Ambasamudram) 199
Iluppai-pal 70
Immadi Tammaiya deva 123
Iramanur 67
Irana-kraya-pramana-isaivu-tittu (deed of debt-relief) 114
Irayiravan Pallavaiyan, *alias* Mummadisola Posan, a Perundanam 65, 83
Irumadisolan hall (Tanjavur) 15
Irumadisolan terinda villigal 76
Irumbudal (-lai), alias Manikulachulamani ctvm., 64 (Alangudi, Tanj. dt.)
Isanadeva(r) (dikpala) 23, 24, 72
Isana Siva Pandita, Guru (Chief Priest of Rajarajesvaram) 24, 51, 52, 63, 310
Ittagi (Mahadeva t. at,) (Devalaya Chakravarti) 16

J

Jagannathesvarar t. (Kulambandal) 309–311
Jala-pratishthai 149, 153
Jambukesvaram t., 390–394
Jananathan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Jananatha-mangalam (Polannaruva) 215
Jananatha-terinda-parivarattar 64, 84
Janardana t. (at Tadi-Maalingi) 227–229
Jayangonda solan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Jayangondasolapuram 240
Jayangondasola-*mandalam* 69, 71, 135, 175
Jayangondasola-*perunteru* 82, 134, 160, 167
Jayangondasola-*vinnagar* (at Malur-Patna) 217, 220–222
Jayangondasola-*Isvaram* 174, 175
Jayangondasola-*puram* (alias Vikkur) 174
Jayasimha II, 234, 238–239
Jvaraharesvarar 30

K

KABERIS (OF PTOLEMY), 133
Kadalangudi 83
Kadan Ganavadi 66
Kadaram (Kedah, Kidaram, Kataha) 2, 109, 111, 233, 234
Kailasa 31, 32, 35, 263, 272
Kailasamudaiyar t (Arikulakesari Isvaram, Olagapuram) 137–140
Kailasanathar t. (Brahmadesam) 200–201
Kailasanathar t. (Pasuvandanai) 190–192
Kailasanathar t. (Agaram, Ch. dt) 291–292
Kailasanathar t. (Kanchi) 20
Kailasanathar t. (Tirupattur) 260
Kailasanathar (-thasvamin) t. (Mannargudi), 358
Kailasapati t. (Gangaikondan) 187–190
Kailasesvarar t. (Malur) 223–224
Kailayattup-Paramasvamin t. (Siva t., at Olagapuram) 137–140
Kalakala devar 105, 106
Kalidindi (b. of) (memorial temples) 234, 325–328
Kalingattupparani 233, 240
Kali Emperuman 156
Kalpa Korale (in Sri Lanka) 217
Kalappal 66
Kalarmulainathesvarar 116
Kalitava-mangalam 83
Kaliyur kottam 174
Kamakshi (Kamakoti) t., 27
Kamarasavalli 83
Kampana Udaiyar 284
Kanchi (puram) 20, 27, 96, 170, 172, 211, 238, 285, 301, 309
Kanchi-vayil 63
Kandalisvarar t. (Tenneri) 405, 407
Kandalur-salai-kalamarut-taruli 3, 9–10, 233
Kandamangalam 345, 347
Kandarachchan Pattalagan *alias* Nittavinoda Villuparaiyan 83
Kandan Aiyanar *alias* Nripasikhamani Muvenda velan 182
Kanjan Kondaiyan 28
Kannaradeva 144, 145
Kanyakumari 3, 4, 27, 208, 209, 210
Kapardisvarar t., 92
Karaikkal 264
Karikala (Cholan) 293
K(h)aravela 176

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Karayil Eduttapadam 67, 83
Kari-varada-perumal (t) 152, 160
Karohana (Karona, Kayarohana) t., 109–115
Karunanandadakkan (Ay king) 9
Karuvur D(t)evar 21, 31, 34, 240, 344
Kattumannarkoyil (-gudi) 78
Kavantandalam (Kaaivan-tandalam) 285–287
Kavanur, *alias* Kamala-narayana ctvm., 303
Kaveri 89, 96, 109, 264
Kaverip-pum-pattinam 133
Kayattaru 190
Kayirur-Agaram (or Mahasasta Agaram) (SA), 41
Keralantakan (Rajaraja I's title) 5
Keralantakan-*tiruvasal* 17
Keralantakan *valanadu* 72, 83
Keralantakan-*terinda-parivarattar* 64
Keralantakan-*vasal-tirumeykkappar* 64
Khandariya Mahadeva t. 37
Killi Valavan (Chola king) 110
Kiranur (Attur) 179, 184
Kirti Parakraman (Rajaraja I's title), 6
Koli, 83 (Kori), 66
Kodumbalur 208
Kolagaala (Gangesvaram) 361
Kolar (Kolaramma t.) 319–322
Kollippakkai (Kulpak) 234
Komakkudi 105
Konapiran 107–109
Koneri-rajapuram (Tirunallam) 6
Kongalar *angadi* 82
Koppam (b. of, death of Rajadhiraja I at) 149
Kopperunjinga (Pallava) 149
Koranganathar t. (Srinivasanallur) 18
Korkai (*alias* Madhurantaka-nallur and Madhurodaya-nallur) 180
Kottamangalam 376–377
Kottaru, *alias* Vidyadhara ctvm. 132–133, 209, 230
Kovan Annamalai (icon gift) 50
Kovan Tailaiyan 83
Krishna Deva Raya (Vijayanagara) 53
Krishna II (Rashtrakuta) 268
Krishna III (–do–) 144, 145, 173, 175
Krishnan Raman (Narakkan) *alias* Mummadisola Brahma-marayan 22, also *alias* Rajendrasola Brahma-marayan, 23, 26, 47, 163, 268, 319–320
Kshatriya-sikhamani (title of Rajaraja I) 75
–do– –do– *valanadu* 70, 71, 72, 83, 182
Kshetrapalar (Bhairavar) shrine, Tiruvalanjuli 92–94
Kshetra-venba 122
Kubera *(dikpala)* 23
Kudamalai nadu (Coorg) 4
Kuda nadu 179, 181
Kuditangi Mummadisolan *alias* Jeyangonda Vesalippadi 181
Kulattur 153
Kulambandal 235, 309–311
Kulasekhara Alvar shrine (Mannarkoyil) 316
Kulottunga I 10, 28, 70, 76, 80, 87, 99–101, 105, 116–117, 148, 149, 153, 180, 196, 211, 234, 255, 256, 267, 278, 280, 289, 294, 298, 305, 317, 321, 334.
Kulottunga II, 134, 149, 259, 280
Kulottunga III 100, 103, 106, 111, 113, 117, 121, 126, 134, 154, 256, 258, 271, 278, 287, 299.
Kulottungasola Muvendavelan 153
Kulottunga solan-tiru-vendattu-kati, 106
Kundanguli Mahadevar t., 132–133
Kundavai (Akkan, Rajaraja I's elder sister) 4, 38 (images set up by) 42, 54, 59, 62, 89, 141, 159–164, 269, 311.
–do– -jinalaya, 160, 163, 175
–do– -pereri, 159
–do– -vinnagar, Dadapuram 148, 151, 153, 163–164.
–do– (Rajaraja I's daughter and q. of Vimaladitya) 4, 90, 92, 231, 325
Kuravan Ulagalandan, *alias* Raja Maharajan, Senapati (Rajaraja I's Survey & Settlement Officer) 71, 83
Kurttan Kesuvan *alias* Agralekhai (agent of Kidarattaraiyan) 112
Kuttalam 208
Kuttan Ganavadi, *alias* Uttamasola Marayan 301
Kuvalalam (Kuvalala-puram=Kolar) 319, 320
Kuvam 167, 287–290 (alias Madhurantaka-nallur) 288, 294

L

LAKSHIMINARAYANA PERUMAL t, 285

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Lakulisa 272
Lalgudy 77, 122, 128
Leyden Grant, Larger (Anaimangalam) 5, 7, 22, 115, 116
Leyden Grant, Smaller, 116
Lingaraj (Bhubanesvar), 37
Loga Mahadevi, *alias* Danti Sakti Vitanki (Rajaraja I's q.) 6, 42, 43, 73
Loga Mahadevi Isvaram 89–91, 137–141, 311
Loga Marayan 83
Loga Sundarar (icon set-up) 125

M

MADEVADIGAL 93
Madagadippattu 132–133
Madaippalli-*teru* 82
Madurai 208, 231 (Meenakṣhi t., at), 27
Madirai-konda-Parakesari 92, 124, 144
Mad(h)urantaka, title of Parantaka I
–do– (See Parantaka I) 3, 27, 77, 124, 177
–do– title of Rajendra I, 235, 238
Mad(h)urantaka-ctvm., (Tirumukkudal) 165
–do– -Isvaram (Panayavaram) 283
Madhurantakan, *alias* Parakesari Velar, Senapati 235
Magaral 171
Mahadanapuram (Tiruchy dt.) 263
Maha Sasta t. (Agaram, S.A. dt.) 141–142
Mahendragiri 1, 4, 9
Mahendramangalam, 263
Mahimalaya Irukkuvel (benefactions of), 395–396
Mahodai (Cranganore) 234
Malai nadu 5, 15, 54, 56, 69
Mallappa Nayak 25
Mallesvarar t. 324
Mallikarjuna 123
Malur 223–227
Malur Patna 217–222
Mannarkoyil (Gopalasvami t.) 235, 312-317
Marayan Rajarajan 83
Mamallapuram 27
Mamandur 309
Mammalai 14
Manakkanam (Marakkanam) 133–137
Manakkavaram (Nicobar isl.) 109, 233
Manali, *alias* Simhavishnu-ctvm., 76, 302
Manikantesvarar (Manikkesvarar) t., 159–162
Manikkavasagar *(Tiruvenbavai)*, 304
Mankondan Devandan 114
Mannargudi 116, 358
Mantottam (Mattottam) 213–214
Manu-Niti-S(Ch)olan 275
Maravijayottunga(n) (varman), king of Sri Vijaya 122
Marrari-varada-isvaram (Tiruvasi) 386–390
Mauryas 1
Mayuram 104
Meenavan Mahadevi (Rajaraja I's q.) 6
Meg(h)alapura 302, 303
Melakkudalur, *alias* Purusha Narayana nallur 156
Melappaluvur 271
Mel(r)padi 158, 177, 238
Miladudaiyar Narasingapanmar, (builder of Tirukkoyilur Vishnu t.) 338
Miraik-kurram 67
Muchukunda Chakravarti 118
Mudikondan (Rajendra I's title) 52, 96, 235
Mudikonda-s(ch)olapuram (Palaiyaru) 270
Mulasthanam Udaiyar (Ennayiram) 151
–do– –do– t. (at Sutturu) 323
Mulliyur Udaiyan Ariyan Madhurantakan, *alias* Kulottungasola Kerala-rayan 211
Mummadi-solan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
–do– sola Mandalam (Sri Lanka) 69
–do– sola Mandapa 151, 153, 225
–do– sola Posan (icon gifts) 50
–do– sola Valanadu 206
Mungilapattu 171
Murugan Kaliyan 144
Murugesvara Swami t. 143–144
Muruganallur 66
Musangi t. 234
Muvar ula 240

N

NAGAS 110
Nagapattinam 2, 97, 109–166
(A large number of fine Buddhist bronzes were recently unearthed here, and the Madras Government Museum has published a descriptive catalogue on them.)
Nagaikkaronam 97
Nagai-Alagar (silver image set up by Sri Vijaya's agent) 111

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Nagerkoyil 4, 209–212
Nakkan Tillai-alagiyar *alias* Panchavan Mahadevi (Rajaraja I's q.) 107
Nala 264; Nala Narayana Perumal 267
Nandan Kuttadi *alias* Jayangondasola Brahmamarayan, a *Perundanam* 84
Nambi Andar Nambi 78–80
Nambi Udattur Udaiyar 151
Nandigunda 324
Nandivarman II (Pallava) 77, 260
Nannaderpakkam *alias* Vikramasola nallur 154, 157
Narasimhavarman I (Pallava), 96
Narayana Kali Kramavittan, 141
Narayanasvami t. (Malur Patna) 217, 220–222
Narayana Tiruvengadam *alias* Atula Vichchadira Muvendavelan, 180
Narttamalai 119–121, 158
Narumbunadar t 197–198
Nattarmangalam 67
Nava-tandava-murtis 101
Nedumanal *alias* Madanamanjari ctvm. 63, 102, 103
Nelliyappar t 185–187
Nemur 148, 151, 157
Netroddharakasvamin t. (Paravai Isvaram) 282–285
Nigarili-solan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
–do– sola padi 69
–do– sola Mandalam 214
–do– sola puram 218, 221, 225, 311, 320
–do– sola ctvm. 191, 195
–do– sola vinnagar (Ramasvamin t.) 191-195
Nilotpalambal 275
Nimbala devi 301, 304
Nimalan Agastisvaran (gifts by agent of Sri Vijaya king) 112
Nirutti (dikpala) 23, 24
Nirvelur 169
Nitta (Nitya) Vinodan (Rajaraja I's title) 5
–do– Vinoda valanadu 64, 70, 71, 72
–do– Vinoda Maharayan, a *perundanam*, 84
Niyayam-Sirudanattu-valangai-velaikkarar-Padaigalilar 65
Niyayam-Uttamasola-terinda-andalar-gattalar 65
Nolamba padi, 4, 69, 317, 319
Nripatunga Jaya(n)tangi ctvm 141, 142
–do– Vikramavarman (Pallava) 165

O

OLAGAPURAM 133, 137–141, 311
Olakkur (Olakkaiyur) Agastyesvaram t. 364–365
Oyma nadu 134, 139

P

PACHCHAIPPADIGAM 264
Pachchil Amalisvaram 131, 380, 381
Pachchil Merrali 382–383
Padambakka Nayaka (Nayanar) 306–307
Palaiyanur 101
Palar 165, 170
Palayarai 269, 270
Pallavan Mahadevi 72
Pallichchandam 115, 177
Pallikondar t. (Attur, Rajaraja Vinnagar) 178, 179, 185
Pallikondar t. Chikkali 360
Pallikondar t. Tirunelveli 185–187
Pallikondar t. Siva Devale 2, Polannaruva; 214–217
Pallippadai 270–272
Pallittongal 169
Palliyarai Nachchiyar 27
Palur (Paluvur) 394–396
Pakki nadu, 4
Panaipakkam 145,
Panaiyur 68, 171
Panayavaram 21, 157, 282, 285
Panchacharyar 169
Panchanadisvaram t. (Tiruvaiyaru) 89, 272
Panchanadisvaram (Vadugur) 347
Panchavan Mahadeviyar (Rajaraja I's q.) 6, 42–44
Panchavan Mahadeviyar velam 82
Panchavan Mahadeviyar Nakkan Tillai-alagiyar 107
Panchavan Mahadevi Isvaram 269, 270
Panchavan Mahadeviyar (image set up at Rajarajesvaram by) 271
Panchavan Mahadeviyar (Rajendra I's q.) 234
Panditasola-terinda-villaligal 65
Pandya (s) 4, 15, 54, 56, 59, 91, 230
Pandyakulasani (Rajaraja I's title) valanadu 5, 25, 28, 71, 72

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Pandya mandalam 69, 95
Pangala nadu 172, 177
Panini 305
Panmaiyar *teru* 82
Paramasvamin (Rajarajesvaram Udaiyar) 68
Paranjoti 96
Parantaka I (Madiraiyum Ilamum konda Parakesari), 3, 27, 77, 124, 177, 188, 207, 230, 260, 347, 349
Parantaka II (Sundara Chola) 159
Parantaka ctvm. 61
Parantaka Suttamalliyar, *alias* Mukkokila-nadigal 279
Parasivan Ponnan *alias* Kalavinoda Nritta Peraraiyan (nattuvan-nilai) 106
Paravai Nangaiyar 282–285
Paravai Isvaram Udaiya Mahadevar 282, 283
Paravai-puram 283–285
Parasurama 11, 125
Parijata vanesvarar t. 116–118
Parthivendradhipativarman 173
Parasurami(e) svarar 128–132
Patalisvarar (m) (Brahmadesam, S.A.) 279–281
Pattalagan Adittan (set up image of Surya deva) 95
Pattinam (Eyil p. = Marakkanam) 134
Pattinam (nak-kurram) 111, 113
Pavana Pidaran Sivacharya 52
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea 133
Periyapuranam 96
Periya Udaiya Nayanar (Peruvudaiyar) 25
Perumakkalur Udaiyan Veydan Seyyapadam 276
Perambalamarudur 65
Perumbanappadi 176
Perumukkil 133, 137
Peru-nangai-mangalam 67
Pidariyar t. (Kolar) 319–322
Poduca 133, 134
Polannaruva (Siva Devale 2) 217–225
Pondicherry (Puduch-cheri) 132
Pon-maligai-tunjina-devar (Sundara Chola) 42, 60, 159
Prithivi Mahadevi (q. of Rajaraja I) 42, 45
Ptolemy 109, 133
Pudi Sattan 84
Pugal Chola Nayanar 79
Pugal tunai Nayanar 94
Pullai Sattan Karivelan Gandaradittan, *alias* Mummadi Soliyavaraiyar (builder of Alagadriputtur t.) 95
Pullampadi 268
Puri Bhattan (builder of Madagadippattu t.) 133
Purangarambai nadu 66
Purridamkondar (Tiruppasur) 295
Purushottama Emperuman (Tiruppattur) 260
Pushpa-vanesvarar t. (Tirup-pun-turutti), 7
Putarjunesvarar t. 197–198
Putteri 172

R

RAJARAJA I 1–229, (land survey) 5, (Chola-marttandan) 6, (Raja-marttandan) 6, (titles of Rajaraja I) 5–6, (queens of Rajaraja I) 6, (Rajaraje(i)svaram t. built by him), 6, (Rajaraja I's virtues) 7, *(Sri-Rajaraja-vijayam)* 7, (description of Rajarajesvaram t.) 14–88, (Rajarajan-tiruvasal) 17, 26, 72, (Mural paintings) 29–36, (gifts of icons to Rajarajesvaram) 37-53, (land gifts by) 68–70, (land survey) 70, (watchmen for the t.) 72, (talip-pendir) 73–75, (names of temples and women-servants mentioned) 74–75, (the Chief Architect and his assistant builders of Rajarajesvaram t.) 75, (recovery of *Devaram* hymns) 75–80, (singing of *Deva-ram* before Devaradevar) 80, (lamp gifts) 81–84, (gifts of lamps by military officers to avert defeat) 83, (enormous endowments and lavish provision for all temple re-quirements) 84–85, (the unique features of Rajarajesvaram) 85–86, *Rajarajesvara-natakam*, provision for performance of) 87 (Rajarajesvaram) 244, (order to pull down the Tirumaluvadi t. for renovation), 268, 270, 281, 294, 310, 347
Rajaraja II, 106, 113, 117, 130, 153, 157, 335
Rajaraja III 78, 87, 92, 100, 127, 130, 305
Rajarajan (title conferred on Arumoli-devan) 5, 15, 54, 55, 59
Rajaraja valanadu 70, 72
Rajarajan Brahma Marayan 325–326

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Rajarajan Brahma Marayan perangadi 82
Rajaraja ctvm. (Brahmadesam S.A.) 148, 153, 157
Rajaraja ctvm. (Tiruvalisvaram) 207
Rajaraja Isvaram Udaiyar 152
Rajaraja Kattiyarayan (icon gift) 51
Rajaraja mandalam 69, 71
Rajaraja Muvendavelan (icon gift) 50
Rajaraja Pandi nadu 69
Rajaraja p-perumpalli 112
Rajaraja Vadya-marayan 166
Rajaraja *alias* Vanavan Brahmadhirajan, Perundanam, 167
Rajaraja Vidyadharap-*perun-teru* 82
Rajaraja Vinnagar alvar (Ennayiram) 148, 150–156
Rajaraja Vinnagar (Pallikondar t. Attur), 179
Rajaraja vinoda-terinda-valangai-velaikkarar 65
Rajakesari Kodandaraman *alias* Jayangondasola Kadigai Marayan 67
Rajakesari Vinnagar 376–377
Rajakesari-nallur 67, 84
Raja Mahendra 139, 339
Raja-narayana valanadu 105, 267
Raja-narayana tirumandapam 275
Raja-narayana Sambuvarayan 171
Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II 260
Rajasimha Pandya 207, 230
Rajasrayapuram (Melpadi) 178
Ramakudam of Eli malai (Mt. d' Eli) 233
Rajadhiraja I 1, 10, 90, 91, 99, 103, 104, 105, (Rajadhirajan Salai) 105, (consecration of Adavallan) 112, 117, 134, 169, 230, 233, (death of Rajendra I and Vira Mahadevi's *sati*) 235, (his death at Koppam) 236, 241, 255, 257, 261, (enacting *Arya-k-kuttu*) 266, 277, 279, 302, 334-337, his wars-sack of Kalyanapura, celebration of *virabhishekam*, assumed title of Vijayarajendra, performed *asvamedha yajna*, his gifts to images of Rajendra I and Anukkiyar, his gift of Tiruvidandai village to Varaha temple) 335–337, (temples of Rajadhiraja I's days) 345–361.
Rajadhiraja II 130, 307
Rajendra I, 1, 10, 11, 21, 24, 28, 52, 62, 64, 68, 91, 93, 99, 103, 104, 107, 108, 111, 112, 116, 117, 130, 134, 142, 146, 151, 153, 155, 160, 168, 171, 176, 180, 187, 193, 197, 199, 214, 218, 222, 230–233, (Ganga region conquest) 232, (naval expedition and conquest of the Sailendra empire) 232–233, (his queens) 234, (his titles) 235, (death of Rajendra I and his q. Vira Mahadevi's *sati* at Brahmadesam) 235, 261, 268, 270, 273, 276, 295, (built a new Saptamatrika shrine at Kolar) 320, (palace built at Madurai for Chola-Pandya viceroy) 348, 349
Rajendra-simha ctvm. (Periya Maluvur) 224, 226
Rajendra-simha valanadu (Vadakarai) 67
Rajendra-Chola deva *mandapa* (Tiruvarur) 277
Rajendra-Chola Isvaram (Kavan Tandalam) 285–287
Rajendra-Chola Isvaram (Kottagere) 360–361
Rajendra Simhesvaram (Malur) 223–226
Rajendra-solar Jinalayam 324–325
Rajendra-solan *mandapa* 284
Rajendra-simha matha 350, 354
Rajendra -solan Pallavaraiyan 113
Rajendra-solan valanadu 283
Rajendra-solan vinnagar (Gopalasvami t.) 235, 312–317, (built A.D. 1025) 312, 315, (Alvar bronzes) 315
Rajendra-solan vinnagar (Panayavaram) 283
Rajendra deva II, 1, 87, 108, 111, 113, 120, 171, 266, 267, 273, 277, 282, 288, (his victory at Koppam, his coronation on the battle-field, endowment for enacting *Rajarajesvara-natakam*) 337–338, 350, (Tiruk-koyilur Vishnu t.) 362–364, (Olakkur, Agastyesvaram) 364–365, (Vinnamangalam, Perumal t.) 366
Rajendra III, 121
Rajendra-singa Muvendavelan 301
Rajendra-simhan (Rajaraja I's title) 5
Rajendra-simha valanadu, 70, 71, 72, 90, 268
Rajendrasolapuram 206
Ramanathan koyil 269–272
Ramanuja Acharya, (alleged persecution by Kulottunga I) 356–357
Ramasvamin t. (Seramadevi) 155, 191–194
Rashtrakutas 4, Rattapadi (seven and a half lakhs) 4

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Raudra-mahakalattu-madaivilagam 82
Ravi *alias* Virasola Takshan (builder of Tiruvorriyur t.) 300
Ravikula-manikkam (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Ravikula-manikka Isvaram, 148, 159, 162, 229
Ravikula-manikka Perumpalli at Puduppadi, 177
Ravikula-manikka vinnagar 227–229
Rowland, Benjamin (on icons) 52

S

SABHAPATI MANDAPA (TIRUVARUR) 278
Sadasiva Maharaya (Vijayanagara) 160
Sadayam (Rajaraja I's natal star) 2, 107
Sadyojatamurti 30
Sakkadi Samudaiyan *alias* Sembiyan Madevip-peruntattan (builder of Vada Kailasam-*tattarak-kani*), 90
Saktivarman (E. Chalukya) 4
Sailendras 2, 115, 116
Saliyat-teru 82
Samavedisvarar 128–132
Sambandar 96, 97, 110, 122, 213, 264, 288, 293, 299
Samivanesvarar t. 386, 390
Sanibhagavan 264
Sangiliyar 299
Sarangapani t. (Kumbhakonam) 20
Sar(a)foji Maharaja 26, 87
Sarva Siva Pandita, Saivacharya 52, 241
Satru-bhayankara-terinda-velam 107
Sattan Ramadeviyar 302
Sattanar (Ayyanar) 261
Satyambika Amman 284
Satyasraya (W. Chalukya) 5, 11, 55, 231 257
Savur Paranjoti 84
Sekkilar 96
Sembiyan Mahadevi 2, 6, 52, 115, 129, 164, 165, 274
Sembiyan Mahadevi Perumandapam (Tirumukkudal) 165
Sembiyan Mulaiyur-nattu Muvendavelan, 130
Sembiyan Muvendavelan *alias* Uttamasola Brahmadhiraja *kanmi*, 125
Sembiyan Mukkokilanadigal, *alias* Kannara-Nachchiyar Pidara-Nangai(yar) (Rajaraja I's q.) 170
Senkunram 174–175
Seramadevi 155, 191–197
Singalantakan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Singalantakan terinda-parivarattar 65
Siralar 97, 102 (tirumandapam) 97
Sitibeta 317–319, (bronzes) 319
Sitpulinadu 4
Sivadasan solai *alias* Rajaraja Brahmamaharajan *padaividu*, 82
Sivaji 70
Sivakasi Plates 91, 233
Sivapuram 80–81 (Urogadam) 167–170
Sivalokamudaiya Paramasvamin 164, 165
Sivapada Sekhara(r), (Rajaraja I's title) 5, 15, 54, 55, 59, *(tiru-manjanattar velam)* 108
Sobhanayyan (kudiraikarar), 103
Solakulavalli-pattinam (Nagapattinam), 113, 116
Solapuram (near Vellore), 171–172
Sola-vichchadira-ctvm., 118
Somaskanda shrine (Tirunedungalam), 128
Somesvara I (W. Chalukya), 234
Somesvarar t. (Attur), 175–185
Sonaka-ch-chidukkin kudu, 58
Sopatna (Marakkanam) 133, 134
Sri Bhattaraki (Ennayiram) 28
Sri Kanthan Kamban *alias* Abhimana-meru Natakap-peraraiyan (enacting *Ariyakkuttu*) 266
Sri Lanka (or Ilangai or Ceylon) 1, 4, 5, 69, 70, 216, 280
Srinivasanallur, 18
Sriperumbudur 280
Sri Rajaraja (title bestowed on Arumoli devan), 15
Sri Vijaya (Sri Vishaya, Palembang), 109, 111–116, 232
Srutiman Nakkan Chandiran *alias* Rajamalla Muttaraiyan (his exploit at Hottur), 257
Sthanunatha, 210–211
Stupik-kudam (Rajarajesvaram t.), 6
Suchindram, 208, 210
Sundara Ch(S)ola *alias* Parantaka II, 2 (vinnagar) 151, 159, (pereri), 159
Sundara Chola vinnagar atular salai (Tanjavur), 160
Sundara Chola-Pandya, Jatavarman (viceroy) 181, 187, 192, 193, 199, 206, 312
Sundara Chola-Pandya, Villuparaiyan, 303
Sundara Chola-Pandya-*terinda palayaval*, 181
Sundaramurti, 31, 32, 261

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Sundara Pandya, Maravarman 91, 180 233
Surasikhamani *perunteru* 82
Suryanarkoyil 256
Sutturu 323
Svarnapurisvarar t. 94–96
Svayam Mohanambika (Amman temple, Tiruppasur) 298

T

TADIGAIPADI 4
Tadi Maaling(a)i, 227–229
Taila Kula Kalan (title of Rajaraja I), 6
Takkolam (b. of), 4, 233, 236
Talaigramam, 301
Talakkad(u), 153, 219, 228, 288
Talip-pendir 73–77, 166
Tambittunai-sola valanadu 134
Tambraparni (Tamraparni, Tanporundam) r. 188
Tangi Aruran (Uttara-mantri) 145
Tanjai-tirut-talik-kulattar t. 6
Taniyur, 151, 166
Tanjavur 14, 15, (Nayak), 20, 25, (Nayak paintings) 29, 75, 81 (streets in) 82, 89, 159, 160
Telunga-kula-kalan (Rajaraja I's title) 6
Telunga-kula-kala-puram, 120
Tenneri, 405–407
Ten-Kailasam (Tiruvaiyaru) 27, 272, 273
Ten-Kailasam (Gangaikonda-solapuram), 27
Thyagaraja shrine (Tirunallaru) 267, 276–279
Thyagesa, 78
Tillai-tiru-nattap-perumal *alias* Vijayalaya Muttaraiyan, 127
Tindivanam, 137, 150
Tiruch-chalaitturai Mahadevar, 198
Tiruch-chalaitturai Ninrarulina Emperuman, 200
Tiruch-chattimurram, 269
Tiruch-chengattangudi, 96–102
Tiruch-chengodu, 397–401
Tiruch-*Chirrambala-velaikkaran-tiru-mandapam*, 105
Tiruch-churrumaligai, 98, 274, 279, 322
Tiruchi (rappalli) 14, 119
Tirukkadaiyur, see Tirukkadavur 105, 104–106
Tiruk-kailasa-jnana-ula 261
Tirukkalar 116–118
Tirukkandiyur (Mangalambika shrine) 27
Tiruk-kaikkotti 119
Tiruk-kanji 348–349
Tiruk-kannapuram 26, 99, 100
Tiruk-kamak-kottam (Udaiya Nachchiyar, first independent Amman shrine at Chidambaram) 28
Tiruk-karavasal (Tirukkarayil) 118–119
Tiruk-koyilur (Vishnu t.) 362–368, 368
Tiruk-kuttachalam (Kuttalam) 188
Tiru-magal-pola (Rajaraja I's prasasti) 3, 15
Tiru-malai (Jinalaya of Kundavai) 175–177
Tiru-malaik-kadambur 119–121 158
Tiru-malai Vengadam, *Perundanam* 84
Tiru-malavadi 234, 267–269
Tiru-mandapam Udaiya Nayanar (Tiruppidavur) 259–263
Tiru-*manjanap-pittar* 104
Tiru-mangalam 128–132
Tiru-marugal 97
Tiru-munaippadi 15
Tiru-naraiyur 78–80
Tiru-nedungalam 122–128
Tiru-nelveli (Nelliyappar t., Pallikondar shrine) 165–167
Tirunallam (Konerirajapuram) 6, 76, 77
Tiru-*nadai-maligai* 123, 124
Tirup-padiyam 27, 89, 268, *(vinnappam seyvar)* 80
Tirup-painjili 266, 383–386
Tirup-pasur (p-pachchur) 235, 293–299
Tirup-pattur (Tiruppidavur) 259–263
Tirup-pudaimarudil 197–198
Tirup-pugalur 96, 97, 107, 109, 266, 271
Tirup-punturutti 7
Tirup-purambiyam 266
Tirup-puvanam, Ten (Attur, Somanathadevar t.), 179
Tirut-*tandagam* (Appar's) 6
Tirut-tani 290, 294
Tirut-*tondattogai* (Sundarar's), 275
Tiru-vaduturai 77
Tiru-vaiyaru 272–273
Tiru-vaiyotti (Ayodhya)-alvar 130
Tiru-vakkarai 154, 164, 165, 372, 373
Tiru-valisvaram (Pandya desa) 158, 201–209, 266

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Tiru-vamattur 131
Tiru-vanaikka (Jumbukesvaram), 390–394
Tiru-vandarkoyil 345–349
Tiru-vanjaikkalam 32
Tiru-varur 21
Tiru-vasi 386–390
Tiru-*vaymoli* 155
Tiru-venkattu-nangai 97, 102
Tiru-veppan-terri-udaiya Nayanar (Tiruppattur) 259, 262
Tiru-verumbur 131
Tiru-vidaimarudur 270
Tiru-v-Iramanadichcharam 101, 102–104
Tiru-v-Iramanadisvaram 100, 102–104, 158
Tiru-v-iramesvaram (Tanj) 100, 102–104, 158
Tiru-v-iramesvaram (Esalam) 157, 158
Tiru-v-iramesvaram (Tiruvalisvaram, Pandya) 206
Tiru-virattanam Udaiya Paramasvamin (Tirukkadaiyur) 105
Tiru-vira-vinnagar 170–171
Tiru-visalur (*Hiranyagarbha*) 93
Tiru-vorriyur (Adipurisvarar t.) 235, 294, 299–309, *(mathas)* 300, *(mandapas)* 300, (main deities) 300, (central shrine rebuilt of stone by Ravi *alias* Virasola Takshan) 300, (Karanai Vitanka devar) 303–304, (Nataraja shrine) 303–304, (central shrine) 305, (Gaulisa shrine) 306–307, (Vattapirai Amman) 308, (Kali) 308–309, (Bhairavar icon) 308, (Chandesvarar) 309
Tiruvunnaligai 80–87, 167–170, 178–185
Trailokya Mahadevi (Rajaraja I's q.) 9 42, 46, 64, 73
Trailokya Mahadevi (Rajendra deva II's q.) 171
Tribhuvan(a)i 345, 347
Tribhuvana Mahadevi ctvm. 345 (taniyur, Sabha of 4000 members), (Varadaraja perumal t. *alias* Naduvil Viranarayana vinnagar) 349, (temple built between Rajaraja I's 12th year and Rajendra I's 5th year) 349, (Vedic Coilcge) 236, 337, 354
Tribhuvana Mahadevi *per-eri* 288–289
Tripurantakesvaram (Tiruvirtkolam) 287–290
Tudaiyur 147
Tungabhadra r. 1,4

U

UDAGAI 4
Udayachandiran Amudakkan *alias* Kalakala Mayilatti 105, 106
Udaiya Divakaran Tillaiyadiyar *alias* Rajaraja Muvendavelan 63
Udaiya Divakaran Trimurti (of Madevimangalam) 182
Udaiyargudi 138
Ulagalandan Tiruvengadadevan 153
Ulga-muludum-Udaiya-Nachchiyar (Brihannayaki amman) 25, 27, 87
Ulaganadisvaram 127
Ulaguyyakkonda Kamak-kottam 165,169
Ulaguyyakkondasola Surriya devar (*vitankar*) set up 108
Uma-Bhattariyar 27
Umai Alvi *alias* Sivakama Sundari Manikkam (builder of Uttattur Amman t.) 258
Umapati Sivacharya (r) 79, 80
Uttama-chola (Madhurantaka) 2, 107, 125, 164, 238, 271
Uttama-chola Brahma-marayan *alias* Arumoli (son of Krishnan Raman) 319
Uttama-chola Isvaram (in Sri Lanka), 217
Uttama-chola mandapa 257
Uttama-chola siliyar velam 82
Uttaramerur 172, 262 309
Uttarapati Isvarar (shrine) 97–102
Uttattur (Urrattur) 256–259
Uyyakkondan (Rajaraja I's title) 5
Uyyakkondan valanadu 70, 71, 72, 105, 269
Uyyakkondan-terinda-tirumanjanattu-velam 82

V

VADAVARU, 240
Vadugur 347
Vaidyanathasvamin t. 267–269
Vaikuntha perumal t. (Uttaramerur) 262
Valavan Mahadeviyar (Rajendra I's q.) 93
Valavan Muvendavelan 302
Vallabhamangalam, Sri (Gangaikondan) 188
Valmikanathar shrine 274
Vanavan Mahadevi (q. of Sundara Chola and mother of Rajaraja I) 42, 61, 72
Vanavan Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi (q. of Rajaraja I and mother of Rajendra I) 6, 215, 230

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Vanavan Mahadevi ctvm. (Agaram, Ch.) 292
Vanavan Mahadevi Isvaram (at Polannaruva) 214–216
Vanavarayar 105
Vana-vichchadhira Nadalvan 259
Vanganagar 66
Varadaraja Perumal shrine (Tiruvakkarai) 372–373
Varaguna Pandya 124, 199
Varaha r. 164
Varandivayal 180, 184
Varuna (dikpala) 23, 24, 261
Vasudeva Vinnagaram (Kotta-mangalam) 377–378
Vatapi Ganapati (Tiruchchengattan-gudi) 96–102
Vayalaikkavur 171
Vayiri Sangaran 83
Veda-narayana and Vedavalli 312
Vedapurisvarar (Alandurai Udaiya Paramasvamin) 144–147
Vedaranyam 266
Velan Adittan (icon gift) 49
Velalakkuttan *alias* Sembiyan Muvendavelan 276, 278
Vellalan Ulangan Sirriyan *alias* Tappila Muvendavelan, 98
Vengi 4, 5, 9, 234
Venkadan Tirunilakanthan *alias* Adhikari Irumadisola Muvendavelan 277
Venkatesa Perumal t. 165–167
Vennaip-puttur-Udaiya-Kandan Maindan 174
Veppan-terri-udaiyar 259, 261
Verpuram 141
Vesalippadi 145
Vey-Idangondarulina Mahadevar (Tiruppasur) 295
Vidi Vitankar 276
Vijaya chakra 177
Vijaya Gandagopala 171
Vijayalaya (Tanjai-kotta-Parakesari) 3, 123
Vijayalaya Cholisvaram (Narttamalai) 120
Vijayalaya Cholisvaram (Vikkanampundi) 114, 374–376
Vijayarajendra (title of Rajadhiraja I) 105, 134, 135
Vikkanampundi 374–376
Vikrama Ch(s)ola 87, 103, 130, 149, 267, 280, 286
Vikrama Ch(s)olan tiruvasal (named after Rajendra I) 21, 235
Vikrama Ch(s)ola-ctvm., 134, 135
Vikrama Ch(s)ola Pandya, Maravarman (Viceroy) 187, 312
Vikramaditya VI (Later Chalukya) 16, 234
Vikramakesari Pallavaraiyan 171
Vikramanka-deva-charita 240
Vikrama Pandya 149, 284
Vilijnam (Vilinda) 4, 10, 11
Villavan Mahadevi (Rajaraja I's q.) 6
Villigal teru 82
Villupuram 132, 137, 141, 144, 148, 150–151, 164, 175
Vimaladitya (Eastern Chalukya) 4, 9, 90, 92, 231, 234
Vinnamangalam (Perumal t.) 366
Virabhupati Raya Udaiyar 101
Vira Kerala 233
Vira Mahadevi 234
Viranarayanap-per-eri 347
Viranarayana ctvm. 61, 67
Viranarayana eri 188
Viranarayana puram (Melpadi) 178
Viranarayani (Rajaraja I's q.) 6
Viranattup-Pallavaraiyan (poet) 106
Vira Pandya 91
Vira Rajendra 1, 86, 117, 130, 148, 167, 180, 255, 304, 340, 341, (his war with W. Chalukyas) 340–341, (the last Chola victory in Sri Lanka) 342, (help to Kadaram ruler) 342, (gift of a ruby crown *trailokyasara* to Lord Nataraja) 343, (his *brahmodeya* gifts to vedic scholars) 343, (endowment for a Vedic College, hostel and hospital) 343, 367–372
Vira-Sri-Muvendavelan 180
Vira Solan Kunjaramallan *alias* Rajaraja Peruntachchan (chief architect of Rajarajesvaram t.) 75
Vira-solap-perunteru 82, 104
Virata desa 301
Virattanesvarar 290, 294
Vira Viruppanna Udaiyar 100, 123
Virudaraja bhayankara ctvm. 267
Visha-mangalesvarar t. 147
Vishnu Bhattaran 165–167
Vishnuvardhana Maharaja *alias* Salukki Vijayadittan Vikkiyannar 311
Vyakarana-dana-Vyakhyana mandapa 305

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W

WESTERN CHALUKYAS, 4, 5, 15, 231
William (I), the Conqueror 70

Y

YAKSHA AND YAKSHINI (INSTALLED BY ELINI AT TIRUMALAI) 176
Yogini cult (at Kolar) 320, 321

ERRATA

Page	*Lines(s)*	*For*	*Read*
1	15	rankde	ranked
8	1	इन्दुमौलीश्व	इन्दुमौलीस्व
45	3b	inconographic	iconographic
48	9b	or	of
55	17	three	five
65	13	valandu	valanadu
67	10	..interest. With..	..interest with..
73	15	26.755	26,755
74	8	*Nalyirap-*	*Nalayirap-*
78	18b	Tirunariyur	Tirunaraiyur
86	4	sxcavated	excavated
86	5	Rrishna I	Krishna I
153	3–4	Alagan Virririndan *alias* Mummadi-solan with Ala Nripedra-sola	Alagan Virrirundan *alias* Nripendra-sola
304	14b	Karana Vitanka	Karanai Vitanka
410	4	the consort	Siva's Consort
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	Pl 98	Somaskardar	Samaskandar
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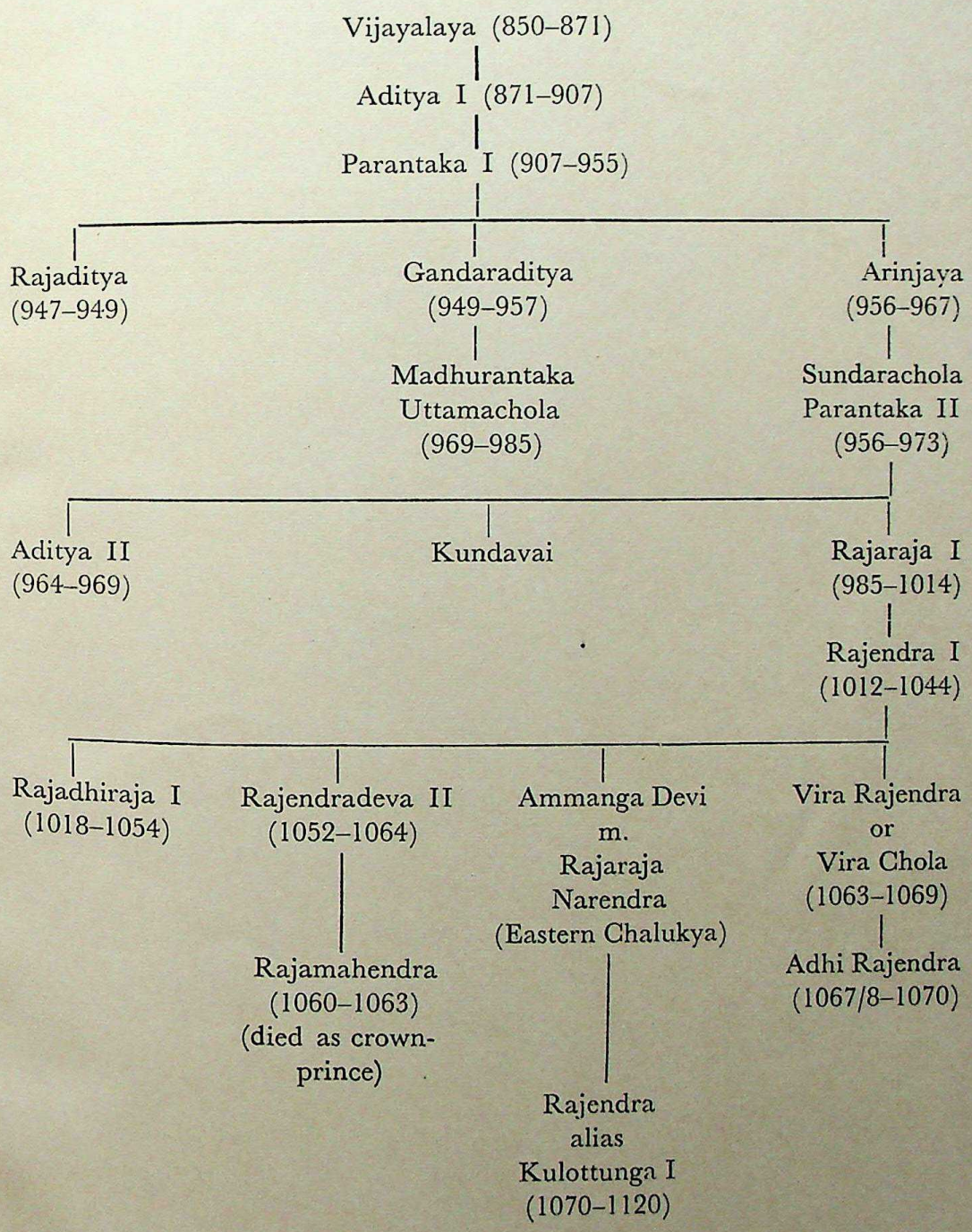

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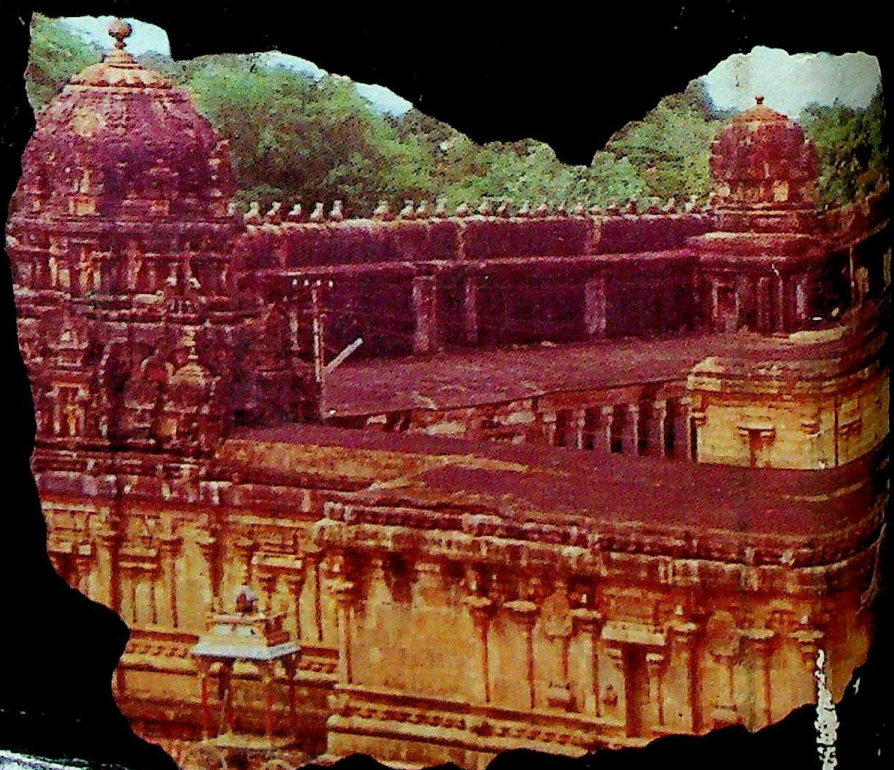
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